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THE HUGUENOTS

AND

THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES

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THE HUGUENOTS

AND

THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES

BY

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HISTORY OF THE RISE OF THE HUGUENOTS OF FRANCE, AND
OF THE HUGUENOTS AND HENRY OF NAVARRE

WITH MAPS

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PREFACE

I PURPOSE in these volumes to write the history of the Huguenots from the close of the reign of Henry the Fourth—that is, from a point at which the Edict signed by him at Nantes, some twelve years earlier, may be said to have been in full operation. I shall narrate their fortunes not merely as far as to the formal repeal of the Edict in 1685, but through the century during which their worship was suppressed and they were themselves deprived of all civil rights, down to the promulgation of the Edict of Toleration by Louis the Sixteenth, on the eve of the first French Revolution, and, indeed, down to the full recognition of Protestantism by Napoleon Bonaparte, as First Consul, in the second year of the nineteenth century.

The work comprises a space of not much less than two hundred years, an eventful period of great interest in the history of civilization, of which the successive portions are of a widely different character and present startling contrasts.

The first fifty years must be regarded, upon the whole, as the epoch of the greatest material and intellectual development of the Huguenots. Then it was that they obtained such opportunities as they had never before enjoyed, and as they were never again to enjoy under the rule of the Bourbons, for the exhibition to the world of their true genius, and of the legitimate fruits of their ecclesiastical organization, as well as of the excellence of the moral and religious training which, had they been permitted, they would have extended throughout France. It is true that within this very half-century fall the three Huguenot wars under Louis the Thirteenth and the reduction of La Rochelle, the citadel of French Protestantism. But if, despite the heroic efforts of Henry of Rohan, of his brother Soubise, and of others scarcely less brave and chivalric, the military and political importance of the Huguenots, as a party in the state, came to an end, the loss of this importance was more than compensated by their quiet and peaceful enjoyment of the benefits of the great law of Henry the Fourth under the administration of the two cardinals, Richelieu and Mazarin.

The next twenty-five years (1660–1685) were strangely different; for they witnessed the progressive and unceasing assaults made upon the rights guaranteed by law to the Huguenots. The Edict of Revocation, when at length it came, was not a detached act of supreme iniquity. It was rather the culmination of a long series of criminal acts. I purpose, therefore, to follow, step by step, the preparations made for striking the final blow by which it was hoped to annihilate the Reformed religion in France. The examination is not devoid of interest for the curious. It may be instructive even for men of a subsequent generation. As history repeats itself, the close of the nineteenth century is even now beholding the counterpart, or the copy, of the legislation by means of which Louis the Fourteenth undertook to crush out the Huguenot religion from France, in laws remarkably similar, menacing the existence of Protestantism in the Baltic provinces of a great empire of our own times.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes with its consequences, both in persecution at home and in emigration to foreign lands, requires the extended discussion which I have undertaken to give. It does not fall within the scope of the present work to follow the exiles for religion's sake much beyond the bounds of France, and to tell the story, which is in itself of romantic interest, of the subsequent adventures of the devoted exiles that fled from their native land, destitute indeed of worldly goods, but rich in faith toward God, and blessed in the conscious possession of His favor. I must leave the inviting field of their fortunes after their departure from France, for the most part, to others. I need scarcely say that the Huguenot emigration to America has been treated with rare thoroughness of research by my brother, the late Rev. Charles Washington Baird, D.D., whose work should be supplemented by one or more volumes taking up the narrative at the point where death compelled him to lay down his work.

I have viewed the War of the Camisards as an episode of Huguenot history well entitled to a fulness of treatment which, at the first glance, might appear disproportionate to the brevity of the struggle and the paucity of the men that took a part in it. The heroic character of the conflict, comparing favorably with the character of the most famous contests of early Greece or Rome, would be my ample justification, even were it not for the controversy, not yet fully settled, respecting the answer to the question, How far the peasants of the Cévennes were warranted by natural right in their recourse to arms to resist intolerable tyranny; not to speak of the equally curious inquiry, Whether the results of this recourse were, upon the whole, favorable or injurious to the progress of that spiritual religion in whose interests the Camisard war was waged.

If the fruits of recent investigation have placed us in a position of great advantage for the intelligent and accurate study of all the events to which I have just referred, this is especially the case with respect to the period of the "Desert," so called; a period whose importance, particularly outside of France, has been strangely overlooked. Thanks to the industry of a band of enthusiastic collaborators, the memoirs and narratives of the obscure workers upon whom devolved the herculean task of reconstituting the churches in the presence of one of the most determined persecutions that ever raged on the face of the globe, have been supplemented by numerous documents drawn from various sources. The files of the hostile departments of state, war, and police have proved only less valuable than the inedited letters of such men as Antoine Court, Paul Rabaut, Rabaut Saint Étienne, Court de Gébelin, and others; while the Minutes of the Synods of the Churches of the Desert, now for the first time printed and made accessible to all, enable us to gain such inside views of the growth of Protestantism as it was formerly impossible to obtain.

The preachers and missionaries that worked at a wonderful disadvantage, always under the ban of the law, not infrequently with a distinct price set upon them, whether taken dead or alive—gladiators in an arena from which they seem always to be saluting us as about to die—these were not always in themselves very picturesque personages. But if they were often clad in rough attire and themselves unlearned rustics, daily and hourly committing the sin—unpardonable at the elegant court of Versailles—of preaching and praying to Almighty God in very bad French, at least, they were men who, being able to die for their opinions, could not be constrained. Thus it was that, with God's blessing upon their labors, they learned the divine art how to make a great church out of a very little one, or, indeed, out of one that did not exist at all.

The Huguenot drama would be incomplete without the last and crowning act—embracing the recovery of religious liberty and of full civic rights. It was much to obtain toleration after proscription. It was much to compel a distinct admission of the fact that Protestantism still existed in France, when the fact had been denied a century through. If professed sceptics proved very useful allies in preparing the way, and if, to secure his ends, a humane and intelligent statesman like Malesherbes was driven to resort to the device of ascribing to Louis the Fourteenth equitable intentions respecting the Protestants, much at variance with his known acts, these circumstances did not make the boon of freedom, when at last it came, any the less acceptable. The imperfect work of Louis the Sixteenth, in 1787, was duly enlarged within a few months by the Revolution, with its recognition of the Rights of Man; and finally, in 1802, Protestantism was accorded an established position as the religion of a part, although a minority, of the French nation. There the history of the Huguenots ends.

Thus the volumes now offered to the public constitute an independent history, intended to be complete in itself, of the causes and the effects, proximate and remote, of the repeal of one of the most important laws ever given by a human legislator. At the same time they form the conclusion and natural complement of a historical series of which the first two parts have heretofore been published, in "The Rise of the Huguenots of France" and "The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre." It is the author's hope that the last piece in the Huguenot trilogy may be as kindly received as its two predecessors.

The very great number of works, both old and well-known and of recent publication, upon which this history is based, must serve as my excuse for not attempting, in this place, the task of inserting a list, even approximately complete, of my authorities. I shall only repeat what I said on a previous occasion, that no trustworthy source of information, whether friendly or hostile to the Huguenots, has been consciously neglected by me; that I have endeavored to hold a steady and impartial course between conflicting views and representations, and that I have, as far as possible, preferred to read history in the contemporary writings of both Roman Catholics and Protestants. I trust that the notes, which I have endeavored to make a faithful guide to the original sources of information, will enable any reader that is so disposed to verify my assertions and test my conclusions.

I feel it a pleasure, not less than a duty, to acknowledge once more the invaluable assistance which I have derived from the great store of fresh and hitherto unknown material brought to light in the successive volumes of the Bulletin of the Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français. To the labors of the scholars connected with this Society, more than to the labors of any other investigators, is due the great progress made of late in Huguenot studies. I avail myself the more gladly, therefore, of the present opportunity, to give public expression to my sense of gratitude for the high and unexpected honor conferred upon me, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the foundation of the Society, in my election to be an Honorary Member of the Governing Committee.

At the same time I may be permitted to make thankful acknowledgment of the help of various kinds rendered to me by my French friends and correspondents—Baron Fernald de Schickler, President of the Society which I have just named, and M. N. Weiss, the Secretary, worthy successor in the editorship of the Bulletin of the lamented Dr. Jules Bonnet. I am under special obligations to the late Charles Dardier, President of the Consistory of Nismes, whose death is one of the most notable losses recently sustained by students of Huguenot history, especially the history of the eighteenth century. M. Dardier's two collections of the Letters of Paul Rabaut to Antoine Court and to Others, annotated in so rich and scholarly a manner, not to speak of his Ésaïe Gasc, and a series of monographs on particular points of importance, are monuments of his well-directed labors. Nor should I fail to make mention of the kindness of Professor G. Frosterus, of the University of Helsingfors, Finland, editor of the Memoirs of the Baron d'Aigaliers, of M. Th. A. Dufour, Director of the Library of the City of Geneva, and of the Abbé Goiffon, formerly archivist of the diocese of Nismes.

While referring to these particular obligations, I cannot refrain from expressing my high appreciation of the truly fraternal spirit that has appeared to me to animate all the workers in the same field of study, a spirit that leads each cheerfully to extend a helping hand to all the rest. Of such a spirit was that eminent scholar to whom I referred in the preface of my

"Rise of the Huguenots," the late Professor Baum, of Strasbourg, who, writing to me under the dark shadow projected by the fast approaching Franco-Prussian War, cheered his own heart and mine with these words: "In the midst of the military despotism to which the continent of old Europe seems to be fatally destined, it is, after the Gospel and its immortal principles, one of the greatest consolations that the Republic of Science and Letters will remain standing, and that against her, too, the gates of hell shall not prevail. I understand thereby the great association and fraternity, in all the civilized countries of the globe entire, of those that believe that man does not live by material bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."

I am happy to be able to lay before my readers, in the second volume of the present work, a reproduction of a remarkable medal struck at Rome to commemorate the illustrious piety exhibited by Louis the Fourteenth in revoking the Edict of Nantes. I state on the sixty-sixth page of that volume the circumstances under which it was my good fortune to discover the existence of this interesting but forgotten product of the pontifical mint.

It is not without a feeling of regret akin to sadness that I lay down my pen at the conclusion of historical studies that were begun more than thirty years ago. In the inception of my plans it was my privilege to profit by the wise suggestions and encouragement of a father, himself not less conversant with the present condition than with the past fortunes of the churches of the Reformation. In the prosecution of my work I long had the companionship and derived inestimable benefit from the counsels of a brother, whose scholarly tastes led him to devote the leisure hours wrung from an engrossing profession to pursuits kindred to my own. The advantage which I enjoyed in the inspiration of the words and the example of such men, not less than the circumstance that I am now permitted to complete an undertaking that has occupied much of my time and thoughts for so considerable a space of human life, justly demands of me a grateful acknowledgment of the goodness of the great Being in whom we live and whose are all our ways.

University of the City of New York,
July 12, 1895.

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BOOK FIRST

THE HUGUENOT WARS AND THE REDUCTION OF LA ROCHELLE (1610–1629)

BOOK FIRST

THE HUGUENOT WARS AND THE REDUCTION OF LA ROCHELLE (1610–1629)

CHAPTER I

ACCESSION OF LOUIS THE THIRTEENTH — THE POLITICAL ASSEMBLY OF SAUMUR

THE Edict signed by Henry the Fourth at Nantes, in the province of Brittany, on the thirteenth day of April, 1598, but not registered and published by the Parliament of Paris until the twenty-fifth of February in the ensuing year, was the great charter of the Protestant liberties. In securing it, the Huguenots reached the goal of their desires in the present order of things, and felt themselves warranted in looking forward with some degree of confidence to a long period of quiet and prosperity, under the protection of a law expressly declared to be perpetual and irrevocable. The age of persecution was believed to be wholly in the past; an era of harmony had been inaugurated under the most favorable auspices. The edict was not, however, a proclamation of equal rights to the professors of all Christian creeds: this was its weak point. The Reformed religion was not recognized as entitled to the same consideration as the Roman Catholic. The latter was tacitly accepted as the religion of the state as a whole, the traditional and better religion, into conformity with which it was desired, and it was hoped, that all the king's sub-

The great charter of Protestant liberties.

jects would ultimately be brought. By the side of this state religion, and in its shadow, the Protestant religion might stand, and for its security many equitable provisions were enacted. Yet it stood an inferior and with inferior rights. Not many years, indeed, elapsed before its enemies assumed as a self-evident principle that by the edict Protestantism was merely tolerated, suffered to exist as a thing whose presence is hateful, but which, for some reason, it is injudicious to attempt to remove. Such was the dangerous doctrine first distinctly enunciated, as we shall see, by the attorney-general, Omer Talon, at the *Grands Jours* of Poitiers, in 1634. But the Huguenots indignantly repudiated this interpretation as unwarranted by anything that the edict said or implied. The odious word "toleration," or its synonyms, occurred nowhere in the lengthy document. The adherents of the "so-called Reformed religion" were "permitted" to live in France without molestation; their title to unrestricted liberty of conscience was recognized; they might worship God publicly in certain places, while their religious services were excluded from others; but in no instance was it asserted that they were "tolerated."[1] The edict was framed with the view of protecting, not of insulting, them; and "toleration" is in itself an insult. The legislator, indeed, proclaimed himself a Roman Catholic, and made no pretence of regarding dissent as equally desirable with conformity. But the exercises of the Protestant worship were "lawful" within certain limits, and for the peaceful maintenance of these exercises all the authority of the crown was solemnly pledged.

Not an edict of mere toleration.

The relations of the Huguenots to the crown and to the realm of France seemed, therefore, to be firmly settled, if not for all time, yet until the advent of the day, concerning the nearness of whose approach no one, it is true, had very sanguine expectations, when a religious union might be effected. Meantime there was some reason to hope that the happy consummation anticipated in the preamble of the great edict might be realized;

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[1] Floquet (Histoire du Parlement de Normandie, iv. 383) quotes with approval the assertion of La Roche Flavyn, in his Trèze Livres des Parlements de France (livre xiii., ch. 46): "La religion calvinienne *n'estoit seulement tolerée, ains permise en France.*"

so that, if it had not as yet pleased God to permit that all the king's subjects should worship Him in one and the same form of religion, it should, at least, be with one and the same intention, and with such order that the difference should cause no trouble or tumult. The monarch and the realm might yet merit in future the glorious title of Very Christian, a title which the loyalty of subjects declared that realm and king had long since and deservedly acquired.

Geographical distribution of the Huguenots.

The Huguenots constituted, indeed, but a small minority of the entire population of France.[1] They were, however, so massed in certain parts of the country as to exert an influence which could not be overlooked or misunderstood. If there were comparatively few Huguenots in Champagne and Brittany, they were numerous in Normandy and Poitou. Saintonge and Aunis, with the flourishing seaport of La Rochelle, were, to a great extent, Protestant. Of Béarn a a large part of the people had conformed to the reformation instituted, or fostered, by Jeanne d'Albret. Upper Guyenne, Lower Languedoc, Vivarais, and the Cévennes were strongholds of the Huguenot faith, as they had already been, and were destined again in future to be, strongholds of the Huguenot arms. The very circumstance that in Nismes, in Milhau, in Castres, and in hundreds of smaller places they constituted a clear majority of the citizens, insured them respect and was a guarantee of harmony. There was many a southern town where at the annual election, all the "consuls," the chief municipal officers, returned were Protestants. In many other towns the numbers of the Reformed entitled them to one-half of the governing board. Occasionally a spirit of mutual respect and conciliation won the day, and terminated, for the time at least, the dissensions arising from difference of creed. In rare instances a single bell answered the double end of summoning the Huguenots to the "prêche" in their "temple," and of announcing the time of the celebration of the mass and vespers in the old parish church. Even where they were not in a majority, the Huguenots, by virtue of their confessedly higher intelligence and of their more thorough education,[1] secured for themselves an influence disproportioned to their numbers. This was evident when, a few years later, it became a point of honor with the government to give to the Roman Catholics in every place at least one-half of the municipal offices, and the court, or the voters, were more than once confronted with the difficulty that there existed no one among the Roman Catholics of the town upon whom the honor could with any regard to decency be conferred.

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[1] I have spoken elsewhere (The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre, ii. 444–446) of the difficulty of ascertaining the numbers of the French Protestants. Rough estimates are wont to err on the side of exaggeration, and Benoist's "two millions of subjects" (Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, v. *passim*) by which he repeatedly designates the Huguenots in the course of the seventeenth century, might seem to go considerably beyond the mark. On the other hand, Cardinal Bentivoglio in estimating their number at "a million or a little more," out of a total population of fifteen millions, may have somewhat underrated them (Breve Relazione degli Ugonotti di Francia, 198, 199). They probably reached a million and a quarter or a half.

Provision for their security.

The Huguenots did not depend for their security solely upon the pledged word of the king, or upon their superior numbers in certain localities, much less upon occasional and exceptional good-will on the part of the adherents of the other faith. The Edict of Nantes, rather recognizing an existing order of things than establishing a new arrangement, placed in their hands substantial means of defence against unjust aggression. Undesirable as it might be to recognize an authority within the bounds of the kingdom that might under certain circumstances assert itself independently of, and even in opposition to, the authority of the national government, the events of the last half of the sixteenth century, and the imperfect comprehension gained by that age of the rights of the individual conscience in matters of religion, had both led to, and necessitated the strange anomaly. It was in every way better that the surface of France should be dotted over with cities of refuge, than that men persecuted for their opinion's sake should not know whither to direct their uncertain steps. It was better that armed men receiving their orders from governors of their own religious creed, and obeying them more implicitly than the directions sent from Paris, should garrison these cities, than that Huguenot blood should drench the streets of towns and hamlets in southern and central France, as it had drenched the streets of the capital and many another city in the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day. Unless the Protestants of France were to submit pusillanimously to every insult which the ingenuity of their enemies could invent, and look forward to exile or death as the sole alternative in case they remained steadfast to their convictions of duty, they acted wisely in declining to part with the instruments of defence which the fortunes of war had thrown into their hands, and in refusing to trust their lives, their wives and children, and their possessions unconditionally to tender mercies which heretofore they had found cruel enough. Precisely what might have happened had they decided to act otherwise than as they did may not be certain; but this may be assumed as beyond controversy: the salutary fear of Huguenot arms postponed for many years the day when the formal abrogation of their privileges should be attempted, and the possession of cities of refuge was among the most important guarantees of quiet.

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[1] Often Huguenot education was not only free but compulsory. In 1576 Protestant Castres established a college, and the next year the council of the city adopted a resolution to this effect: "To prevent the youth from spending their time in disorderly conduct (débauche), an order shall be published enjoining all persons who have the charge of children below fourteen years of age, and who may be occupied with some office or calling, to send them daily to the college for instruction upon pain of a fine." Records under date of April 17, 1577, Inedited MS. in Mémoires de Gaches, 491.

The Huguenot hostage cities.

"Places de mariage."

Of hostage cities proper the Huguenots held forty-eight in all. Most of these were in the three "generalities" of Bordeaux, Montpellier, and Poitiers, which respectively contained nineteen, ten, and nine such cities; the remaining ten cities were scattered through six other generalities. A little over three thousand soldiers constituted the garrison of these places, being maintained at an expense of about one hundred and eighty thousand crowns annually. The city of Saumur stood at the head of the list with three hundred and sixty-four soldiers, costing the government nearly eighteen hundred crowns a month for its defence. Next to the hostage cities were sixteen other towns strangely designated as "places de mariage," because of their being, as it were, wedded to certain of the former, from which they "borrowed" their garrisons. Thus Saumur detached from the number of its soldiers as above stated, twenty-eight men to guard Vitré, ten to guard Beaufort, and twelve to guard Châtillon en Vendelais. Seven of the sixteen "places de mariage" were in the single province of Guyenne. In addition to the sixty-four towns whose maintenance was thus provided for from the public treasury, the Huguenots were masters of the five "royal free cities" of La Rochelle, Montauban, Sainte-Foy, Nismes, and Uzès, which had no garrisons, but were governed by their municipal officers in virtue of ancient privileges, and of seventy-five or eighty "places particulières," or fortified places belonging to private noblemen, Protestants or Roman Catholics. In the case of the latter, the rights and revenues of the titular owners were duly respected; the castle was held by the Huguenots, but they had nothing to do with the town outside of the castle walls. Thus it was that, including all the places which they held by various forms of tenure, the Huguenots were the possessors of nearly or quite one hundred and fifty cities of greater or less importance and strength.[1] Granted to them by the Edict of Nantes originally for the space of only eight years, the title of the Huguenots to their hostage cities had been confirmed, and the term had been lengthened by four years, in a patent of Henry the Fourth given in August, 1605. As the first period did not begin, according to the edict, until the publication of the law by all the parliaments, it was supposed to date from the year 1600, and the concession still had two years to run, at the death of the king.[2]

"Places particulières."

Powerful by reason of the possession of so many strongholds in various parts of the kingdom, the Huguenots were moreover formidable because of the troops that they could muster by land and by sea. A secret report made to the king affirmed that the Protestants were able, if necessary, to place fifty thousand troops in the field; while, from their strength upon the seaboard, the navy which they could put in commission was known to be much superior to that of the king himself.[3]

Land and sea forces.

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[1] See the lists in L. Anquez: Histoire des Assemblées Politiques des Réformés, 160–166.

[2] Ibid., 430. It may be remarked that, shortly after his accession (July 23, 1611), Louis XIII. prolonged the Huguenot possession of the first class of places for five years, or to January 1, 1617. Subsequently the term was still further lengthened. Ibid., 433.

[3] M. G. Schybergson: Le Duc de Rohan et la Chute du Parti Protestant en France, 8, 9.

Meanwhile the prospect was believed to be fair that no recourse to the arbitrament of civil war would ever again be necessary. With a well-ordered ecclesiastical constitution, permitted to hold their church courts with due regularity and conformably to the prescriptions of their book of discipline, from the simple meeting of the consistory, or church session, to the more solemn gathering of the colloquy, or presbytery, and of the synod, provincial or national, the strictly religious concerns of the Huguenots were administered with little or no interference. For the supervision of their civil and political interests, they had secured the right to keep at the court two deputies-general, who were expected to devote their entire time and attention to devising and recommending such measures as might relieve the Protestants of any hardships to which they should be subjected. Those hardships furnished also the occasion for the convocation, from time to time, of the Political Assemblies, although this sort of meeting had long been unpopular with the royal court and had, of late, been conceded with great reluctance. Consequently it was likely that in future the effort would be made to confine the right of meeting for the discussion of Protestant grievances to such gatherings in the provinces as might be necessary for the purpose of communicating local wrongs to the deputies-general, and that the political assemblies of the Huguenots of the entire kingdom would, if possible, be wholly dispensed with. In that case some new provision would have to be made for the periodical election of the deputies-general.

Deputies general and political assemblies.

Roman Catholicism and despotism.

At the advent of the Reformation, Roman Catholicism stood forth as the advocate of unreserved submission to constituted authority, whether in things spiritual or in things temporal. In the Roman Catholic system there was nothing that naturally allied itself to popular institutions. The same voice that required, in matters of faith, unquestioning obedience to the priest as the appointed minister of God, and to the pope, in particular, as His earthly vicegerent, dictated a like obedience, in temporal matters, to the monarch as the living image of the invisible God. Subordination to authority was the keystone of the structure, whether in Church or in State. The notion of the paramount rights of the citizen as the being for whose benefit all laws ought to be enacted, for whom all offices, from the lowest municipal functionary up to the governors of provinces and to the king himself, existed, was as far removed from the theory of the Roman Catholic Church as was the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers, or the idea that the clergyman was in truth the servant, the pope in truth the servant of the servants of the Lord's household. Within the domain of religion, the Church had come to mean not the company of all the faithful, but the corporate body known as the clergy, and membership in the Church was synonymous with sacerdotal orders. In like manner the State was no longer the proper designation of the entire association of citizens sovereign in their rights, because constituting the ultimate source from which all authority emanated and the persons whose interests were primarily to be consulted, but was a name appropriated exclusively by the officers who had been originally chosen to guard and protect the social fabric, and, above all, by the king.

The jealousy with which the crown viewed the political assemblies of the Protestants was not altogether unreasonable; for in truth those periodical gatherings of the representatives of the Reformed communities revealed very clearly the growth of tendencies which in more recent times have given birth to free institutions, whether in the form of republican government or of constitutional monarchy.

Protestantism and the rights of man.

The Protestant doctrine of the rights of the individual conscience was far-reaching in its consequences; and in France, especially, the check received by the reformatory movement in consequence of the so-called religious wars waged for the destruction of Protestantism, was a political disaster the magnitude of which may be appreciated even by those who cannot sympathize with the doctrines of Calvin and Beza. For with Protestantism came the recovery of the consciousness of the personal dignity of man, for whom all things earthly subsist—the Church for his spiritual advancement, the State for his temporal well-being. The affairs of neither Church nor State could be entrusted to the exclusive control of self-perpetuating orders. The Calvinistic form of church government denied the sole care of ecclesiastical interests to the special officers set apart for the work of preaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments; and gave a participation to the delegates of the people, to elders and deacons elected by a majority of the popular vote. The synods, in which the more purely ecclesiastical concerns of the religious community were considered, consequently contained a representation, as nearly equal as might be, of ministry and laity. It was a development of the same idea, and a partial extension into the secular domain, that when the political exigencies of their situation demanded attention, when provision had to be made by the Protestants for securing themselves from injustice and oppression, they convened assemblies bearing a marked resemblance to their religious representative bodies. Thus, as the synods were the expression of the popular tendencies of Protestantism in the sphere of strictly religious activity, the political assemblies were the expression of the same tendencies in the relations of the Huguenots to the crown and to their fellow-citizens.

Protestant Assemblies the model of free constitutional bodies.

Chosen by the intelligent suffrage of the members of their communion, the Protestant deputies, sitting in their political assembly, presented a model of a well-ordered deliberative body, which needed but to be extended in its constituency so as to embrace all France, Protestant, and Roman Catholic alike, in order to realize completely the necessities of a free and constitutional form of government. No other such model existed in France; unless, indeed, those strange and cumbersome bodies, the States General of the kingdom and the States Particular of individual provinces, may be said to have presented some points of resemblance. But the States General were brought together at irregular intervals with such wide gaps between the meetings, that frequently few could recall the time of the last convocation, and old and young alike were unfamiliar with their duties and privileges. The functions of the States rarely went beyond voting such pecuniary assistance, in the way of the institution of new taxes or the continuation of former grants, as the crown demanded, and humbly petitioning the king for the redress of abuses. Above all, the representatives of the people constituted but one out of three orders, an order, moreover, so despised by both clergy and nobles, that any attempt it might make to vindicate the rights of the people as against its oppressors, was sure to meet the immediate resistance not only of the monarch, but of the other two orders beside which it sat an acknowledged inferior.[1] With no authority to make laws, with no authority, indeed, even in the matter of taxes, beyond the specific powers granted to the members by their constituents, the States General bore as little resemblance to the legislature of a free country, as did the Parliament of Paris, a purely judicial body, to the Parliament sitting at Westminster, with its sturdy and at times very independent House of Commons. The municipalities of southern France possessed, in their contracted sphere, a germ of self-government which, under more favorable circumstances, might have developed and assumed greater importance; but so far from that, the reign of Louis the Thirteenth was to witness what little independence the cities of Languedoc and Guyenne possessed crushed beneath the spirit of centralization and absolutism incarnated in the person of Cardinal Richelieu. The hopes of constitutional liberty, of popular representative government, of a wise legislation, progressive yet conservative, of the gradual preparation of France for a liberty to be attained without violent commotion and without bloodshed, and of an intelligent and systematic development of the national resources, lay, though men as yet did not recognize the fact, in the scheme of government which the Huguenots had sketched, and, in particular, in the political assemblies, suspected though these were by the Roman Catholic party, and hated by the crown and its advisers.[2]

The prince into whose hands the sceptre of France nominally passed from the relaxed grasp of the great Henry murdered by

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[1] The States General of 1614, to which reference will hereafter be made, furnish a signal illustration of the remarks of the text.

[2] I can heartily commend the judicious observations of M. Gustave Garrisson on this subject, in a remarkable article "De la politique du Calvinisme en France," Revue des Deux Mondes (February, 1848), xxi. 738, 739. The statement made by M. Garrisson with regret, that "the history of the Calvinist assemblies, which are one of the sources of our political jurisprudence and of our civil liberty, that history so fruitful of instruction, has never been undertaken in France," is happily no longer true, since the publication of the admirable work of Professor Léonce Anquez, "Histoire des Assemblées politiques des Réformés de France."

Ravaillac's knife, was a boy who had not yet completed his ninth year. In himself an insignificant person, the accident of his birth placed him in a position which now renders it necessary that I should speak of what he was both as man and as ruler, although the peculiarities of his character exhibited themselves fully only after the lapse of some years.

Character of Louis the Thirteenth.

What Louis the Thirteenth might have become in other circumstances is uncertain, but the eldest of the six children whom Marie de' Medici bore to her royal husband obtained little of that training which might possibly have fitted him to become a wise and excellent king. Whether by their fault or by his misfortune, the successive tutors to whom the dauphin's education was entrusted failed to kindle in his breast any thirst for knowledge. He never thoroughly mastered even the rudiments of Latin, a language still esteemed indispensable for kings. Falconry and the chase were more to his taste than study. He was one of the best huntsmen in the kingdom; and if he had an impediment in his speech, he could, we are told, talk to his dogs to perfection. His preceptors had done well, observes a historian with pardonable sarcasm, had they trained him to talk to men.[1] Destitute both of self-reliance and of discrimination, he was equally incapable of ruling without the help of others and impatient that others should enjoy the semblance of rule. He would brook no interference of parliament when the judges undertook to remonstrate against unjust laws or delayed entering them upon their registers. Still more jealous was he of the favorites upon whom he had himself lavished authority and riches. Suspicious and distrustful both of himself and of others, he was taciturn because he had no set purpose to announce, no well-considered policy to point out. Only when his dignity seemed to be invaded or his authority defied, was his mind made up at once. The moment he mistrusted the Marshal d'Ancre, he was ready to authorize the assassination of that courtier, that afterward he might repeat the boast of Henry of Valois upon ridding himself of the Duke of Guise and say: "Now indeed I am king!" Fourteen years later, he did not hesitate to summon to the Louvre the members of the highest court of judicature in France, that, while the learned judges knelt humbly before him, he might subject them to the mortification of seeing a leaf torn from their records by the royal hand, and to the affront of receiving an order to substitute in its place a paper prohibiting them from henceforth venturing to deliberate respecting the execution of the monarch's behests.[1]

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[1] Le Vassor, Histoire du règne de Louis XIII. (Amsterdam, 1712), i. 607, seq. This candid historian remarks that, although he had made a careful search, he had often been surprised to find in the records of Louis's minority so little said regarding the education of the young king. In mentioning the dismissal of one of the best of the prince's preceptors, one who knew Louis well remarks: "Ceux qui lui succédèrent donnèrent des preuves à tout le monde que la jalousie que l'on avoient eue d'une personne de savoir et de mérite avoit été cause de sa disgrâce, plutôt qu'aucun dessein de donner une nourriture royale à ce jeune prince." Mémoires du maréchal d'Estrées, 225, 226.

The royal historiographer Charles Bernard, in his Histoire du Roy Louis XIII. (Paris, 1646), naturally gives a very different account of the monarch's endowments and acquisitions from that given by Le Vassor. According to Bernard, Louis was bright and of keen wit. If he admits that in infancy the prince had "a pretty great difficulty of speech," he is careful to add that this impediment was probably the cause of his becoming a good listener and thinker and one of the best of men at keeping a secret. He would have us believe that in time Louis became a fluent and entertaining talker. His testimony from personal knowledge to the purity of the king's own conversation and to his intolerance of profane or foul language on the part of his courtiers may be accepted as less liable to the suspicion of partiality.

A sovereign at once so weak and so certain to become the tool of ambitious and designing ministers would have been sufficiently dangerous to the Huguenots even had he entertained no special malevolence toward them. But Louis was brought up in hatred of Protestantism and of all those that professed Protestantism. He was more averse than even his ecclesiastical counsellors to contracting an alliance with the Lutherans of Germany and the North to oppose the aggressions of the House of Hapsburg, although he could not be ignorant that in opposition lay the true interest of France.[2] Cardinal Richelieu, prince of the Roman Church

His hatred of Protestantism.

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[1] This was in 1631. Bayle, s. v. Louis XIII.

[2] Zorzi's observation is correct to the letter, and dates from the time, when, La Rochelle having fallen, the question whether France should take part in the Thirty Years' War was trembling in the balance. He says: "Conosce che per ogni ragione umana e celeste è nato per far bilancio a Spagnoli ed ad Austriaci, ma da ogni minima rimostranza che gli venga fatta o dall' autorità della madre,

though he was, found it difficult to persuade his master to make common cause with Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War. In the end, political considerations won the day, and Louis found himself in the anomalous position of assisting with men and money the "heretics" denounced by Urban the Eighth; but no political considerations prevented him from atoning for any temporary and apparent recreancy to the faith by a solemn espousal of the Roman Catholic cause in general. By a royal declaration, in which all the customary formalities were observed, Louis devoted his person, his estates, his crowns and his subjects to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and took her to be the Protectress of the Kingdom.[1]

Such was the monarch to whose caprices and to the caprices of whose favorites the Huguenots were to be subjected during the ensuing thirty-three years—an unhappy prince who lived in a dense atmosphere of suspicion and distrust, having not a soul about him in whose candor, good-will, or honesty he could repose implicit confidence, having at all times good reason to entertain misgivings respecting the love and fidelity of mother, wife, brother—a prince who, so far from extracting unmingled happiness from the possession of a crown, declared that every day of his life was marred by disappointment, and who is said to have had continually upon his lips during his last hours the lament of the patriarch Job, "My soul is weary of my life."[2]

The queen-mother, Marie de' Medici.

Meanwhile for a few years at least, another and somewhat firmer hand held the reins of government and kept the young king's peculiarities from coming to the light. Marie de' Medici, his mother, was the daughter of the late Grand Duke of Tuscany, and an Italian woman of the same family that had already cursed France by giving it a queen and the regent during the minority of a boy-king. Like Catha-

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o dal genio de' ministri, resta in un tratto mortificato e senza calori." Relation of the Venetian ambassador Zorzo Zorzi, in the documents of Ranke, Französische Geschichte, v. 286.

[1] This singular document, under date of February 10, 1638, was published in full in the Mercure françois, xxii. 284, etc. The curious may read the most important provisions in Bayle, s. v. Louis XIII. See Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 578.

[2] Bayle, ubi supra.

rine de' Medici, more than a half century before, she found in the sudden death of a husband given to the love of other women, a happy release from a condition of things under which she had long chafed. The infelicities that had characterized her ten years of married life were known by report to all the world, and many a courtier had witnessed the outbreaks of her indignation with her husband, against which even that brave but dissolute prince being unable to stand, he consulted his quiet, if not his safety, by a precipitate flight from her presence.[1] There were those indeed who, despite the queen's protestations of sorrow, by no means held her guiltless of compassing Henry's death. However that might be, the deed of Ravaillac threw into her hands a power which the sequel proved she knew not how to use for the best interests of France. Twenty years later the Venetian ambassador Zorzi described her to the senate of the republic as a woman who never forgot her fancied wrongs, who aimed solely at pleasing herself, and who had no solicitude for the common weal. On the other hand, he admitted that she was generous and liberal to the extreme, loving letters and literary men, by whom she delighted excessively in hearing herself praised.[2]

The most truly representative Protestant of France, at the period at which this history opens, was undoubtedly Philippe de Mornay, Seigneur du Plessis Marly, and Baron de la Forest sur Sèvre, commonly spoken of as Duplessis Mornay. Other noblemen indeed were to be found professing the same religion, whose rank was superior to his, and who could boast of a more illustrious lineage and of broader possessions. But not one among them all enjoyed so deep and sincere consideration among his fellow-believers, because not one superadded to the reputation of genuine and unselfish devotion to the interests of his brethren in the faith, intellectual abilities recognized to be of a high order, and a calmness of judgment never so precious an endowment as in the midst of civil commotion or among the perils of an uncertain peace. For if there was any adviser to whose wise counsels the Huguenots might turn for safe guidance through another minority, it was the loyal and prudent statesman and soldier, whom Henry of Navarre had, more than a score of years before, selected for the responsible post of governor of Saumur, at the passage of the river Loire.

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[1] Cardinal Richelieu was informed by the Duke of Sully, that he had never seen the king and queen together for a week without a quarrel. Once, fearing that Marie de' Medici was about to give Henry a blow, the duke lowered her upraised arm with so much roughness that she afterward averred that Sully had struck her. In spite of this she was grateful to him for his interference. Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu (Histoire de la Mère et du Fils), Petitot edition, x. 152. Sully himself gives a better idea of Henry's domestic misery, especially in chapter 39 of the second part of his Mémoires (vol. iii., p. 754 seq), where he relates a conversation that took place as the king and the duke were pacing the spacious halls of the arsenal. Even the sight of the munitions of war which his provident minister had laid up there and in the neighboring Bastile, the one hundred cannon ready for service between which he was walking, the equipment for fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, the one hundred thousand cannon balls and two million pounds of powder, and the seven millions of gold crowns in his chests—could not banish from the king's mind the remembrance of the queen's ungovernable temper.

[2] Relazione di Zorzo Zorzi, belonging to the end of 1629 or the beginning of 1630, among the documents in Ranke, Französische Geschicte, v. 287.

Duplessis Mornay, the leading Protestant statesman.

Duplessis Mornay was born at Buhy, in the Isle de France, on the fifth of November, 1549, during the reign of Henry the Second, and was consequently older by four years than the chivalrous prince to whose service he devoted almost his entire life. His father, a decided Roman Catholic, caused him to be educated in the popular faith. There would have been no lack of opportunities for ecclesiastical promotion, had the young man been inclined to enter a profession to which, as a younger son and as a lad of somewhat delicate constitution, he was at one time destined. There were prelates of influence among his near kinsmen. A maternal uncle was successively bishop of Nantes, and archbishop of Rheims. The prelate offered to resign the former see in favor of his nephew. Another uncle was dean of Beauvais, and a cousin was archbishop of Arles. But a mother's secret instructions, reinforced by his own independent investigation, led Duplessis Mornay to embrace early in life the doctrines of the Reformation.

An extraordinary thirst for letters characterized his childhood. This was not quenched even by a serious interruption occasioned by dangerous illness. Indefatigable in study, his scholarship covered a wide range of subjects. He became familiar with languages which it was not the fashion of even the most cultivated of noblemen to undertake, and buried himself in researches such as the most erudite alone dreamed of making. He not only read and wrote with ease and elegance his own native tongue and Latin, the universal language of statesmanship and diplomacy, but mastered the difficulties of several of the languages of central and southern Europe. His knowledge of Greek literature and philosophy was as broad as it was thorough. He studied the Greek of the New Testament and the Hebrew of the Old with as much assiduity as if he intended to become a professed theologian. He was proficient in law, and wrote as persuasively concerning international obligations as regarding the truth of the Christian religion. His culture was broadened by travels, extensive for the times in which he lived, and by a sojourn for the sake of study at Heidelberg, at Padua, and at Venice. If in more than one place he nearly fell into the prisons of the Inquisition, he felt himself more than recompensed for the danger encountered by the opportunities he enjoyed for becoming acquainted with the constitutions and politics of foreign states, and securing the friendship of scholars and statesmen like Hubert Languet, and Sir Francis Walsingham.

On his return to his native land, he wrote, when barely twenty-three years of age, a masterly plea for the justice and expediency of waging war against the Spaniard in defence of the Low Countries. It was the paper which Admiral Gaspard de Coligny presented to King Charles the Ninth, a month or two before the butchery of St. Bartholomew's Day—a document so clear in its statements and so forcible in its deductions, that De Thou has not hesitated to incorporate a summary of its arguments in his immortal history of his times. Duplessis Mornay barely escaped with his life from the Parisian massacre, but his experience of the perfidy of one of the Valois kings of France did not discourage him from the attempt to induce that king's successor and the last of his house to enter upon a course which would have secured his realm from all further aggression on the part of Philip the Second. Duplessis Mornay's treatise "on the means of diminishing the power of the Spaniard," submitted to Henry the Third in the spring of 1584, contained the sketch of a project not

His treatise on the means of diminishing the power of Spain.

only bold but broad and comprehensive.[1] Had the sensual king to whom it was addressed condescended to abandon the inordinate pursuit of low pleasures, and to listen for a while to the voice of patriotic Frenchmen, in place of the suggestions of the paid pensioners of the king of Spain, it is not unlikely that he might have dispelled the gathering cloud of the League, already big with disaster to his kingdom and to himself, that he might have saved the lives of countless thousands of his subjects, and that he might have secured for France a position in European affairs more proud than that won by the arms of Louis the Fourteenth. The plan embraced a general league with the states opposed to the pretensions of the Hapsburg princes—England, Protestant Germany, Denmark, Netherlands, Turkey. The addition of the vote of the reforming Archbishop Gebhard Truchsess of Cologne to the votes of the three Protestant electors afforded an opportunity, which had never heretofore presented itself, of employing their numerical preponderance to exclude the House of Austria from the future possession of the imperial dignity in Germany. The alliance with Denmark would close the Sound at Elsinore against the Spaniard, who from the Baltic obtained grain to provision his troops, wood and pitch for his navies, saltpetre for the manufacture of his powder. So important was the Danish friendship, that Philip had recently offered four hundred thousand crowns in hand paid to conciliate the amity of the king and to close the northern passage to the Dutch. Alliance with Turkey would open a new and shorter line of trade with the Indies, and undermine the commercial advantages possessed by Spain. To secure great results only a small expenditure of men and money was necessary. Four thousand arquebusiers and five hundred horse would enable Archbishop Gebhard to hold out against his enemies, and, possibly, secure the imperial crown of Germany for the French monarch, when the throne should first become vacant. The Dutch might be effectually assisted in their desperate struggle by cutting off the communications between the Spanish troops in the Low Countries and Italy through Burgundy; while the English with their ships guarded the Channel and precluded intercourse between Spain and her revolted provinces by sea. An expedition from France might make a descent upon Minorca; a second might seize Gibraltar, and give Philip so much to do at home as to restrain him from troubling his neighbors. While the possession of the Mediterranean sea was thus disputed to his fleets in the East, the isthmus of Panama might be occupied by another force, and a formidable bar might be established to the supremacy of Spain in the western waters. Altogether it was a grand conception, possibly too grand for execution in all its parts, yet sufficiently practicable, had the effort to realize it been honestly and vigorously made by him upon whose will the attempt necessarily depended, to change the character of European history for many generations. If France could have been spared the horrors of the civil wars of the close of the sixteenth century, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Germany, also, might have been delivered from the ruin and butchery that ran riot throughout her fair dominions for full thirty years in the seventeenth.

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[1] "Discours au roy Henry III. sur les moyens de diminuer l'Espaignol, 24 avril 1584," Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay, ii. 580–593.

Later, Duplessis Mornay fought by the side of Henry of Navarre in the wars of the League. He distinguished himself for his courage at Coutras and at Ivry. Before long, however, the Bearnese discovered that, while he had many gentlemen and captains equally brave and fearless upon the battle-field with Philippe de Mornay, he had no counsellor on whose advice he could so implicitly rely. Moreover Mornay's was the facile pen which could best be trusted with the delicate task of giving to foreign princes and to the world at large, in the most convincing form, the justification of the actions of Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots. He was therefore accorded the responsible duty of drawing up much the greater part of the important Protestant state documents of the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

One other Huguenot alone might have competed for these honors. Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné was no mean scholar. He was well versed in classical lore, and by nature able to put his literary acquisitions to excellent use. He was even more precocious than Duplessis Mornay; for if we may believe his own assertion, at six years of age he already read in four languages, and eighteen months later he was translating the Crito of Plato, spurred on by his father's promise that his version should be printed with the portrait of the child-author for a frontispiece. But the restless spirit of D'Aubigné could ill brook the confinement of study, at a time when the air was full of tales of war and adventure; and his midnight escape from his preceptor's care, when he ran, clad in a simple shirt, to join the recruiting Huguenot band, was a formal renunciation of systematic learning. He was but seventeen or eighteen years old at the time. It was inevitable that Agrippa d'Aubigné's scholastic attainments should be less extensive than those of Duplessis Mornay, as his intellectual grasp was less firm and comprehensive. If D'Aubigné's style was superior in some regards to that of Duplessis Mornay, bearing in every sentence the inimitable marks of true literary genius, it was also less even and correct, and less adapted to be the vehicle for the quiet and cogent exposition of important truth. A brilliant and effective pleader, the southern Huguenot could never disguise his partisanship, and seemed always to be attempting to maintain the cause for which he held a brief. But Duplessis Mornay, with a calmness more characteristic of northern regions, spoke and wrote as a judge, whose dispassionate nature rose superior to the conflicting tides of animosity and prejudice, and pronounced the ultimate decision of truth upon the matters in controversy. D'Aubigné's intellect was keen and incisive, his expression pithy, his striking phrases lingered longer in the memory of men; but Duplessis Mornay's logical statements and orderly arguments made the more lasting impression upon those to whom they were addressed. There were fewer of his witty sayings current, and the sharpness of his tongue was less dreaded; but he could, at least, congratulate himself that he had never made an enemy by the severity of his language. Thus it was that while D'Aubigné alienated even his royal master by his trenchant wit, Duplessis Mornay retained the confidence and affection of Henry the Fourth to the very end of his days, despite the plain truths and even the reproof which, as a counsellor, he had more than once been compelled to utter in the king's ear.

Duplessis Mornay contrasted with Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné.

It was no mere accident that when Henry of Navarre received from his cousin, Henry of Valois, the city of Saumur, as a pledge of the truce into which they had entered, and as a safe crossing-place on the Loire, he intrusted its safe-keeping to Duplessis Mornay. Saumur had remained in the Huguenot nobleman's hands for twenty-one years, at the time of the king's sudden demise. From this, the second city in importance in the County of Anjou,[1] Philippe de Mornay exerted an influence in many ways unlike that to which any other subject of the French crown could aspire. By the Roman Catholic party he was regarded as the truly representative Protestant of his time, for his virtues were the most perfect embodiment of the doctrines professed by the Reformers; while the Huguenots yielded him a respect so sincere, and deferred so generally to his opinions and wishes, that he gained with the masses of the people the complimentary surname of "*the Pope of the Protestants.*" To the strong and stately castle of Saumur, that great and massive structure with lofty round turrets but little changed, which still from an eminence frowns upon the modern town and commands the long bridge connecting the northern suburb, sensible men, Huguenot and Roman Catholic alike, looked for wise and prudent counsels, with firm assurance that their expectations would not be disappointed. A patron of arts and letters, the founder, in his little domain, of the Académie or University destined to acquire the highest distinction among the educational establishments of the Protestants, he was from conviction not less than through the force of circumstances, the most steadfast and trustworthy advocate of peace.

He is appointed governor of Saumur.

Is surnamed "the pope of the Protestants."

Of this he had early an opportunity to give proof.

The queen-mother had no sooner heard of the tragic death of her husband than she seized the reins of government before the knowledge of the disaster that had befallen France had had time to be noised abroad. In this prompt action she found her most valuable coadjutor in the Duke of Épernon. Free

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[1] "C'est, Sire, la seconde ville de vostre duché d'Anjou." Duplessis Mornay to the king, March 23, 1615, when announcing the destruction caused by the great freshet which had carried away the excellent bridges. Mémoires, ed. of 1652, iii., 742.

Marie de' Medici is recognized as regent.

that intriguing nobleman may possibly have been of participation in the plot for the assassination of Henry the Fourth, despite the strong conviction of many men well situated for arriving at a true decision; but certain it is that he could not have taken measures more steadily or more successfully, had he been prepared in every particular for this precise emergency. He assisted the queen-mother both by word and by deed. Marie de' Medici had been appointed by her husband temporary regent during his prospective absence at the seat of war. No better excuse could have offered itself for conferring upon her the regency during the minority of her son. True, the ancient custom of the kingdom gave that honorable and responsible distinction to the nearest prince of the blood, as the person most likely to feel a deep interest in the welfare of the realm, in preference to a princess always an alien by birth, and certain to be divided in her attachment to the land of her adoption, by reason of her more deeply seated affection for the land of her birth. But of the only four princes of the blood outside of the queen's children, not one was in a position to assert his rights. The Prince of Condé was in exile at Milan, having been forced to leave France that his beautiful wife might escape the mad passion which had disgraced the last months of Henry the Fourth. The Count of Soissons with his young son was indeed in France, but at too great a distance from Paris to return in season. The Prince of Conty alone was present in the capital; but whatever rights he possessed he was too timid or too negligent to assert.[1] A prince whose hearing was imperfect, who spoke with difficulty, whose health was every way infirm, and who was almost incapacitated for managing his own affairs, was not likely to display much anxiety to take upon himself the troublesome task of governing a nation.[2]

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[1] "Contius, princeps sanguinis, qui tum in aula erat, per metum aut negligentiam silet, jurique renuntiat si quod habuit." G. B. Gramond, Historiarum Galliæ ab excessu Henrici IV. libri xviii. (Amsterdam, 1653), 5.

[2] Ch. Bernard, Histoire du roy Louis XIII., i. 8, describes Conty well as one "qui avoit de si grandes incommoditez de l'ouïe, de la parole, et de la santé, que ne pouvant suffire à ses affaires propres, il ne pouvoit pas avoir le gouvernement d'autruy." Cardinal Richelieu, when mentioning Conty's death, which occurred four years later (August 13, 1614) sums up the poor prince's misfortunes in this fashion: "Il étoit si bègue qu'il étoit quasi muet, et n'avoit

The Parliament of Paris, having been compelled to lend its spacious hall for the great feast to be given in honor of the queen's solemn entry into the capital on the ensuing Sunday, was holding its sessions temporarily in the Convent of the Augustinian friars. It was now hastily summoned. The leading judges were easily induced to further the queen-mother's designs. In little more than two or three hours after Henry had breathed his last, the highest court of judicature in France issued a formal decree declaring that the entire administration of affairs had devolved upon his widow during the minority of the young king. On the very next day, Saturday, the fifteenth of May, 1610, Louis, attended by his mother, by Chancellor Sillery and by other officers of state, was received by the judges of parliament, all attired in their red gowns, and held his first *lit de justice*. In order that the arrangements made without consulting him by his mother and by parliament might have all the advantage of seeming to emanate from him, the boy-king was made to repeat a short sentence that had been taught him, wherein he authorized the chancellor to declare his will respecting the matters in hand. By the universal consent of the nobles and all others present, the queen-mother was confirmed in the powers which she had seized. Only one circumstance occurred to mar the complete satisfaction of the audience. The judges in drawing up the formula for the chancellor to read, had taken good care to insert a clause wherein the king declared that he had appointed his mother regent "in accordance with the parliament's decree given on the previous day." The wily chancellor when he came to read the paper aloud, as the duty of his office compelled him to do, is said to have "omitted purposely words which, being pronounced in so august a presence, would have seemed to be an official confirmation on the part of the king and the highest officers of the crown, of the parliament's right to take part in the selection of a regent." Sillery's excuse was a lame one, that the omission was due to a slip of memory; but parliament took good care that the objectionable words should appear in the official records of the transaction.[1]

Louis holds his first "lit de justice."

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pas plus de sens que de parole." Mémoires (Histoire de la Mère et du Fils), x. 350.

[1] Gramond, p. 7.

One Huguenot alone there was in Paris who might, it was thought, by his prompt and energetic interference, either have frustrated the queen's designs, or himself assumed so important a part as to secure a guarantee for the protection of his own interests and the interests of his fellow Protestants. The Duke of Sully, Superintendent of the Finances, and the leading statesman in Henry's council, held at his master's death the important post of governor of the Bastile. As such and as grand master of the artillery and superintendent of the fortifications, he would seem to have had the fortunes of the city and of the new king at his disposal. There were reasons, however, based upon his character and previous history that rendered it impossible for him to obtain a commanding position at the present juncture.

The Duke of Sully.

Maximilian of Béthune, Marquis of Rosny, whom the late king, four years before his death, created Duke of Sully with the rank of a peer of the realm, offers us a character as full of inconsistencies and contradictions as was the character of his royal master himself. Among the courtiers there was no one that surpassed him in pliancy or in inflexibility; for he resisted the monarch's determinations with as little compunction as he lent himself to the accomplishment of his majesty's whims. His occasional condescensions surprise us no less than his more frequent exhibitions of opposition to Henry's will. At one time he is the ready tool of the king in breaking up the marriage arrangements between Catharine of Bourbon and her cousin, the Count of Soissons; and in the accomplishment of his task, which requires that he shall obtain and destroy the written promises which the lovers had interchanged, he is compelled to stoop to actions as mean as they are dishonorable. At another time he braves the royal displeasure and incurs the undying hatred of mistresses supposed to be all-powerful with the licentious prince, by interposing to rescue Henry from the results of his own folly. He is determined that no one of the frail women with whom Henry has consorted shall sit as queen of France in place of Margaret of Valois. He braves Gabrielle d'Estrées to her face, and in the king's declared preference of his disinterested counsellor to his mistress, the latter reads the death-warrant of her cherished hopes.

Inconsistencies of his character.

When Henry has gone so far in his imprudence as to hand the Marquise of Verneuil a document conditionally pledging him to marry her should she bear him a son, Maximilian does not hesitate, when he gets possession of the paper, to tear it in pieces before his master's very eyes, and accompanies the act with severe and impolitic remonstrances on Henry's conduct. Only the confidence with which Sully has inspired the king in the sincerity and unswerving fidelity of his purpose, saves the minister from instant disgrace.

A luke-warm Protestant.

If the devotion of the duke to the prince whose fortunes he had so long followed serves as the single clew to the maze of his political acts, we shall be compelled to look elsewhere for the means of reconciling the contradictions of his personal life. He had almost in so many words expressed the opinion that the Huguenot king must abjure the faith in which he had been brought up, if he would make good his title to the throne of France. Yet Sully himself remained constant in his profession of the Protestant religion to the end of his days. His exposition of the arguments for and against the royal change to the Roman Catholic communion, as set forth by his own pen or by his secretaries, exhibits so little of conscientious conviction that the reader imagines that he can hear the cynical laugh that accompanied the spoken words and can detect the scarcely concealed scepticism of the speaker even as to the reality of any future state of rewards and punishments. Yet for himself Sully refused to listen to any inducements that might be offered to him by Henry, and preferred to die, as he had lived, a Protestant. It would be pleasant could we believe that there was some show at least of cordial attachment either to the doctrines, or to the forms of worship, of the church of his choice. But here again disappointment awaits us. A more careless or irreverent worshipper could scarcely have been found in the French Reformed Churches. The man who represents himself as having declined the offer of the sword of High Constable of France for himself, and of the hand of one of the king's daughters for his son—advantages that would have dazzled many another nobleman in France and many a prince beyond its borders—and this simply because he could not bring himself to increase in honors, or in goods, or in dignities at the expense of his conscience, at the same time declaring that should he ever have occasion to change his religion, he would do it in consequence of having been convinced, and not through ambition, avarice, or vanity [1]—this very man behaved in a manner betokening contempt rather than respect for the worship of God's house.[2] He almost always came late to the services held in his castle, and took the honorable place reserved for him after having made the congregation wait long for his appearance. He remained seated and with his hat upon his head even in prayer time, and, for the most part, was more engaged playing with a little dog which he held upon his knees, than in listening to the words of the service. Such conduct was not edifying, though it must be confessed, it was little worse than that of the Duke of Bouillon, who himself informs us that during his embassy to England, in 1612, he attended divine worship with James the First, in order to see the ceremonies of the established church, and spent the whole time that the sermon, and, perhaps, the services, lasted, in giving his majesty a history of everything that occurred in France pertaining to the Protestants from the assembly of Saumur down.[3] A gradual improvement of the manners of the Duke of Sully is said to have been noticeable in his last years, thanks to the faithful admonitions of a young minister. He is even stated to have submitted himself to the discipline of a regularly organized church instituted in his castle, and to have accepted the office of an elder and discharged its functions until his death. But the fruits of his tardy piety, whatever its character may have been, belong to his old age and to a period much later than that which is now under consideration.[4] Not only did the Protestants find great fault with Sully's lukewarmness in matters of religion, but they were scandalized by the fact that when writing to the pope, he addressed him as "Your Holiness;" quite as a Roman Catholic would have done.[1] When the duke was sent as ambassador to congratulate James the First on his accession, the king took the duke to task for this, and expressed his opinion that to designate the Roman pontiff thus, was an insult to Almighty God, in whom alone holiness resides. Sully defended himself by alleging the example of a number of princes who lay claim to crowns and kingdoms the possession of which is in other hands. In order not to offend them needlessly, said he, we do not hesitate to give them the title which they appropriate to themselves.[2]

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[1] Mémoires de Sully, c. 177.—One need not be so incredulous as Marbault, secretary of Duplessis Mornay, in his "Remarques sur les Mémoires des Sages et Royalles Œconomies d'Estat" *passim*, to entertain some suspicion that the duke is attributing to Henry greater promises than that prince ever made, or, if he made them, ever thought of fulfilling.

[2] Benoist, ubi infra.

[3] Autograph Journal of Bouillon now in the archives of the Duke of La Trémouille, quoted in Schickler, Églises du Refuge en Angleterre, i. 404.

[4] Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 536.

His great services to France.

But whatever may be thought of the depth of Sully's religious convictions, there can be no doubt of the immense service he had rendered to France in every one of the offices which it had been the king's pleasure to confer upon him. A country well nigh ruined by the slaughter of tens of thousands of its inhabitants, in the course of protracted civil wars, and by the destruction of scores of towns and villages, a country whose fertile fields lay fallow, whose trade languished, whose manufactures were prostrate, called for a man of large and liberal views to start it upon the slow and painful road to recovery. In the few years in which Sully was permitted to control its resources, he brought order out of confusion. The payment of the interest upon the enormous public debt was provided for. Husbandry received great marks of encouragement. The heavy burdens resting upon the *tiers état* were somewhat readjusted, so that they might more easily be borne. The rapacity of the nobles was checked by a fearless minister whose stern integrity was above reproach; by a minister who cared little whom he offended by rough words and by a remorseless exposure of all plots concocted to rob the treasury committed to his charge.

The avenues of commerce received due attention. Great roads were laid out, lined with rows of stately elms. A system of canals was projected, and partially undertaken, to unite the two seas and bring the remote interior of France into direct communication with tide-water. The capital was embellished with imposing structures and strengthened by formidable works of defence. New streets were opened. At least one bridge completed by Sully remains to our days bearing witness to the wise forethought and fruitful activity of Henry's great minister.[1]

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[1] Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 298.

[2] Mémoires de Sully, iii. 392.

His irresolution after Henry's murder.

But the knife that pierced the king's heart cut short the duke's beneficent career. The suddenness of the calamity that befell France deprived the prudent counsellor, for the time, of his accustomed self-possession. In this, Sully's experience was the experience of many another devoted friend of the crown. His first impulse was to hasten to the Louvre and take the young heir to the throne and the queen-mother under his protection. In fact he sallied forth from the Bastile at the head of a band of horse to carry the plan into execution. But midway on his ride, at the spot known as the Croix du Trahoir, he received tidings that changed his purpose. A party of courtiers whom he met and exhorted to stand faithfully by the queen and her son, retorted by informing him that it was they that were demanding the promise of loyalty from others. To the excited mind of the duke, fully aware that his political course, not less than the asperity of his manners, had made him a host of enemies, the words had an ominous sound. He fancied that his honors and dignities, possibly his life and the lives of his fellow Huguenots, were in danger from a conspiracy the extent of which it was impossible as yet to ascertain. A fear as irresistible as those panic terrors which sometimes seize great bodies of soldiers, took possession of the stout-hearted hero of many a battle. He rode precipitately back to the great fortress, as if fleeing before an enemy, and ordered the ponderous gates to be closed and barred, as if expecting an immediate siege. It is even said that he despatched companies of soldiers to seize and bring in the bread that they could lay hold of at the markets and in the bakers' shops, lest his beleaguered garrison might be starved out of their stronghold, and that he hastened to send a messenger to his son-in-law, young Henry of Rohan, then in Champagne, bidding him march toward Paris with the six thousand Swiss under his command.[1] Yet the duke's alarm, if baseless, was by no means unreasonable. Why might not the occurrences of thirty-eight years before be re-enacted? A Huguenot who remembered only too well his own narrow escape from butchery on the eventful St. Bartholomew's Day, might be pardoned for looking for a repetition of the horrors of that day. Whether welcomed or scouted, the idea of another such massacre suggested itself also doubtless to some Roman Catholics. Of this the grim pleasantry or scandalous outrage, whichever it may be styled, that was soon after reported from the district of Cotentin, is a sufficient proof. The Roman Catholic Baron of St. Poix met upon the highway four poor Huguenots returning from divine worship at Grousi, just after tidings came of the murderous act of Ravaillac. Upon the instant he stopped them with the rough greeting: "Die you must! The king is dead!" He ordered them to kneel upon the ground and to repeat their last prayer—*In manus tuas.* Three of the terrified peasants complied; the fourth stoutly refused and received a beating for his obstinacy.[2]

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[1] La France Protestante, in the article upon the Duke of Sully, ii. 484–6, has well sketched this great man's services to France. See the Mémoires de Sully (ed. of 1663), iv. 336, seq., and elsewhere.

Rough pleasantry of the baron of St. Poix.

It was not until the following day that the Duke of Sully, after being repeatedly pressed to come to the Louvre, perceived his mistake and ventured to make his obeisance to the young king. He was not ill received, but he had missed whatever opportunity he might otherwise have had to shape the course of events. Marshal d'Estrées asserts in his Mémoires that, in a studied speech, Sully tried to make it appear to the queen and her son that he had always dissuaded Henry from the war upon which he was about to enter at the time of his death, and that, in confirmation of the truth of the statement, the Huguenot appealed to Vendôme, the king's illegitimate son, who was present, and who, he pretended, had several times heard him express himself in opposition to the king's purpose. It is highly

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[1] Mémoires de Bassompierre (Edition of Michaud et Poujoulat), 72; Mémoires de Richelieu (Histoire de la Mère et du Fils), x. 182–4. It was Bassompierre himself that gave Sully the disquieting reply. Mémoires du Maréchal d'Estrées (Petitot ed.), 188.

[2] Duplessis Mornay to Villarnoul, June 3, 1610, Mémoires de D. M. (Edition of 1652), iii. 245.

Downfall of Sully.

improbable that Sully stooped to so mean and unprofitable a falsehood.[1] But however this may be, the question of the regency had been settled without consulting a single Huguenot, and it was not in the nature of the case that so well known a Huguenot, and a Huguenot withal so heartily detested as Sully, should be invited to retain permanently the position of influence which he had occupied under Henry the Fourth. His downfall, though delayed for a few months, could not be averted. True, the duke had been one of the most active promoters of the marriage to which Marie de' Medici owed her present eminence. But the queen-mother had long borne with impatience the haughtiness of his manners, and could now no longer brook his close economy. For Sully, as treasurer, did not conceal his disgust at the reckless expenditure of funds laboriously collected for the prosecution of the wars that were to have placed new laurels on the brow of his late master. Unhappily, if Marie de' Medici had made her own no other part of Henry's policy, she had at least learned the dangerous secret of purchasing with substantial equivalents the support of the doubtful or disloyal. Henry had been prodigal of money and dignities when he sought to secure the submission of a Mayenne or a Mercœur; the new regent was not less lavish in dispensing her rewards to the greedy nobles whose acquiescence was essential to her government.

The single instance of the Count of Soissons, a prince of the blood, may suffice for illustration. This nobleman left Paris in disgust some time before Henry's death, because the monarch insisted that the wife of Vendôme, his illegitimate son, should wear a gown sprinkled with fleurs de lis, a privilege to which only the princesses of the blood were entitled. On hearing of the king's assassination, Soissons hurried back, only to learn upon his arrival at Saint Cloud, that the regency had been conferred upon the queen-mother. His consequent discontent was great, but short-lived. He asked and received the following compensation for his wounded honor: a yearly pension of fifty thousand crowns, the governorship of the great province of Normandy, the reversion of the governorship of Dauphiny and of the office of grand-master for his son, a boy four or five years of age, and the payment of a debt of two hundred thousand crowns which he owed to the Duke of Savoy for the purchase of the duchy of Montcalier in Savoy.[1]

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[1] Marshal d'Estrées was confessedly an enemy of Sully. Henry had compelled D'Estrées's father to resign the office of grand master of artillery, that he might confer it on Sully. The son never forgot the injury, and, in his Mémoires, did not hesitate to show his gratification at having been able to contribute effectively to Sully's dismissal.

A spendthrift princess like Marie de' Medici had no use for so frugal a treasurer as Sully. His disgrace was inevitable.

The crisis came early in the ensuing year. The queen avoided the appearance of removing the duke from his offices as governor of the Bastile and superintendent of the finances, by pretending to accept the offer of his services which he had himself made. The surprise of Sully was not inferior to that which a Spanish grandee might experience should the traveller from other lands take in their most literal sense his lavish requests that his guest should consider his own the host's house and lands. He replied to the queen's message in a long letter setting forth in some detail the services he had rendered France and complaining of the treatment he received in return.[2] None the less, however, did he deem it advisable to yield to the polite request of the regent, lest the more humiliating fate might await him of summary removal. The Huguenots, for the most part, condemned his too ready acquiescence, taking the ground that the duke should not have yielded up advantages in which his fellow Protestants had some common interest, without consulting one of their political assemblies. Sully, in turn attempted to justify himself in their eyes, and posing, for the first time, as a sufferer for his faith, gravely submitted for their advice the question whether he ought to require at the hands of the government a compensation in money or in dignities, for the offices which had been taken from him. His appeal, to use the apt remark of Élie Benoist,[1] would have been very affecting had he been able to join to all the things to which he called attention, a single good turn that he had done to his religion and to the churches of France during the period when he had the power to serve them.

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[1] Mémoires de Richelieu (Histoire de la Mère et du Fils). x. 189–192, 208.

[2] The text of the letter is given in the Mercure françois, ii. 70–74. It must be confessed that Sully makes a neat plea for himself, even if he does not succeed in extricating himself from his awkward dilemma. "Que si vostre majesté m'accuse de lui avoir moi-mesme offert tout ce que je possedois, je le confesse: Je ne nie point que souvent je n'aye asseuré vostre majesté, que tout ce qui dependoit de moi, dependoit d'elle, et ma vie mesme. Mais certes, Madame, j' advoueray aussi qu'alors je ne pensois pas encore. que faire telles offres à son prince fust un crime suffisant pour estre despouillé de ses dignitez."

Loyalty of the governor of Saumur and the Huguenots.

Meantime the queen-mother found no reason to complain of the deportment of the Huguenots at this grave crisis. Duplessis Mornay lost no time in assuring her of the loyal intentions of his fellow-believers, and in making good his assurances, by exhorting all whom he could influence to a hearty submission to the new government. He wrote to the young king. He wrote to Marie de' Medici. He urged the deputy-general of the churches, M. de Villarnoul, his son-in-law, to impress upon the new regent, that the Protestants draw no subtle distinctions in the matter of loyalty. Of whatever religion these may be, the Huguenots hold their kings to be given of God, and believe the persons of their kings to be sacred.[2] He gathered the burgesses of the city committed to his charge, and urged Roman Catholics and Protestants alike to mutual forbearance and charity. "Our king," he said, "the greatest king that Christendom has produced in five hundred years, the survivor of so many hardships, dangers, sieges, battles, and attempts at assassination, has fallen at length by the knife of a wretch, who in an instant plunges this whole State in mourning and bathes all good Frenchmen in tears." He took an oath in the presence of the assembly, and called upon all his hearers to take an oath, to render faithful service to the young prince and his mother. Then he exclaimed: "Let not the words *Huguenot* and *Papist* be spoken among us. These words are forbidden by our edicts. Would also that the animosities connected with them were extinguished in our hearts! Were there not an edict in the world, if we are Frenchmen, if we love our country, our families, ourselves, those animosities should henceforth be effaced from our souls. We need now but one badge. Whoever proves himself a good Frenchman shall be my fellow-citizen, shall be my brother. I conjure you all then to embrace, to have but one heart and one soul. We are small and our city may be of little consideration ; but let us be ambitious of this praise, that despite the wickedness of the age, we set our neighbors a good example of loyalty to our kings, of love to our country, indeed of care for our own welfare."[1]

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[1] Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 28.

[2] "Ceux de la religion ne subtilisent point en l'obeïsance de leurs roys," etc. Mémoire des poincts que M. de Villarnoul doit toucher à la Royne, in Mém. de Duplessis Mornay (Ed. of 1652), iii. 252.

Louis confirms the Edict of Nantes (May 22, 1610).

Nor did the new government delay its recognition of the rights guaranteed to the Protestants and its profession of a sincere purpose to maintain inviolate every pledge given by Henry the Fourth. One of the first documents to which the child-king was made to affix his signature, was a solemn Declaration ratifying and confirming the Edict of Nantes. The document is the more worthy of attention, that it stands at the head of a long series of papers wherein Louis the Thirteenth and his son freely and unreservedly applaud and re-enact the great law of Henry the Fourth. The Declaration of the twenty-second of May, 1610, began by narrating the experience of former kings, who had discovered at their cost that the fury and violence of arms, so far from serving the purpose of bringing back their Protestant subjects to the pale of the Roman Catholic Church, had rather proved detrimental to that purpose. It affirmed that the observance of the Edict of Nantes, published by Henry the Fourth, had introduced an assured peace between all his subjects, a peace which had continued without interruption until the present time. Wherefore—"although that Edict is perpetual and irrevocable, and consequently has no need of being confirmed by a new Declaration," yet to the end that his subjects should be fully persuaded of the royal intention to require the strict observance of a law issued for the welfare and quiet of all his subjects, "as well Catholics as of the said pretended Reformed religion," his majesty declared it his good pleasure to order that the Edict of Nantes, in all its points and articles, together with the other articles granted to the Protestants, and the regulations and decrees given respecting the interpretation or execution of the Edict, and in consequence thereof, be inviolably maintained; and that all persons contravening its provisions be severely punished, as disturbers of the public peace. The monarch's guardians could not have made him give more unequivocal testimony to the propriety and utility of the great law of his father, to its perpetual and irrevocable character, or to the sincerity of his intention to retain it in full force.[1]

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[1] Propos tenus par M. du Plessis en l'assemblée de la ville de Saumur, le 19 may, 1610, Ibid., ii. 227-229.

The regent abandons the policy of Henry the Fourth.

But if the queen was profuse of words of assurance which she put in the mouth of her son, she was less prodigal of acts that might have had some substantial value. With Henry the Fourth's death, his noble policy, his large plans, his very sympathies had also died. The court of the Italian princess found itself with a war upon its hands, but with no heart to prosecute that war. Success in such a campaign as that upon which Henry was entering when stricken by Ravaillac's blade would be worse than defeat; since success must strengthen the power of the Protestants and weaken the power of the Roman Catholics of Germany. Did not Father Gonthier boldly declare from the pulpit that the captains who recruited troops for the war against Cleves were acting in defiance of conscience, and that all the shots that might be fired would lodge in the heart of our Lord himself? Did not two Jesuits visit Marshal La Chastre, when on the point of leaving Paris to take command of the army, and warn him that he was doomed to eternal fires, if he ventured to go?[2] This is no place to narrate in detail the disgraceful story of the tergiversation of the French court, of hypocritical asseverations on the part of the queen that she intended to carry out her husband's designs, of lying professions made to the representatives of the allies of the late king by Chancellor Sillery and Secretary Villeroy, which deceived neither the diplomatists themselves nor the outside world.[3] From French, the court of Marie de' Medici had become all Spanish. The military preparations which were kept up for a time came to little, and were not intended to accomplish any more. The army in Dauphiny, under command of Lesdiguières, was disbanded. It would never do for a Huguenot to lead the soldiers of the Very Christian king over the Alps and into Italy. Another Huguenot, the Duke of Bouillon, deemed himself entitled to conduct the German campaign, and was actually at Sedan ready to enter upon his duties. His claim was ignored, and the honor was conferred upon Marshal la Chastre, an old general of the League, who, if inferior to the duke in military ability, was at least orthodox in the faith, and more in sympathy with the new government.[1] Marshal la Chastre did, indeed, reach the siege of Juliers, with his eight thousand foot soldiers and six or seven hundred horse,[2] in time to see the city surrender to Prince Maurice of Orange; but his coming was unwelcome and effected nothing that would not have came about without his intervention. And this was the end of all the great Henry's magnificent schemes. His late enemies were now the dearest friends of his widow. The Duke of Épernon, whom he both distrusted and hated, had become all powerful. And Épernon so contrived as that the trial of Ravaillac should disclose no trace of the mind that had planned, the hand that had arranged the details of the foul plot against France's best king. The Spanish ambassador and the papal nuncio were no longer strangers to the counsels of the Louvre, but the most intimate of the friends of the house. Henry had died with his heart full of schemes whereby he hoped to humble the Spanish crown, author or promoter of all the wars that had kept him busy before and since his accession to the throne. His widow had scarcely donned the habiliments intended to betoken grief, before she was casting in her mind how best to bring about, not a single marriage, but two marriages between Henry's children and the grandchildren of his worst enemy, Philip the Second. The Duke of Feria, commissioned to condole with her upon her recent loss,

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[1] Text of the Declaration of May 22, 1610, in Benoist, ii., Preuves 3–5.

[2] Remonstrance à messieurs de la court sur l'assassinat du roy, Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay, xi. 84, 85. This entire paper is a startling impeachment of the Jesuits at the bar of public opinion.

[3] See the admirable account of the sequel to the death of Henry IV. by Motley, Life and Death of John of Barneveld, i. 227, seq.

The court all Spanish.

The projected Spanish marriages.

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[1] Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, x. 218, 219; Mémoires du Maréchal d' Estrées, 192, 193.

[2] M. de Seaux to Duplessis Mornay, June 20, 1610, Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay, xi. 101.

was the first to broach the subject of the union of Louis to the Infanta, Anne of Austria, and of the Prince of the Asturias to Henry's eldest daughter, and the queen readily entertained the project.[1] "From the very beginning of her regency," says her confidant, Cardinal Richelieu, "she had ardently desired" the Spanish marriages.[2] To the daughter of a simple grand duke of Tuscany, the prospect of seeing her son upon the throne of France, while the boy's sister should be espoused to the heir of the most powerful empire of Christendom, promised the realization of fancies once apparently transcending the range of possibility.

The Huguenots saw in the altered state of affairs the need of an opportunity to meet together for consultation. They requested permission to hold a political assembly, and it was granted by the queen-regent, with the less reluctance that the time for the renewal of the appointment of the Protestant deputies-general had about arrived. The date of the convocation was fixed for the twenty-fifth of May, 1611, and the place was to be the town of Châtellerault, in the province of Poitou. Meanwhile the indications became daily clearer that Duplessis Mornay had not erred when he expressed the desire that the Huguenot assembly should rather be delayed than hastened.

The Huguenots and the great nobles.

The Protestant movement in France had long seemed to lose more than it gained by the alliance of the great nobles. While the churches were of one mind regarding their interests, and differed little in respect to the course to be pursued in seeking to obtain their demands, the mutual jealousy of the members of the powerful families that had espoused the Protestant cause was a fruitful source of disquiet and consequent weakness. Sully, Bouillon, and Lesdiguières, each aspiring to a controlling influence in the Huguenot party, distrusted or hated one another, with a passion which none of them was willing to bury out of consideration for the common weal. The antagonism of Bouillon and Sully, in particular, was violent and unconcealed. Within a few months they had seemed to exchange places, and each

Antagonism of the Dukes of Bouillon and Sully.

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[1] Mémoires du Maréchal d' Estrées, 201.

[2] "Que dès le commencement de sa régence elle avoit désirés ardemment." Mémoires de Richelieu (Petitot ed.), x. 276.

had adopted the mission of the other. Bouillon, disgusted that the command of the army sent to Juliers had been intrusted to Marshal la Chastre instead of to him, at first assumed an attitude of hostility to the new government, and endeavored to make himself formidable by gaining the support of his fellow-religionists. He is said to have busied himself sending his agents at intervals throughout the provinces, to induce the churches to incorporate in the petitions which they were to forward to the coming assembly extreme and even unreasonable demands. He is said furthermore to have insisted that the deputies remain together until the demands should be granted; a course which would result either in a renewal of war, or in concessions wrung from the impotence of the court. After a few months, however, he was restored to favor at Paris, and he would gladly have recalled his advice; but it was too late. Meanwhile the downfall of Sully had occurred, and Bouillon saw nothing more likely to further his private interest than an assumption of the part which his rival had laid aside.[1]

In the first instance Bouillon obtained a signal advantage. As Châtellerault was situated within the bounds of a province of which the Duke of Sully was governor, and where Sully's counsels would be likely to predominate, Bouillon had no difficulty in inducing the queen to change the seat of the Huguenot assembly to a place outside of Poitou, and to fix upon Saumur as the substitute. He was less successful in his next attempt. He had given the court to understand that such was his influence with the Huguenots that he would easily be elected to preside over the assembly. But this was an exaggerated estimate of his support. Great was his astonishment, when the votes were counted, to find that, of the sixteen provinces into which Protestant France was divided, only six had declared themselves in his favor; the remaining ten provinces had unhesitatingly and without the knowledge or solicitation of that gentleman, given their support to Duplessis Mornay, from whose calm judgment and tried integrity a reconciliation of existing disputes was confidently expected.[2]

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[1] Mémoires de Richelieu, x. 247, 248.

[2] Cardinal Richelieu's statement (Mémoires, x. 249, 250), "qu'au lieu de le porter [sc. Bouillon] à la présidence, on savoit avec certitude qu'il [Duplessis

Bouillon consents to be a tool of the court.

And, indeed, all the prudence of Duplessis Mornay was needed so to direct the course of the Huguenot assembly as that it should not run upon the rocks that lay about on every side. Of the difficulties besetting the deputies at Saumur the most formidable arose from the fact, which was at that time suspected, but is now positively known, that the Duke of Bouillon had been virtually bought by the queen to urge the measures agreeable to her. A month before this—in April—Bouillon had returned to Paris from Sedan, and the Marquis of Cœuvres, better known to us as the Marshal d'Estrées, was used by Marie de' Medici to sound his disposition. The agent readily convinced himself that his own task would be an easy one. The duke at once professed a strong desire to gratify the queen, and to do everything in his power for the public weal, so far as his honor and conscience would permit. It soon became evident that this proviso would not be likely to embarrass the duke much in his dealings with his fellow-Protestants. Bouillon was willing to receive instructions. He had been invited to the assembly, but was not a deputy. He would go to Saumur or remain at court, just as the queen might direct him to do. So docile a servant of her majesty's could naturally be better spared from Paris than from Saumur, and Bouillon was encouraged to go on his way. This he did the more cheerfully that the Marquis of Cœuvres had flattered him with the prospect of receiving the governorship of Poitou, should Sully be forced to give up that lucrative office, and that, finding that Bouillon caught at the bait, Marshal Ancre subsequently brought him the queen's express promise that he should receive the coveted prize. Moreover, he went well supplied with money "to gratify those whom he might be able to gain over."[1] The results of his mission, we are told, fully corre-

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Mornay] étoit résolu de la briguer pour soi : ce qui parut le lendemain, en ce que de cent soixante suffrages qu'il y avoit, il n'y eut pas dix pour lui," is a gratuitous slander, disproved not only by the well-known character of the man, but by positive evidence.

[1] We have the account of this intrigue from the pen of the man who took the leading part in bribing the Duke of Bouillon. One scarcely knows which most to admire, the cool cynicism with which the Marquis of Cœuvres narrates his successful mission of corruption, or the simplicity with which Bouillon offers to obey the behests of the queen. See Mémoires du Maréchal d'Estrées, 223, 224.

sponded with the promises which the duke had given. His prudence, his skill, his firmness enabled him to do a signal service to the State. Such at least did the queen and the ministers and their unscrupulous agent esteem his achievement. Accordingly, when, a few months later, Bouillon returned from Saumur at the conclusion of the sessions of the Protestant assembly, he was received at court with the marks of distinction ordinarily reserved for a general on his return from a successful campaign. The high chancellor, the veteran secretary of state Villeroy, and President Jeannin waited upon him, in a body, to do him honor and to testify the lasting obligations under which he had laid the monarch and all France. This was in itself an extraordinary display of favor. It was followed very shortly by a gift of a more substantial character; Marie de' Medici was pleased to bestow upon the great Huguenot nobleman the stately mansion henceforth known as the Hôtel de Bouillon, in the Faubourg Saint Germain.[1]

His ample recompense.

But it is time that, leaving the former companion of Henry of Navarre, who had now so far forgotten the dictates of honor as to betray for pecuniary considerations the cause which he pretended to support, we should return to the assembly of Saumur, which, against such odds, was attempting to secure to the Huguenots the undisturbed enjoyment of the rights conceded to them by the Edict of Nantes.

The political assembly of Saumur (May 25, 1611).

The failure of the marshal to obtain the presidency was not the only evidence that the deputies were determined to pursue a resolute course. The election of Duplessis Mornay to the first place at the disposal of the assembly was followed by the choice of Daniel Chamier, the intrepid pastor of Montélimart, as adjunct moderator, and of Desbordes Mercier, as secretary or scribe. These were men whom no money could purchase—men of the incorruptible sort that were the despair of the royal court, and whom consequently Cardinal Richelieu delights in characterizing as two of the most seditious men in France, depicting the former as a leader of his fellow Huguenots, so far as he was able, to extreme resolutions, and the latter as a preacher of fire and blood.[1] The rest of the assembly was fairly representative of the body of the people in whose name it sat. There were thirty noblemen or gentlemen, twenty ministers, sixteen members of the *tiers état*, and four delegates from the city of La Rochelle. These seventy persons sat for the fifteen Protestant provinces proper, while Béarn, which claimed to rank as a sixteenth province, on an equality with those comprised within the limits of the ancient kingdom of France before the union of Navarre under a single crown, had also sent a minister and a lay delegate.[2] Four great noblemen, Marshal Lesdiguières and the dukes of La Trémouille, Bouillon, and Sully, who, although deputed by no province, had been invited to be present by special letters addressed to them, brought up the total number of members to seventy-six persons.[3] The two deputies-general, chosen by the Protestants in 1607 and confirmed by Henry the Fourth in the following year, were in attendance. It was one of the principal objects of the meeting to select their successors. The sessions of the assembly were held in the spacious *hôtel de ville* of Saumur, which had been carefully prepared for its reception, in a manner comporting with the august character of the body. All eyes throughout the kingdom were directed in expectation to Saumur. "The holding of this assembly," wrote a contemporary, "gave matter for talk in all the towns of France, for never had such an one been seen, or one in which there sat so many dukes and great lords of that religion, and that too during the minority of a king." [4]

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[1] Mémoires du Maréchal d'Estrées, 239. "Ce qui parut fort considérable," is D'Estrées's comment upon the congratulatory visit of the three leading members of the royal council. Pontchartrain, also, in his diary under date of November, 1611, has something to say of the gracious reception given by Marie de' Medici, "pour les bons services qu'il avoit rendus dans l'assemblée de Saumur." Mémoires (Petitot ed.), i. 465.

With the Protestants the election of the persons who were to serve as their deputies-general at the court of Louis the Thirteenth and his mother during the ensuing few years was rather the occasion than the reason of seeking the present convocation. There were grievances to be remedied; above all there was another effort to be made to secure the point which had been the goal of all their exertions during the past ten or twelve years. The Edict of Nantes as originally agreed upon by the royal commission and signed by Henry in the month of May, 1598, was as perfect a law as could be hoped for under existing conditions; but the Edict of Nantes as modified and registered by the Parliament of Paris in February, 1599, was by no means so satisfactory an instrument. It was, for instance, a very different tribunal which Henry the Fourth at first intended to establish in the capital, for the adjudication of those cases in which the Protestants were concerned, from that which he was persuaded by his Roman Catholic advisers to substitute for it. It is true that even in the "Chamber of the Edict" of Paris according to its original constitution, the Protestant judges numbered but six out of sixteen, and were barely enough to protect the interests of their fellow-religionists in matters so evidently just that they could count upon the support of two or three votes of the fairest among their Roman Catholic colleagues. But it was quite another thing when, as in the registered edict, only a single one of the newly appointed judges of the Reformed faith was admitted to the Chamber especially charged with the affairs in which members of the less numerous religious communion were concerned, while the other five judges were distributed, one in each of the "chambres des enquêtes" of the Parliament of Paris.[1] Six Protestants in a court of sixteen judges might have offered some effective resistance to unrighteous and oppressive conduct on the part of the majority; a single Protestant among so many Roman Catholics was practically powerless.

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[1] Mémoires de Richelieu (Histoire de la Mère et du Fils), x. 250.

[2] One of the first decisions of the assembly, adopted even before the election of its officers, was to admit Béarn to take part in its deliberations, on the ground that that district had, ever since the days of Jeanne d'Albret, been united with the churches of France "in doctrine, in discipline, and in sufferings for the same faith." Anquez, Histoire des Assemblées politiques, 231.

[3] Charles Read, Daniel Chamier (Paris, 1858), 315; Mercure françois, ii. 165.

[4] Mercure françois, ii. 166.

Protestant grievances.

Demand for the Edict as originally granted.

But beside the restoration of the Edict of Nantes to its earliest terms, there were other things upon which the minds of the Huguenots were ardently set. Many hardships needed to be removed. New measures were required to secure the enforcement of the edict's provisions where these were now rendered nugatory through the carelessness, or active hostility, of the officers of the law; and the privileges enjoyed by some more highly favored provinces must, if possible, be definitely extended to other portions of the kingdom. Among other things, the door ought to be closed so far as possible to undue influence from without, upon the choice of the men that were to represent the churches at court. The king must be induced to permit the Protestants to hold their political assemblies regularly every two years, and to accept the two deputies-general whom they should elect; instead of insisting upon the submission of six names of the candidates from among whom he might select the two most easily approached through the avenues of flattery, cupidity, or ambition.

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[1] Compare the 30th article of the edict in its original form in Anquez, Histoire des Assemblées politiques, 466, with the same article in its modified form in Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, xx., xxi.

The royal envoys.

Scarcely had the assembly set itself at work upon the memorial which was to embrace and set forth in due form the separate grievances contained in the particular memorials handed in by the provincial assemblies, before the envoys of the royal court made their appearance. They were two in number, and both were members of the council of state. Jean de Tumery, Seigneur de Boissize, was a Roman Catholic. Claude de Bullion was a Protestant, of that facile character which found many representatives at this period, a Protestant with whom the interests of the nobleman whose service he happened for the time to be following, decidedly outweighed all considerations of religious duty, or even of personal integrity. Boissize and Bullion brought a letter from the queen-regent and her son, and assurances that their Majesties were ready to hear and to grant the just requests of the Huguenots. First of all, however, they called upon the members of the assembly to make choice of the six candidates for the office of deputy-general.[1] But among the hopes held forth was certainly no encouragement to expect that any radical change would be conceded in the organic law under which the Huguenots were living. "There is no other edict," said the royal commissioners, "than the one that was registered

They discourage the chief Huguenot demand.

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[1] Mercure françois, ii. 178.

by parliament, the edict under which all the king's subjects have lived in peace since the year 1598. The changes made in it at the time of the registration were of little moment and were adopted after long and mature deliberation, and with the consent of the chief men of your religion."[1] A little later they added: "It would not be seemly for the queen, who acts only as a guardian and trustee of the kingdom, to make any alteration in the edict during the king's minority."[2] And when they had received in their hands the assembly's memorial, the commissioners continued to urge the Protestants to make their nomination and promptly break up a meeting which, they asserted, "gave great umbrage to many both within and without the realm."[3]

D'Aubigné's indignation at Bouillon's propositions.

There was indeed no lack of men, in the bosom of the assembly itself, who were ready to advocate unconditional submission to the will of the court. Among these, as might be expected, the Duke of Bouillon distinguished himself. He went so far as to recommend his fellow-Protestants to give up every safeguard which they still had for the maintenance of their rights. In an address described by one who was present as "very moving," he declared that he would have the Huguenots, of their own free will, renounce possession of all their hostage towns, and place themselves wholly at the discretion of the queen and of her council. He concluded his speech by exalting to the skies the glory which the Protestants would earn by thus voluntarily exposing themselves to suffer martyrdom. Among the hearers was Agrippa d'Aubigné, one of the duke's old comrades in arms under the standard of Henry of Navarre. He listened to Bouillon's proposition with as much indignation as he had felt, a quarter of a century before, when the same speaker, at that time simple Viscount of Turenne, in a Huguenot council of war, pusillanimously advocated a course of patient endurance of insult and oppression.[4] If

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[1] Mercure françois, ii. 180.

[2] Ib., ii. 181. "Qu'il ne seroit pas à propos à la Royne (qui n'estoit que comme tutrice et administratice du Royaume) de changer aucune chose au dit Edict durant la minorité du Roy."

[3] Ib., ii. 182.

[4] The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre, i. 333, etc. The conference at Guitres took place in 1585.

Agrippa's words on the former occasion were eloquent and convincing, his retort on the present occasion was even more trenchant. He exhibited to the Huguenot assembly the absurdity of the duke's positions, and closed with these words: "Yes, sir, the glory of martyrdom cannot be extolled with too much praise. Blessed beyond measure is he that endures suffering for Christ! It is characteristic of a good and true Christian to expose himself to martyrdom for Christ's sake. But to expose one's brethren to martyrdom, and to make the path to it easy for them, is characteristic of a traitor or a hangman." [1]

Unable to obtain from the two royal deputies an answer to the memorial which it had drawn up, the assembly, early in the summer (on the twenty-third of June), elected five of its members to carry this important document, together with three or four papers of less moment, to Paris, and to urge upon the government to grant a favorable reply. Meanwhile, during their absence, extending over a space of five or six weeks, the assembly matured a scheme for a more complete organization of the Protestant party, and gave it definite form, in the famous ordinance signed on the twenty-ninth of August, 1611.[2] If the Huguenots were still to maintain themselves as a distinct body, surrounding themselves with those safeguards which experience had led them to seek in the many desperate struggles through which they had to pass with a vigilant enemy, if the public faith pledged in royal edicts and declarations and sanctioned by solemn registrations by courts of parliament was yet an insufficient reliance as against popular malice fostered by a clergy which still scouted the very suggestion of permanent religious liberty for dissenters from the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church, and which did not disguise its estimate of the Edict of Nantes, as possibly a convenient temporary ex-

More complete organization of the Huguenots.

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[1] Mémoires d'Agrippa d'Aubigné (Edition Panthéon littéraire), 510.—D' Aubigné claims to have prevented Bouillon from obtaining the presidency of the assembly of Saumur, and to have opposed loudly several proposals which the duke made with the view of engratiating himself with the court. Thus a friendship of thirty years' standing between the two soldiers came to an end.

[2] Réglement général, dressé en l'Assemblée générale des Églises Réformées de France tenue à Saumur, en l'an mil six cens onze par permission du Roy. Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii., pièces justificatives, 5–9.

pedient for the king of a country distracted by a diversity of religion to enact, but in reality "an edict the most accursed that can be imagined, whereby liberty of conscience is granted to everyone, which is the worst thing in the world"[1]—if, in short, the Huguenots must still look to their own stout arms to protect their liberties and, indeed, their lives, then the new solicitude which the assembly of Saumur displayed to perfect their organization, in view of the new perils of another minority under another Italian queen of the same Medici family as regent of the kingdom, cannot be regarded as singular or misplaced.

The provisions of the scheme so nearly resembled the provisions of the plans adopted by the Huguenots in the course of the preceding reign, that it is unnecessary to describe the assemblies, general and provincial, and the provincial councils, bodies to which, in conjunction with the deputies resident at the court, the duty was entrusted of watching over the interests of the churches. The only novel feature that dates from the Assembly of Saumur is the institution of still another form of deliberative body, in what soon came to be popularly known as "the assemblies of the circle." Whenever any province found itself menaced by dangers or difficulties too great for its unaided powers to contend with, it was henceforth authorized to call upon the neighboring provinces, to the number of not less than three, to send deputies from their councils to a designated place, for mature and decisive action. Whether the "cercle" derived its name from the circles into which the German Empire was divided, or not, may be uncertain. There is no doubt, however, that the innovation was regarded by the opponents of the Huguenots as fraught with mischief to the state, and a capital device for enabling a seditious party to find pretexts at will to throw the kingdom into confusion.[2]

Establishment of the "cercles."

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[1] The opinion of Pope Clement the Eighth, expressed to Cardinal d'Ossat, in the audience of March 27, 1599, is reported by the latter to Henry IV., in a dispatch dated the next day. Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat, ii. 44. See the Huguenots and Henry of Navarre, ii. 431, 432.

[2] See Richelieu, Mémoires, x. 252, Benoist, ii. 58–60, 109 ; Anquez, Hist. des Assemblées politiques, 247–250.

Meanwhile the Huguenot delegates sent to the royal court were well received, but accomplished nothing. Admitted one evening to a pompous audience at the Louvre, where, besides the queen-mother, there were assembled the princes of the blood and the great officers of state, her majesty very graciously informed them that their petitions had been answered, and that in a favorable manner. To this the five Huguenots replied by thanking her very humbly. Next, the chancellor made them an address, insisting much upon the obedience of subjects to their prince. He dwelt long on the queen-mother's kindness to men of both religions, and especially her grace in answering the Huguenot documents. What the particular replies were, he did not state. It would take too long. Suffice it to say, the Huguenots should have their places of security for five years more, with the support of the garrisons. They should have an increase of the allowance for the maintenance of their pastors. Other points in their demands were as well provided for. It was therefore high time that the Saumur assembly should attend to the chief matter for which it convened—that it nominate its six candidates for the office of deputy-general—and break up. At every turn the same words met them; the poor delegates wrote home that they knew not what to do.[1] Finally they returned to Saumur. There the royal commissioners, faithful to their instructions, imitated the stubbornness displayed at the Louvre. They had in their possession the Huguenot demands with the answers written over against each article; but they positively refused to give them up until the nomination had been made. In vain did Duplessis Mornay and others insist that the knowledge of the court's answers was indispensably necessary to enable the assembly to give proper instructions to the new deputies. All they could elicit from the Protestant royal commissioner Bullion, was a declaration that he was willing to risk his soul's salvation on the truth of his words, when he assured his fellow-believers that they would be satisfied with the queen's conces-

The Protestant delegates at Paris.

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[1] See their own curious account—Lettre de Mess. de la Caze, de Courtamer, Ferrier, de Mirande et Armet, à M. Duplessis Mornay, Paris, July 24, 1611, Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay, xi. 254–7.

sions. Still Duplessis Mornay and the majority of the assembly remained unmoved in their determination. Even the solicitation of Lesdiguières, who wrote from Vizille in support of the court's policy, had no effect.[1]

Then it was that the commissioners fell back upon a measure the credit for the invention of which seems to be due to the fertile but treacherous brain of the Duke of Bouillon. To such advantage had this unprincipled nobleman exerted himself that there had been gained over, not indeed a majority of the assembly, but somewhat over a score of members.[2] Some had been imposed upon by the asseverations of the commissioners, others had been overpersuaded, others still, unless they were greatly maligned, had been brought over by direct bribes.[3]

The queen-mother threatens to recognize the minority of the assembly.

Knowing that they could depend upon a sufficiently large number of persons to bear a semblance of respectability, the royal commissioners now produced a letter from the queen-mother of a somewhat startling character. The assembly was commanded for the last time to make instant choice of its candidates. In case of disobedience, not only did Her Majesty revoke the permission granted to hold the gathering and declare all its proceedings null and void, but she empowered the obedient minority to assume the functions of the entire body, to elect the six persons from whom she would select the deputies-general, and to receive in turn the answers which she had been pleased to make to the Huguenot petition.[4]

The blow had been well struck to carry confusion into the

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[1] Lesdiguières to Duplessis Mornay, Vizille, August 28, 1611, Mémoires de D. M., xi. 280.

[2] Richelieu reckons the number of those upon whom the queen-mother could count at exactly *twenty-three*, and mentions by name Châtillon, Parabère, Brissac, Villemade, Guitry and Destrehères. Mémoires, x. 262. Henry of Rohan speaks of twenty-five, Mémoires, 102.

[3] Mirande, La Caze, and Ferrier, the preacher of Nismes, soon to become famous for the commotion which he occasioned, are specially mentioned as having been bought with money. Anquez, Assemblées politiques, 251.

[4] Lettre de la royne presentée à l'assemblée générale des églises reformées de France, tenant à Saulmur, par M. de Bullion, conseiller au conseil d'estat, le 3 septembre, 1611. The letter is dated Paris, August 27. Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay, xi. 281–287.

Huguenot ranks and to render incurable the dissensions already developed among the adherents of the same cause. Its worst effects, however, were averted by the promptness and sagacity of Duplessis Mornay. Taking advantage of his position as moderator of the assembly, no sooner had the queen's letter been read, than he disappointed the expectations of those who looked that the missive should prove a signal for the outbreak of disorder, by at once declaring that the assembly would comply with the royal command. Afraid lest his efforts should after all prove vain and the affair take a peaceful turn, the surprised royal commissioner again rose to his feet, to make a useless plea for submission. Two or three of the minority, in their zeal to create a disturbance, also claimed the floor, frantically calling attention to the fact that they were of the number of the loyal servants of the crown whom the letter designated. But Duplessis Mornay never lost his self-possession, and his dignified words brought over to his side all the sensible men hitherto opposed to him. These called upon the noisy partisans of division to sit down and be quiet. The presiding officer, then sure of his ground, proceeded to submit the matter to the vote of the assembly, not, he said, that he had any doubt respecting the opinions of those present, but in order that all the due forms should be observed. His declaration received the endorsement of the unanimous approval of the assembly.[1]

By his tact Duplessis Mornay parries the blow of the court.

Two days later (on the fifth of September) the assembly selected six candidates, from whom the court at once made choice of two, Rouvray and La Milletière, the one to represent the nobles and the other the third estate, as deputies-general to reside at Paris in the interests of the Huguenots of the kingdom.

Choice of the deputies-general, Rouvray and La Milletière.

And then the royal commissioners condescended to hand to the assembly the long-promised answers to its petition. It was no pleasant surprise that awaited the Huguenots. The satisfaction which Bullion had so vociferously pledged his soul's salvation that the Protestants would find in the court's gracious concessions, had van-

Unsatisfactory answers to the Huguenot petition.

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[1] Benoist, ii. 48-50.

ished into thin air. On not a single important point, however reasonable, was justice done. For the most part, the court fell back upon the impossibility of making any alteration in the Edict of Nantes *as registered.* It would know no other edict, but promised to see that the provisions of this registered edict should be duly executed. Where grievances were alleged by the Huguenot petition, the reply dealt in vague assurances that such provision would be made as that the petitioners would be contented. If some concession was granted, pains were taken to limit it as narrowly as possible, or connect with it some humiliating condition. The Huguenots had asked that, in interpreting the thirty-eighth of the "particular" articles of the edict, they be allowed to hold "little" schools, to teach their children reading, writing, and the first rudiments of grammar, in all the cities and towns of the kingdom. In reply, they received permission to have schools of this description in those cities alone where Protestant services were permitted in the *faubourgs*, or quarters outside the walls; but the schools must each have but a single master, who could give instruction in nothing beyond reading and writing, and must abstain from dogmatizing—that is, from imparting any religious views—as well as from receiving more than ten or twelve pupils, none of whom must be strangers. Here and in other articles the petty restrictions were sufficiently annoying; but the ground upon which they were manifestly based was still more vexatious. The Huguenots, in the view of Marie de' Medici and her advisers, were members of a dangerous and hateful party, men whom it might not be safe to provoke too far, but whom it was advisable never to regard otherwise than with suspicion. That, as men and as Christians, they were fit objects for the receipt of generous or charitable treatment, seemed never to enter into the narrow minds of those who drew up the reply, article by article, to the Saumur petition. The Protestants had long chafed under the legal enactments which not only sanctioned the application to their creed by others of the designation of "the pretended, or so-called, Reformed Religion," but actually made it obligatory that they should themselves employ the offensive words in all public documents. By the eighth article of their petition they asked to

"The *pretended* Reformed Religion."

be relieved of this humiliating necessity. The reply was: "The king cannot grant the petitioners permission to assume any other title than that which has been given them in the edicts." It was so throughout. The Huguenots, save in the matter of continued possession of their places of security (for five years more, however, instead of ten years, as they had asked), received little or no satisfaction. Their political assemblies were not to be held every two years, as they petitioned, but at the monarch's good pleasure. Their two deputies-general must still be chosen by the king from among six candidates submitted to him by the assemblies, and it was evidently intended that they should remain in office just so long as their deportment continued to be pleasing to the court. As for the articles which the Huguenots had appended to their requests, in behalf of the Protestant churches of Béarn, the court curtly refused to entertain them at all, on the ground that the king had never sanctioned the union between those churches and the churches of France.[1]

Disappointment of the Saumur Assembly.

When the royal answer was read, the majority, which had from the first been suspicious of the court's intentions, and was therefore somewhat prepared for its unsatisfactory contents, was more moderate in expression than was the minority which had reposed confidence in the commissioner's asseverations. At that moment a more sensitive man than Bullion would have desired to be anywhere else rather than at Saumur, and within hearing of the maledictions of those whom he had duped. La Caze, in whose pockets the money he had taken burned, ran to Bullion's lodgings to load him with reproaches on his duplicity. Another of his victims told him to his face: "I shall never again put any confidence in your word, whatever oath you may choose to take; inasmuch as you several times gave yourself to the devil, and declared that you consented to be damned, if all that you asserted to be contained in the replies to the petition were not really there."[2] The more temperate majority consented to a prompt adjournment, but declined to assume the responsibility of accepting the reply of the court in the name of their constituents; that function belonged, they said, to the provinces which had deputed them, and to which they would refer the further consideration of the matter.

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[1] The petition of the Saumur assembly, with the replies written on the margin of each successive article, is given in Benoist, ii., pièces just.. 9–25; the text of the petition alone by the Mercure françois, ii. 185–198, and Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay, xi. 231–246.

[2] Anquez, Histoire des Assemblées politiques, 244.

Its adjournment, September 12, 1611.

Thus closed, on the twelfth of September, 1611, the political assembly of Saumur, which may with truth be regarded as marking the entrance upon a disastrous period of division and commotion which was to produce an essential change in the relations of the Huguenots to the State.[1] On the one hand, the assembly had developed, and in some degree given definite form to the policy which the government was to pursue in its treatment of the Huguenots. The profuse employment of money had been tried by Marie de' Medici in the civil administration, and, if the treasure laid up by Henry the Fourth, with the intelligent co-operation of the Duke of Sully, had begun to diminish rapidly and promised soon to disappear altogether, the Italian princess at least felt herself secure for the time in the possession of the regency. The first attempt to apply a similar policy to the solution of the problem of controlling the Protestants, so far proved a success as to raise the question whether this was not the best and shortest method. If it was true, as was commonly reported,[2] that four hundred thousand livres had been expended in sowing discord in the Protestant assembly, and with such effect as to disconcert the prudent plans of Duplessis Mornay and the most devoted adherents of the Huguenot cause, it was certain that the same methods would continue to be pursued, and the Huguenots might count upon bribery, in one form or another, as among the most effective instruments likely to be used against them.

Profuse employment of money.

On the other hand, the incidents of the summer had revealed to the court as well as to the Huguenots themselves the diversity of sentiment and of tendency existing in the ranks of the party. Well nigh a century had passed since the first dawn of the French Reformation, and it would seem that the glow of zeal and the thirst for martyrdom that characterized the period of persecution in the time of Henry the Second, no longer affected so large a part, proportionately, of the Protestant community. There were, indeed, many men and women who would cheerfully have faced gallows and estrapade for their religion's sake. But there were many with whom prudential motives had such weight as to render them averse to contention, and more likely to see the course of duty in submission to constituted authority, than in stalwart support of principle. To this result the insidious growth of exaggerated ideas respecting the royal prerogative and respecting the claim of the king upon the unquestioning obedience of his subjects, had already begun to contribute. True, the day was yet distant when the devotion to the monarch as "the living image of the invisible God," was to become a species of worship which it was hard to distinguish in some of its outward manifestations from the tribute of adoration rendered to Deity. But already there were not a few who, in the conflict of motives, where the claims of loyalty were balanced against the claims of the ecclesiastical organization — the "cause," as it was known by pre-eminence—were quite inclined to decide in favor of the former. With such persons theoretical views were frequently reinforced by prudential considerations, and the tradesman or merchant whose gains depended upon the maintenance of peace, was loath to approve those virile resolutions that might need to be supported by armies, and to be put to the test of battle and siege. Thus it was that there coexisted in the Protestant communion a number of distinct types of character, some of which the experience of the court in dealing with the political assembly of Saumur had brought distinctly to the light. One of the many pamphleteers of the time, a partisan of Marie de' Medici, divided the Huguenots into three classes: the *Malicious*, the *Zealous*, and the *Judicious*. The Malicious consisted, according to him, of those with whom ambition, or the desire to make themselves of some importance in the party, was the prevailing motive. The Zealous embraced all that insisted upon obtaining not only the Edict of Nantes in its original form, but

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[1] "Voilà le commencement de nos maux et divisions," says Henry of Rohan. Mémoires du duc de Rohan, i. 104.

[2] See Anquez, Histoire des Assemblées politiques, 251.

Protestantism and exaggerated ideas of royal prerogative.

Types of character in the ranks of the Protestants.

the full demands of the assembly of Saumur. With them distrust was the mother of safety. To be a Huguenot and to be distrustful were as much synonymous expressions, as to be a monk and to have one's head shaven. Only the Judicious were willing to abide by the terms of the royal edict as verified by the parliaments. In their estimation civil war was worse than all the ills that could arise in a tolerable peace.[1] Thus much for a classification of the Huguenots from the Roman Catholic point of view. On the other side, it was insisted that a truer division would make the Huguenots fall into three very different categories: the high nobles whose sole purpose it was to make use of the rest of the Protestants for their own purposes; the men of right intentions who knew that nothing good could be expected from a Council governed by the Jesuits, and who consequently sought all lawful safeguards against perfidious and implacable enemies; and, last of all, the timid, who were either weak and indifferent by nature, or enervated by the artifices of the court. The first class and the last were the cause of all the mischief; the one class taking advantage of the zeal of the men of good intentions simply to obtain consideration for themselves at the royal court; while the other class forsook their brethren just so soon as the court offered them some semblance of quiet and repose.[2]

The provincial assemblies send new delegates to Paris.

All the cajolery of the court, however, had not succeeded in quieting the Protestants. The dispersion of the members of the political assembly with unsatisfactory answers to the demands which the provinces had made through them, only had the effect of transferring the scene of discontent from Saumur to more distant parts of the kingdom. The members upon their return to their homes carried with them copies of the document returned from Paris, and laid these copies before provincial assemblies of their fellow Huguenots. No permission had been sought to hold these assemblies, and no permission had been granted by the government. The Huguenots assumed, in the very nature of the case, their right to gather for the purpose of hearing the report brought back by their deputies respecting the important questions committed to them. Everywhere the Huguenots of the provinces betrayed quite as much displeasure at the court's shuffling and double-dealing as their representatives at Saumur had exhibited. Soon deputies from eight of the most important provinces reached Paris, sent to urge with renewed vigor the just claims of the king's Protestant subjects.[1] But on the plea that the assemblies that had sent them were unauthorized, the court refused to listen to the remonstrances and complaints. The deputies were ordered to depart from the capital, in terms not only severe but insulting.[2] As if this were not enough, a few weeks later there was issued in the king's name a declaration by which a *pardon* was extended to such Huguenots as had attended the unlawful assemblies, and the prosecuting officers of the crown were forbidden to institute any criminal proceedings against them. Meanwhile all similar meetings were strictly prohibited for the future. The only bodies that would be tolerated were expressly named—the consistories, colloquies, and synods, provincial and national—and the statement was accompanied with the stipulation that, in these ecclesiastical gatherings, the discussion be confined to matters of doctrine and church discipline, on pain of the loss of the privilege of holding even these, in case of disobedience.[3] Now, in-

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[1] See the analysis of the contemporary letter and some quotations from it in the Mercure françois, ii. 208, etc., and 598.

[2] Benoist, ii. 33.

They are roughly treated and dismissed.

The king offers an amnesty (April 24, 1612).

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[1] The chief articles they insisted upon, as we learn from a letter of Duplessis Mornay to Diodaty, January 6, 1612, were seven in number: that the Protestants be relieved of the necessity of applying to their own faith the designation of *religion prétendue réformée;* that they be allowed schools in all the towns where they might teach their children to pray, to read, and to write, and instruct them in the elements of grammar; that the children of Protestant fathers dying intestate be brought up in the Protestant faith; that nearer places of worship be substituted for places remote and inconvenient; that Protestant ministers obtain the immunities enjoyed by Roman Catholic priests; that equitable judges be granted to them; and that such places of security as they had lost through the apostasy of the governors be restored. Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay, xi. 377–9 (Ed. of 1652, iii. 342–4).

[2] Dumaurier describes the reply as "une assés aigre response" (letter from Paris, February 11, 1612), and Duplessis Mornay justly says: "On les a de la sorte flestris et criminalisés par le brevet de congé" (letter of February 20, 1612). Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay, xi. 389, 400.

[3] Déclaration du roy, sur les assemblées d'aucuns de ses sujets de la religion

asmuch as the Huguenots were not conscious of having committed any crime, and had asked for no forgiveness, the royal declaration was both a surprise and an annoyance. Men saw at once that the court's purpose in the document lay solely in the concluding portion. The imaginary fault of the Protestants was used only as a pretext for stripping them of a right which was essential to the expression of the sense of grievance. How else than by coming together could the Protestants consult one another, or arrive at any common understanding?

Which the Huguenots indignantly reject as an insult.

The Huguenots did not submit tamely to this insult. Not to speak of private remonstrances, the deputies-general at Paris made formal opposition to the registration of the obnoxious document by the chief parliament of the kingdom, protesting that the Reformed churches had never expressed or even felt a desire for such a pardon as was there granted. A fortnight later, the twentieth National Synod, in session at Privas, in Vivarais, drew up a solemn act repudiating the pretended favor extended to the Protestants. "None of us," said the synod, "are guilty of the imaginary crimes laid to our charge. We are ready to answer, collectively and as individuals, for our past actions. Any form of torture will be easier for us to endure than a mark of infamy that will render us contemptible and odious in the eyes of posterity, and deprive us of the honor we have ever enjoyed of being good Frenchmen." "Furthermore," said the synod, "we declare that we shall not avail ourselves in any wise of the letters of amnesty and pardon, and, should any persons have consented, or should any in future consent, to accept them, we repudiate their action."[1]

To these protests, as well as the petitions which the provincial delegates, at their departure from Paris, had left in the hands of the deputies-general for presentation to the king, the court made a pretence of replying, but the concessions were delusive and well-nigh valueless. A second royal Declaration, of the eleventh of July, 1612,[2] did, indeed, pretend to remove

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prétendue réformée. . . donnée à Paris le 24 jour d'avril, 1612. Benoist, ii. pièces justif., 25–27, Aymon, Tous les Synodes, i. 405–7.

[1] Aymon, i. 407–9.

[2] Text in Benoist, ii., pièces justificatives, 27, 28.

the stigma affixed to the Huguenots by the Declaration of April, and publish the king's full satisfaction with the conduct of his Protestant subjects in general. But, inasmuch as the new document excepted a certain number, to whom the monarch renewedly extended his forgiveness, assuring them that no blame or stain should attach to them in case that for the future they remained within the bounds of duty and of submission to law, and, inasmuch as the strict prohibition of provincial gatherings was not withdrawn, it could not be said that the situation was essentially improved. The case stood somewhat better as regarded the Huguenot petition; yet at the chief points about which the petitioners were concerned, their requests were skilfully parried.[1] Above all, the court could not be brought frankly to relieve the Protestants of the indignity of being required always to style themselves members of the "*pretended*" reformed religion. The royal ministers, indeed, professed their willingness to sanction a certain neglect on the part of the Protestants to employ the detested adjective; but they would by no means consent to give any written document to which appeal might subsequently be made. The shrewd device offered by President Jeannin as a solution of the whole difficulty was to intimate to the king's attorneys in the several "Chambers of the Edict" and "chambres mi-parties," that they should hereafter pretend not to notice the illegal designation which the Huguenots ministers and others might make use of in official documents, and tolerate it.[2]

The unsatisfactory declaration of July 11, 1612.

President Jeannin's suggestion.

Thus it was that a manifest spirit of suspicion reigned in the minds of the queen-mother and her counsellors, which was but too well calculated to maintain and augment the distrust engendered in the Huguenots by years of ill usage. To the liberal counsels which, upon the whole, prevailed under Henry, there had succeeded a tricky policy, affecting by preference indirect methods, a policy characteristic of men who were better satisfied with themselves when they had overreached an opponent than when they had con-

Mutual distrust of the court and the Protestants.

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[1] See Benoist, ii. 94, 95.

[2] Pres. Jeannin to Duplessis Mornay, April 6, 1613, Mémoires, xii. 149.

ciliated his friendship or won his respect. With such men to confront, it were in vain for Duplessis Mornay to urge that, after all, kindliness was possibly the surest road to success. It was in vain that he reminded the crafty president that, according to an ancient fable, the fierce blasts of the north wind, instead of tearing off the traveller's cloak, only led him to wrap it more tightly about him, while it was the sun that, by its heat, quickly compelled him to throw the garment aside.[1] The Huguenots were distrustful. They had good reason for distrust. The murder of the king who gave them the Edict of Nantes was not an event calculated to induce them to exercise less vigilance in future than they had exercised in the past; and, since the death of Henry the Fourth, the violations of the provisions of the edict, provoked by the clergy and abetted by the officers of justice, had been too frequent to be overlooked. The plainest rights of Protestants under the law were set at defiance. In two instances within the space of six weeks, Protestants upon their death-beds had been disturbed by the importunate visits of priests, under the very eyes of the first parliament of the realm, and with the connivance of the inferior magistrates. In one of these cases, the vicar of Saint Sulpice forced his way into the chamber of a dying man and compelled his wife to leave the room, in order that the priest might interrogate him privately respecting his inclination to profess the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church and to receive the last sacraments. The sick man persisting in his Protestant faith and desiring to be left alone, the vicar departed, only to be succeeded by the curate of the same parish church. He came with a following of sixty or eighty persons. When admission was refused him, he threatened to break down the door. The *bailli* of the Faubourg Saint Germain, a judicial officer, now appeared upon the scene. Demanding an entrance in the king's name, he brought this second ecclesiastic to the bedside of the Protestant. The latter, when again pressed to change his religion, summoned all his remaining strength and raising himself to a sitting posture, bade the

The priests of Saint Sulpice and the dying Protestant.

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[1] Duplessis Mornay to President Jeannin, October 19, 1612, Mémoires, xi. 472.

intruders to be gone, then exhausted by the effort fell back and instantly expired. "At once," writes our informant, "the *bailli* compelled the poor woman to bury her husband, who had but just drawn his last breath."[1] When such crimes occurred, and, for the most part, remained unpunished, it would have been idle to expect the Huguenots to be unmoved.

A seditious placard at Rouen.

The precautionary measures to which the Huguenots were driven, reacted upon the Roman Catholic populace. The acts of the political assembly of Saumur, published far and wide throughout France, fanned the flame of hatred and suspicion. At Rouen, one morning in September, a placard was found posted in the streets, which ran thus: "Poor Catholics! Have a care of yourselves and beware of the Huguenots, who will soon make you feel the effects of the resolution taken at Saumur. Therefore, visit their houses and disarm them! Let a good watch be kept ready, and at the soonest! We are sleeping, and the Huguenot is awake!"[2]

Calumny against Mornay.

Calumny was rife and did not spare the most illustrious of the Huguenots. It was currently reported that Duplessis Mornay, the most loyal of men, had openly expressed the sentiment: "Now that the king is a minor, we must declare the majority of our churches."[3] To the Dutch envoy, who gave him the information that scarcely anything else than his arrogant speech was heard from the lips of the courtiers, the Huguenot patriot gave as a sufficient answer to this fabrication the record of a life thoroughly known to the world, within and without, and thirty years of service of the late king, during which he had won much praise and incurred no reproach. "At all events," he added, "I have learned to commit myself to God in well-doing. And if I do not know the art of living in the world so well as some others do, by way of compensation I have studied how to die well."[1]

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[1] An unknown correspondent of Duplessis Mornay, writing from Paris, July 25, 1612, *Mémoires*, xi. 448-449. The incident occurred the previous Monday.

[2] The words of the placard are preserved for us in the secret registers of the Parliament of Rouen, under date of September 27, 1611. Floquet, Histoire du parlement de Normandie, iv. 385.

[3] "On n'oit que la maxime qui se dict proferée par vous, que le roy est mineur, qu'il fault faire les Eglises majeurs." D'Aersens to Duplessis Mornay, Paris, March 3, 1612, in Mémoires de D. M., xi., 405.—Cardinal Richelieu repeats the story in his Mémoires, x. 251; but why he should style Duplessis a "ministre," I cannot surmise.

He publishes his "Mystery of Iniquity."

Meanwhile, however, the governor of Saumur drew upon him other hatred than that provoked by his loyalty to the Huguenot cause. Scarcely less a theologian than a statesman, he had again entered the lists against the papal system, by the publication of a profound and scholarly work to which he gave the significant title of "The Mystery of Iniquity."[2] It purported to be a history of the papacy, and it undertook to exhibit the successive steps by which the popes arose to their present height, together with the opposition which they encountered from time to time at the hands of good men. It included a defence of the rights of Christian emperors, kings, and princes against the assertions of Cardinals Bellarmin and Baronius. The author, so far from hiding his identity behind a pseudonym, gave to the public his name with a full list of his dignities and appointments. The book could not be dismissed by its opponents with affected scorn, as the production of some unknown scribbler. It was written by "Philippe de Mornay, Chevalier, Seigneur du Plessis Marly, Councillor of the Very Christian King in his Council of State and in his Privy Council, captain of fifty men at arms of his Ordinances, Governor of the city and sénéchaussée of Saumur, and Superintendent of his House and Crown of Navarre." That nothing might be wanting to make its publicity complete, the Latin edition was dedicated to King James the First of England, and the French edition to King Louis the Thirteenth of France. The former monarch was pleased to accept the gift graciously, and to thank God for having put it into the author's heart to compose so necessary a book and one so useful to the true Church of Christ, exhibiting the successive steps of the usurpation by Antichrist.[3] Not so with the advisers of the young king of France, and the ecclesiastical authorities at Paris and at Rome. The theological faculty of the University of Paris deemed the work sufficiently important to make it the object of special censure.[1] The pope complained loudly that the most direct attack upon his prerogative that had issued from the press in many a year, appeared under the name of a privy councillor of France. More than all the arguments and historical statements in the body of the work, the two illustrations with which the original edition was provided, rankled in the breasts of the Roman Catholics. For the one represented symbolically the approaching downfall of the papal See, under the guise of a proud and stately fabric, a species of tower of Babel, resting upon perishable wooden supports to which the flame that was to consume them had already been applied; while the other reproduced the portrait of Paul the Fifth, together with the most blasphemous of certain inscriptions recently placed on a triumphal arch erected in Italy in honor of the new pontiff, and seemed to prove satisfactorily that the servility of Paul's worshippers had unwittingly affixed to him the exact number of the Beast of the Apocalypse.[2]

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[1] "Et si je ne scais pas si bien l'art de vivre au monde que quelques aultres, en recompense j'ai estudié à bien mourir." Duplessis Mornay to D'Aersens, March 10, 1612, Mémoires, xi. 410.

[2] We learn from the Mercure françois, ii. 212, that the book appeared near the end of the month of July, 1611.

[3] See the letter of James I., October 7, 1611, in Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay, xi. 309–311. As to the very natural exhortation of Duplessis Mornay, under the circumstances, "henceforth to leave the pen and go sword in hand to

That the "Mystery of Iniquity" called forth angry retorts from the other side, need surprise us as little as that one Ray-

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dislodge Antichrist from his fortress," the pedantic king chose to understand the Huguenot's words in the most literal sense, and, while applauding his zeal, begged him to consider that no warrant could be found, either in Holy Scripture or in the teachings and example of the primitive church, for an offensive war waged for religion's sake against any king or potentate, ecclesiastical or secular.

[1] The decree of the Sorbonne may be read in the Mercure françois. ii. 214–16.

[2] Rev. xiii. 18. The inscription from which the mystic number 666 was made out was "PAULO V. VICE-DEO;" the method was, of course, the addition of the equivalents of such letters occurring in these words as have a numerical value in Latin, viz.: V, L, V, V, I, C, D.—It must not be forgotten, however, that the mystic number was found by the curious in many other names besides that of Paul V. For example, Florimond de Raemond satisfied himself that it was contained in the name of Martin Luther both in Hebrew and in Latin, while the designations of the *Lutheran* sect and of the *Saxon* origin of the reformer contained it in the Greek language. It will, however, scandalize no one familiar with the latitude of spelling which discoverers of anagrams are wont to claim for themselves, to learn that the Protestant heresiarch must figure as *Martin Lauther* in order to furnish satisfactory results. See Historia de Ortu, Progressu, et Ruina Haereseon hujus Saeculi (Coloniae, 1614), 37.

mond du Bray found, or thought that he had found, the mystic number of the Apocalypse not once, but five times, in the name and titles of Duplessis Mornay himself.[1] It was an age that revelled in polemic discussion, certainly not altogether profitless, since, at least, it qualified not only the minister of the gospel, but all intelligent laymen, to understand and to set forth the tenets of their own communion with a clearness and accuracy which it would be difficult to equal in our own more peaceable, but possibly less well informed age. It may not be easy to state precisely what the translations of the "Mystery of Iniquity" made into the other languages of modern Europe effected, but we risk nothing in affirming that the reading of the work in French confirmed many a Huguenot in the doctrines in which he had been brought up. That the Protestant churches esteemed the work of controversy to be, especially in this aspect, not unworthy of notice, appears from the fact that a considerable gratuity was voted by the National Synod of Privas to the authors of two treatises,[2] bearing upon the same theme as that treated by Duplessis Mornay.

The National Synod of Privas, May 23 to July 4, 1612.

The ecclesiastical body to which I have just referred, was the twentieth of the series held since the organization of the Protestant churches of France, and the first that convened since the death of Henry the Fourth. In the firmness of its attitude and the decision of its utterances, it was not inferior to any of its predecessors. As an ecclesiastical court, the synod's functions were more strictly of a spiritual character, and centred in the consideration of the best methods to secure the soundness of the faith of the churches and the proper administration of canonical discipline. But, between the purely spiritual concerns of the churches and their distinctively political relations, there was a debatable ground into which the national synods were frequently tempted to enter; or, to speak more exactly, even the undeniably secular affairs of the religious communion touched at so many points, and frequently were so entwined with considerations of morality and religious duty, that the ministers and elders who sat in the highest judicature could not refuse to consider them. This was pre-eminently the case on the present occasion. I have already referred to the obligation under which the national synod of Privas found itself, of uttering a distinct and forcible protest against the so-called "Letters of Amnesty," by means of which the Protestants were to be entrapped into a constructive admission of guilt. More important than its action in this matter, were the efforts which the Synod put forth to defeat the machinations of the enemy to sow discord in the Protestant ranks.

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[1] Mercure françois, ii. 216–222. I have been as unsuccessful as Mr. Smedley (History of the Reformed Religion in France, iii. 108) in the attempt to verify the accuracy of Du Bray's arithmetic.

[2] They bore the significant titles of "Théâtre d'Antechrist," and "Chasse de la Bête Romaine." Aymon, Tous les Synodes, i. 436. Besides this, the synod granted a large sum for the times (two thousand livres) to Daniel Chamier, to help to defray the expense of bringing out the first three volumes of his notable work, *Panstratiæ catholicæ, sive controversiarum de religione adversus pontificios corpus* —a vast treasure-house of arguments against Roman Catholicism, which has, perhaps, never been surpassed by the collections of any subsequent writer, whether in the thoroughness and acuteness of the author's treatment, or in the erudition which he summons to his support. See Aymon, i. 404; Charles Read, Daniel Chamier (Paris, 1858), 325; Haag, La France protestante (2de éd.), iii. 1035, etc.

The Protestant union.

An act of union was again adopted by all the deputies, who themselves promised to have it adopted in all the churches of the provinces which they represented. It was a solemn oath, wherein every man promised his associates that he would maintain the confession of faith and the ecclesiastical discipline of the Reformed Churches of the kingdom, recognizing these as conformable to the word of God, "Whose dominion remaining in its entirety," said they, "we protest and swear to render all obedience and fidelity to their majesties—our sovereign king and the queen-regent his mother—desiring nothing else than to serve our God in liberty of conscience, under the favor of their edicts."[1]

The "committee of reconciliation."

As such promises, however, were likely to prove of little avail in healing the dissensions of which the Assembly of Saumur had rather revealed the existence than been the occasion, the synod took in hand the difficult task of reconciling the great nobles of the Huguenot party. It appointed three of its members to labor for this end, in conjunction with the two deputies-general. It ordered the preparation of letters to be addressed to Marshals

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[1] Aymon, i. 398, 399.

Bouillon and Lesdiguières, to the Dukes of Rohan and Sully, and to Soubise, La Force, and Duplessis Mornay, as well as to Châtillon and Parabère, conjuring them to lay aside all mutual distrust and discontent, however just they might believe these to be. It conjured the noblemen again to manifest their former affection and zeal for the common cause, both by living in amity themselves and by promoting concord among others.[1] Nor did the synod shrink from the punishment of those who, in the late political assembly, had betrayed the Protestant interests, and played into the hands of the court. Among these persons Jérémie Ferrier was most prominent, and his singular case gained wide notoriety.

Jérémie Ferrier.

A man of considerable intellectual ability, a ready speaker, a pulpit orator who easily moved his hearers to tears, but ambitious, self-willed, and impatient of control, Ferrier, in the early years of his ministry, had signalized himself by violent and indiscreet attacks upon the Church of Rome. He did not hesitate to denounce the pope as Antichrist, and this in so aggressive a manner that words, which from the mouth of another might have passed unnoticed, when uttered by him, called forth from the Parliament of Toulouse an order of arrest. The Protestants took his part, and the National Assembly of Gap not only testified its approbation by electing him assistant moderator, but, endorsing the view which he advanced, ordered the article on Antichrist to be inserted as the thirty-first article of the Confession of Faith.[2] This was in 1603, under the reign of Henry the Fourth. It was hardly to be expected that at the end of eight years more, during the course of which he more than once filled important positions of trust, Ferrier would prove unfaithful to the Huguenot party. The fatal deputation from Saumur to Paris led to his downfall.[3] He returned to the Assembly ready to support all the measures of the court, even to the acceptance of the queen's proposition to invest the minority with all the powers of the majority of the body. To the charge of corruption were added other accusations of offences against the discipline of the

His weakness or treachery at the Saumur Assembly.

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[1] Acte d'Union et de Paix, Aymon, i. 421–3.

[2] Aymon, i. 258.

[3] See above, pp. 47, 48.

church, as well as of the misappropriation of funds confided to his keeping. The censure based upon these faults Ferrier treated with contempt, and claiming the reward of his services rendered at Saumur, obtained from the government an appointment as a member of the royal "presidial" court of Nismes. Failing to prevent Ferrier's reception, or to induce him to resume the ministerial duties which he had so unceremoniously relinquished, the provincial synod of Lower Languedoc passed a sentence of deposition and excommunication against him. By its orders the sentence was read from the pulpit on the fourteenth of July, 1613. The text of this singular paper has come down to us. Selecting from the New Testament every passage that refers to the exclusion of unfaithful members of the Christian communion, and discharging the accumulated mass of denunciation upon the devoted head of the recreant pastor, the author of the document displays a severity which at the present day few reasonable men could be found to excuse, none, it is to be hoped, to approve, or imitate. The "scandalous, incorrigible, indisciplinable" Ferrier, is cast out of the company of the faithful, and given over to Satan; he is cut off from the communion of saints; he is declared to be no longer worthy to be esteemed a member of Jesus Christ, but he must be regarded as a pagan and a publican, a profane person and a despiser of God. The faithful are exhorted to have no intercourse with this child of Belial, but to keep aloof from him, if so be that this judgment and separation to the destruction of the flesh may save his soul, and lead him to a dread of that great and fearful day in which the Lord shall come with the hosts of His saints, to execute judgment, and to convince the ungodly of their ungodly deeds. The formula concludes with these words: "Cursed is he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully. If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maranatha, Amen. Come, Lord Jesus, Come. Amen."[1]

The excommunication of Ferrier.

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[1] Aymon, Tous les Synodes, i. 463, 464.—I am not surprised at the indignation expressed by Mr. Buckle (History of Civilization, i. 403), but this author's well-known prejudice against the ministers of the Protestant Churches no less than against the priests of the Church of Rome, leads him to exalt into a martyr for independence of thought a man who, I fear, had few claims upon our re-

The very day after the publication of the sentence of excommunication from the pulpit, Ferrier went to take his place in the royal court of Nismes. This was the signal for a popular demonstration against him, as disgraceful to the Protestant town as the ecclesiastical denunciation had been discreditable to the religious tribunal from which it emanated. On his way to the court-room, indeed, the obnoxious judge, protected by an escort of a few archers of the provost, passed through the streets unmolested. Not so on his return. First, a band of boys and youths greeted him with insulting epithets. Their number was quickly increased, as grown men flocked to the spot, and from cries of "Traitor!" and "Judas!" the mob came to hurling stones.[1] Ferrier was so fortunate as to escape with his life; but, while he lay hidden in a safe retreat, the mad crowd visited his house, plundered his goods, burned his furniture, and broke the windows. The excitement speedily expended itself and order was restored; but the government, greatly offended at the insult offered to the royal authority, instructed the "chamber of the edict" to make diligent search for the guilty, and punished the city by transferring the seneschal and the presidial court from Nismes to Beaucaire.[2]

The riot at Nismes.

With this incident the figure of Ferrier passes out of Huguenot history. Not indeed that Ferrier at once renounced the Protestant faith. He was too prudent to take this step until

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spect. If we are to believe Tallemant des Réaux (Historiettes, edit. of Monmerqué and Paulin, iii. 481), Ferrier was the most avaricious of men. His parsimony reached meanness. "A man of such a disposition," he remarks, "was easy to corrupt; accordingly when, after the death of Henry IV., the resolution was adopted to see whether some of the ministers could be gained over, this man anticipated those who came to offer pensions from the court."

[1] "Mais à la sortie pensant retourner à sa maison, il trouva les adversaires avec la populace, qui s'entredisoient en le monstrant de la main, *Vege lou, vege lou, lou traistre Judas:* puis commencèrnt à luy jetter des pierres et courges." Mercure françois, iii. 112.

[2] See the royal "letters of translation," Paris, August 3, 1613, ibid., iii. 113–116. The Parliament of Toulouse in registering the document, September 9, took exception to the use of the words "Court of Parliament" in designating the Chamber of the Edict at Castres. "Sans approbation toutesfois du mot de *Cour de Parlement* en ce qui regarde la Chambre de l'Édict." Ibid., iii. 116. The letters had spoken of a commission of investigation addressed to "Nôtre Cour de Parlement et Chambre de l'Édict séante à Castres."

he had made sure of greater advantages.[1] It is not surprising, however, that when once he had abjured his old religion, he embraced an early opportunity to undo whatever he may have been able to effect by means of his celebrated theses, and, in a stately quarto, he undertook to prove, "as against the enemies of the Catholic Church," that the Roman Pontiff bore none of the marks of Antichrist.[2]

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[1] "Là [à Paris] il ne se fit pas catholique tout d'abord; il fit bien des cérémonies avant que d'en venir là, et ne fit point abjuration qu'il ne fust asseuré d'une grosse pension que le Cardinal du Perron luy fit donner par le Clergé." Tallemant des Réaux, ubi supra. The Bulletin of the French Protestant Historical Society (iv. 475) prints from the MSS. of the National Library a receipt given November 16, 1621, by "Hiéremye Ferrier, ministre converty en la religion catholique," for the goodly sum of six thousand livres, the pension for the year accorded to him by the king.

[2] Haag, La France protestante, vi. 487 et seq.

CHAPTER II

CIVIL COMMOTION, THE STATES GENERAL OF 1614, AND THE POLITICAL ASSEMBLY OF GRENOBLE AND NISMES

Before the ferment to which reference was made in the last chapter had time to subside—while the Roman Catholics of the kingdom were still excited by vague alarms of Protestant designs upon the public peace, foreshadowed by the more perfect organization effected by the Assembly of Saumur, and while the Protestants themselves were hot with indignation at the trick whereby an unsolicited pardon was thrust upon them, in order that they might be held up to the world as guilty of crimes which they had never committed—an incident occurred in the southwest that nearly precipated the outbreak of war.

Henry, Duke of Rohan.

Among the younger Huguenots of high rank, there were none that enjoyed a wider influence, or gave promise of a more brilliant career, than the two sons of the late René of Frontenay, Viscount of Rohan, hero of the siege of Lusignan and of many other important passages at arms in the preceding century.[1] It is with the elder, known in history as Henry, Duke of Rohan, that we have at present to do; and the importance of the part which he was destined to play in Huguenot affairs renders it proper that a few words should be said respecting his character and his aims. Of the younger, Benjamin, Baron of Soubize, a worthy and able coadjutor in all his brother's enterprises, it will be more fitting to speak in connection with his own exploits.

Henry of Rohan was born in the castle of Blain, in Brittany, on the twenty-first of August, 1579, and was therefore now in the thirty-third year of his age. Not only was his family powerful in his native province, but it ranked among the most ancient families in Europe. Members of the House of Rohan had for ages intermarried with the reigning princes of the continent. A viscount of Rohan wedded a queen of Navarre in the fourteenth century. In the early part of the sixteenth (1535), another viscount, René by name, became the husband of Isabeau or Elizabeth of Navarre, sister of that Henry of Albret, titular king of Navarre, whose wife, Margaret of Angoulême, was the first important protector of the French Reformation. The present Duke of Rohan was therefore closely connected by blood both with the late king and with the reigning monarch of France. Henry the Fourth was his second-cousin, and Louis the Thirteenth was but one degree further removed.

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[1] See The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre, i. 45, 379.

To the advantage of high rank, the duke added the possession of large estates, situated especially in Brittany, where, among other landed property, he held a district not far from Brest, which gave him the title of Prince of Léon.[1] From his mother, the heroic Catharine de Parthenay, daughter and sole heiress of Jean l'Archevesque, Seigneur de Soubise, a leader in the first religious war under Charles the Ninth, the House of Rohan received a great accession of wealth; it was confirmed in devotion to the Protestant cause by the example of her signal piety and self-sacrifice. She still lived, and was destined for nearly a score of years to constitute, in her own sphere, one of the chief bulwarks of the reformed faith in France.

His character.

To a good address and engaging manners, Henry of Rohan joined intellectual and moral endowments of a high order. He was quick and energetic, persevering and indefatigable in the execution of his plans. His judgments were promptly made, and steadfastly maintained. He was bold and intrepid, with a complete mastery of himself and able to control others by the force of his own earnestness and honest convictions. For a nobleman of the period, he was well versed in letters, displaying special fondness for those branches of learning that bore directly upon his chosen pursuit, the profession of arms. Cæsar and Plutarch were his favorite authors. The one gave him the model after which he fashioned his own commentaries on the wars in which he subsequently engaged; the other supplied his imagination with incentives to vie with the renowned of antiquity in valor and self-devotion. If he has left to posterity writings in the form of historical memoirs claiming a distinguished place in the rich collections of original authorities, both because of their accuracy and because of the clearness, conciseness, and vigor of the style; he was in his own time a master of eloquence in public discourse, and was able to sway his hearers, bringing them to accept the views he advocated, however unpopular those views had previously been and however strong the prejudice against them previously entertained. Thus it was that, by his fervid and persuasive oratory, he made himself the idol of the people, even when the worldly wisdom of the more conservative middle classes, averse to war from motives of prudence rather than of conscience, remained deaf to his appeals.[1]

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[1] Léon, variously styled a barony and a principality, occupied a portion of the northwestern part of the modern department of Finisterre. Its capital, Landerneau, on the river Elhorn, is still a trading place of some little importance.

After a few years spent in travel, according to the manner of the young men of the best families of the period,[2] Rohan, who, even before leaving France, had made trial of arms before Amiens, when only eighteen years of age, entered the service of his king with all the ardor of a young soldier thirsting for military distinction. His zeal and his abilities were so fully appreciated by Henry the Fourth, that, in 1603, that prince raised him to the rank of a duke and a peer of the realm, and arranged his marriage with Catharine, daughter of the Duke of Sully. Having been appointed colonel-general of the Swiss, Rohan was ordered to take part with the king's army in the intended expedition against Cleves, and, at the moment of Henry the Fourth's assassination, was in Champagne in command of six thousand Swiss mercenaries, ready to join the king as soon as the latter should take the field. After the conclusion of the campaign of Cleves, in which he served under the Marshal de la Chastre, in place of his beloved master, Rohan returned to France only to witness the desperate efforts of the court to sow discord among the Protestants. In the political assembly of Saumur, he showed himself to be a firm and unswerving adherent of the Protestant cause. It was due in no slight degree to his exertions and to his fiery words spoken in the assembly itself, that the policy of Marie de' Medici and her advisers, if not altogether thwarted, was nevertheless so far counteracted as to lose most of the advantages that had been anticipated. A friend of decided measures, he was opposed to concession in any form, and saw, in the factions and divisions reigning in the ranks of the opponents of Protestantism, the best opportunity the Huguenots had ever enjoyed for coming into possession of their rights. "France," said he, "used to be divided between the House of Bourbon and the House of Lorraine, but the pretext for the division was taken from the diversity of religions. Now that both sides are Roman Catholic, they have lost the old pretext, and, the papal religion having split in two, we are left to choose which one of the twain we shall join."[1]

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[1] On the character of Henry de Rohan, see the interesting monograph of the Finnish Professor, M. G. Schybergson, Le Duc de Rohan et la Chute du Parti protestant en France (Paris, 1880), especially pages 15 and following.

[2] Voyage de M. de Rohan fait (1598 à 1600) en Italie, Allemagne, Pays-Bas, Angleterre et Écosse. An interesting summary of this narrative, written originally merely to meet the eyes of the writer's mother, may be read in L. Anquez, Un nouveau Chapitre de l'Histoire politique des Réformés de France (Paris, 1865) Appendice, 352–5.

The affair of Saint Jean d'Angely.

The jealousy and suspicion of the court had not unnaturally fastened upon the youthful champion of the Huguenot rights. Proof of this fact was soon forthcoming. The town of Saint Jean d'Angely, in the province of Saintonge, was one of the most important of the Huguenot places of security in the southwest, occupied by a garrison, paid from the royal treasury, of over one hundred and sixty men. Only five other cities held by the Protestants were deemed worthy of a larger number of defenders.[2] Henry of Rohan had been appointed governor of the place by the late king. The town was now recognized as too strong a point of support that he should be left in undisturbed possession. A plan was laid, with the connivance, if not by the suggestion of Marshal Bouillon, to wrest Saint Jean d'Angely from his grasp. It is characteristic of the times—and the circumstance throws light upon the possibilities of division and discord afforded by the revived feudalism of the latter part of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, that the chief instruments upon whom the court relied were La Rochebeaucourt, royal lieutenant-governor of Saint Jean, and Foucault, who commanded the garrison. Apprised of the designs of his enemies, Rohan repaired to Paris to justify himself for the part he had taken at Saumur, and to obtain from the regent the abandonment of the scheme formed against him. He found his efforts fruitless. In a few days the election of a new mayor of the town would take place, and it was evident that, in the duke's absence, the chief municipal authority must pass into the hands of a man whose first move would be to close the gates to the nominal governor. Prompt action was needed, and Rohan acted promptly. Pleading the serious illness of Soubise, the duke obtained leave of Marie de' Medici to depart from the capital. Instead, however, of lingering by his brother's bedside in Poitou, he sped to Saint Jean, taking with him Soubise, whom he met by the way, and hastened to secure the place. In vain did the court send messengers to bid him by no means to proceed with the contemplated election. In vain did the court direct that the former mayor should temporarily be continued in office, without prejudice to the city's privileges for the future. Rohan was deaf to the most express commands. He sent his secretary, indeed, to Paris, to justify the course he had adopted, and to remove misapprehensions existing in the queen's mind respecting the true state of affairs at Saint Jean; meanwhile reassuring the minds of the burgesses by promising to obtain for his acts the approval of the government when better informed. But he proceeded without delay to assemble the people on the proper day, a week before Palm Sunday, and forwarded to the court, without further apology, the names of the three candidates that had received the greatest number of votes (all three being persons upon whose fidelity he could count), for the queen-mother to choose whichever one she preferred. It would be difficult to describe the mingled anger and vexation of the court. The first impulse was to declare Rohan a rebel and to send an army to deal with the resolute Huguenot. His mother, his sisters, and his wife, who happened to be in Paris, were placed under arrest, and the secretary that had brought the duke's excuses was thrown into the Bastile. It required all the exertions of Duplessis Mornay and of the Protestant deputies-general to prevent the outbreak of civil war. In the end, however, pacific counsels prevailed. The honor of the king was vindicated by Rohan's consent that the keys of Saint Jean should be placed for a week in the hands of the former mayor, that the obnoxious lieutenant and captain who had been excluded should be permitted to return and resume their functions, at least for a season, and that the form of a new election should be observed. The substantial fruits of the struggle, however, remained in the hands of Rohan. Saint Jean d'Angely continued to acknowledge his authority.[1]

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[1] Henry of Rohan, ap. Petitot's notice prefixed to vol. xviii. of Collection des Mémoires rélatifs à l'Histoire de France, p. 13.

[2] Anquez, Histoire des Assemblées politiques des Réformés, 162–4. These were Saumur, Niort, Châtellerault, Jargeau, and Thouars.

Rohan's course condemned by the more prudent of his party.

But apparently justified under the circumstances.

Public opinion was divided in its estimate of the conduct of the duke. The Roman Catholics with one accord denounced his actions as rebellious, and there were many even among the Huguenots themselves who, if they were by no means willing to pass so severe a sentence upon them, nevertheless deplored an incident which had nearly involved France in a fresh war. More peaceable measures, they said, might have secured the same ends. Even the appearance of a conflict with the royal authority ought to have been avoided. A little forbearance would have been rewarded by the merited confidence of the queen-mother and her advisers, and Marie de' Medici would have been less inclined in future to harbor doubts of the loyalty of subjects who themselves cast aside all distrust of the crown. Another part of the Huguenots, however, could not forget the lessons of the past, nor banish from their minds the remembrance of former attempts on the part of their enemies. As a private individual, Rohan might have been commended had he preferred to expose his possessions and even his life to the covert attacks of his personal enemies, rather than stir up strife by seeming to live in an atmosphere of suspicion. As a professed

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[1] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 104–9; Vie de Duplessis Mornay, 361–3; Mercure françois, ii. 597–604; Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, x. 290, 291; Benoist, ii. 103–8.

Protestant, to whose safe-keeping one of the most important of the hostage cities had been entrusted, as a nobleman who must answer with his honor that his charge should be lost through no lack of courage or foresight, the duke was bound to act with promptness and decision, even should his fearless course bring him into collision with the guardians and advisers of the young king.

And it must be noticed that even the calm and judicious Duplessis Mornay, inclined though he was in general to conciliatory measures and to peace, distinctly took this view. He wrote to the queen, to the princes of the blood and to other men of influence, telling them frankly, that men deceived them, when they represented the affair of Saint Jean d'Angely simply as a matter of private concern. It was a pledge given to all the churches that was at stake. It was the authority of a person who did not occupy a private station that was in question. All the neighboring provinces were interested in Saint Jean, as in an outwork thrown up for their defence, and even the more distant provinces were daily coming to recognize the cause as common to them also.[1]

But while the first movements of the Duke of Rohan may commend themselves to the candid judgment of men who, at this remove from the excitement of contemporary partisanship, will carefully examine the circumstances in which the Protestants of France were placed, his subsequent course cannot be viewed so charitably. The attempt of the court upon Saint Jean d'Angely, followed by other unfriendly acts on its part,[2] furnished to some hot-headed persons among the Huguenots of the southwest a ground, or a pretext, for a first trial of the dangerous weapons newly forged by the Assembly of Saumur. With Rohan's consent, if not at his suggestion, the province of Saintonge, believing itself aggrieved, called a meeting of the representatives of the "cercle" to come together in September. The five neighboring "provinces," each of which was to send two members of its council, were La Rochelle, Lower Guyenne, Poitou, Anjou, and Brittany. And now began a complicated course of negotiation and intrigue, with the details of which I shall not tax the reader's patience. Conservative men who readily conceded the justice and necessity of self-defence to ward off a wanton attack, repudiated the step now taken, as a decided advance toward open hostilities. The queen issued an order prohibiting the proposed meeting. By her request, Duplessis Mornay, who had already used his prudent counsels to counteract the evil effects of the rashness of the more inconsiderate part of his fellow Huguenots, was induced to represent to Rohan the dangers of the course upon which he had embarked, and exert himself to bring about the disruption of the assembly. In the first part of his commission he was but moderately successful. The duke was either blind to the breakers toward which the current of events was steadily drawing him, or feared the entire loss of his influence, should he seem to swerve from the bold course urged upon him by Haultefontaine and other advocates of extreme measures. In his other efforts Mornay met with more encouragement. One of the provinces, Anjou, sent men of known moderation to represent it in the councils of the circle. When the body actually began its sessions, at La Rochelle, two months after the date of its original assignment, Rouvray, one of the two Protestant deputies-general, and Mornay himself made their appearance with proposals from Marie de' Medici looking to the satisfaction of the Protestants. The assembly suspended its sessions while the deputy-general journeyed to Paris with the demands which it was thought best to make, and returned bringing the queen's reply. This reply did not satisfy all the desires of the Huguenots. As a proof of the purpose of the government to protect the Protestants, the king was made again to issue a declaration confirming the Edict of Nantes,[1] and extending full pardon to those who, presumably taking umbrage at

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[1] Vie de Duplessis Mornay (Leyden, 1647), 367.

[2] Especially by a scheme to secure the mayoralty of La Rochelle through Du Coudrai, who was at the same time a counsellor of the Parliament of Paris and one of the *échevins*, or aldermen, of La Rochelle. The scheme not only failed ignominiously, but led to a riot (September, 1612), in which Du Coudrai was expelled from the city, and the popular mayor, apparently while attempting to protect him, was wounded. Benoist, ii. 111–113, etc.

Meeting of the "cercle" at La Rochelle.

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[1] Déclaration du Roy et Confirmation de l'Édit de Nantes, donnée à Paris, le 15 Décembre, 1612, in Benoist, ii., documents, 28-30.

certain recent occurrences, had held unauthorized assemblies and councils, and collected money, provisions, and soldiers. But while it consented to grant an amnesty for the acts of disobedience of the Huguenots that had taken part in the convocation of the circle, the government was unwilling to appear to yield to compulsion. It would promise only to fulfil the private assurances which had already been given, and insisted upon the immediate withdrawal of the deputies from La Rochelle. On this point indeed no option was left them. The province of Anjou, represented by men who fully sympathized with Duplessis Mornay, had already intimated its withdrawal; and the municipal authorities of La Rochelle, as soon as once they had received intelligence that the king would overlook the past, gave out that they would not tolerate the continued sojourn of their troublesome guests. It only remained for Rohan and the rest to make the best of the situation, and to send deputies to the court with the customary assurances of submission and the customary protestations of loyalty. Irrespective of the personal concessions obtained by Rohan, the Protestants gained little of importance by their imprudent meeting at La Rochelle.[1] In fact, it may be asserted with positiveness that the apparent advantages were far more than counterbalanced by the injurious impression made by the Huguenots of one small region, representing the sentiments of a small portion of the Protestants of France, that the adherents of the Reformed faith were ready, on the slightest occasion or pretext, to plunge their country anew into the horrors of a civil war.[2]

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[1] A few points evaded or denied to the assembly of Saumur were granted. The attestations made by Protestant pastors were to be accepted without the humiliating description "ministre de la Religion *Prétendue* Reformée." After a good deal of urgency on the part of the deputies-general, the queen, who had absolutely prohibited the "provincial councils" for the future, was induced to give an underhand consent that they be tolerated, provided the Protestant churches should use this institution "modestly." "Thus," remarks the historian of the Edict of Nantes, "one and the same thing was forbidden by a public and verified law, and permitted by a secret promise; so that it was easy for the queen to return to the law when she pleased to do so, and to forget her promise." Benoist, ii. 120.

[2] For the story of the meeting of the circle at La Rochelle, compare Mémoires de Rohan, i. 111–114; Mercure françois, ii. 737–744, iii. 36; Benoist, ii. 113–120;

That this impression did not become universal, was due above all to the patriotic and untiring exertions of one man, who never lost either courage or self-possession. Duplessis Mornay, from his castle of Saumur, swayed the influences which dissipated for the time the threatening storm of war. He interceded with the angry court, he gave sound advice to the excited deputies at La Rochelle, he labored by letter and personally with the Duke of Rohan, to free him from the temporary delusion into which the evil counsel of Haultefontaine and his own fear of loss of influence with his followers had led him. Not even the unwise advance of the royal troops to the Loire, ordered by Marie de' Medici in a moment of uncontrollable passion, caused by the presumption of the circle, was sufficient to make him flinch. To show fear, to collect provisions, to mass troops and prepare as if against an expected attack, would have been to precipitate war. Duplessis Mornay refused to do more than exercise the ordinary precaution against unauthorized attempts at a surprise. "I prefer," he replied to his friends, "to run the entire risk, rather than add to hatred of my religion some pretext of rebellion. No crime can be laid to my charge. I fear as little an examination of my accounts. Our opponents are too prudent to attack me for religion's sake alone. The state of their affairs does not admit of it, and a spark would doubtless set the whole kingdom on fire. In any event, I shall not be the first gentleman that has succumbed either to force or to injustice."[1]

Duplessis mediates and averts an outbreak of war.

And Duplessis Mornay's wisdom and integrity commended themselves to all persons of sound judgment and confidence. Among the first to congratulate him upon his success was the dowager duchess of Rohan, Catherine de Parthenay, who, facetiously playing upon the name of the Huguenot assembly, descanted upon the disruption of the magic "*circle*" which had thrown a spell over all that entered it. "You struck it a severe

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Vie de Duplessis Mornay, 366–376; Mémoires de Pontchartrain, ii. 15–22; Anquez, Histoire des Assemblées politiques des Réformés, 257–261; and particularly the correspondence of Duplessis Mornay during the months of December, 1612, and January, 1613, in Mémoires (ed. of 1825) vols. xi. and xii.

[1] Vie de Duplessis Mornay, 363.

blow," she wrote, "and I am not astonished that you have drawn upon you the curses of those who longed for pillage. I bless you with all my heart, and what is better is, that, notwithstanding their imprecations, God will bless you. I am very sorry that all those that sprang from me cannot appreciate so clearly as do a part of them, what you have accomplished for them. For those that are of the feminine gender honor you therefor, and utter a thousand prayers for your prosperity.[1] I hope the others will do so likewise in good time, when they have leisure to measure the depth of the precipice from whose brink they have been drawn. Meantime, I beg you to excuse the spell under which they are, and to bear in mind, that so long as a person is within the circle, he is in the power of the magician. Recall in imagination those enchanted knights, of whom the romances tell us, who used to fight against their best friends, and even against the very men that came to deliver them."[2]

The extravagant favor shown by the queen-mother to the Italian adventurer, Concino Concini, and his wife, Leonora Galigai, had long irritated the great nobles of the royal court. The millions hoarded in the Bastile by Henry's parsimonious treasurer, had, in the course of less than four years, been scattered to the winds, and the mercenary brood of courtiers had good reason to fear that the king's majority (only nine months distant) would be reached before they had sufficiently feathered their nests.[3] The first outbreak of discontent occurred early in the year 1614. The Prince of Condé, the Count of Soissons, and the Dukes of Longueville, Vendôme, Mayenne, and Nevers were the leaders whose names were given to the public; but the chief conspirator was the intriguing Duke of Bouillon, who kept his connection with the movement in the background, that he might seem to intervene rather as a mediator than as an interested party.[1] The princes withdrew from the royal court and took up their residence at Mezières, on the northeastern frontier,[2] where they might possess the double advantage of being able to introduce foreign troops into the kingdom with ease, and of readily making good their own escape, in case they were hard pressed. Neither contingency, however, occurred. Their rash enterprise had been too carelessly planned to be really formidable; it was supported neither with men nor with money. And though the manifesto of Condé, in the form of a letter to the queen-mother, had much to say of the disorders of the state, the boasted patriotism of its author and his associates was not proof against the seductive offers of money and rewards that were made them from Paris. On the other hand, Marie de' Medici, in her perplexity, was only too happy to purchase the submission of the estranged noblemen, even if the money to secure it must be wrung from the poor people, already burdened almost beyond endurance. For whole provinces were either in revolt or, like Poitou, waited only to see which would prove the stronger side. Moreover, in the endeavor to find suitable generals to command the king's army, such were the reigning dissensions and jealousies that Marie found herself perplexed, and almost in despair.[3]

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[1] The reference is to Anne de Rohan, who surpassed her two brothers as much in learning and literary attainments, as in equipoise of judgment. She was regarded as one of the most graceful writers of her time, and Agrippa d'Aubigné, at the close of his Histoire Universelle, inserts a dozen or more stanzas of her poem on the death of Henry IV., prefacing them with the complimentary remark: "Je laisse parler mieux que moi Anne de Rohan, Princesse de Léon, *de laquelle l'esprit trié entre les delices du ciel*, escrit ainsi." Bayle, who devotes an article of his Dictionary to her, relates with admiration the fortitude which she evinced in enduring, in company with her mother, the hardships of the siege of La Rochelle, when for three months she was reduced to subsisting upon horse-flesh and a daily allowance of four ounces of bread.

[2] Madame de Rohan to Duplessis Mornay, January 24, 1613, Mémoires, xii. 56.

[3] Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, x. 325, etc.

Condé and other malcontent noblemen withdraw from the court.

The princes would gladly have involved the Huguenots in

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[1] "Et lui sortit le dernier avec le consentement de la Reine, sous l'espérance qu'il lui donnoit de ramener tous ces princes, et ménagea si industrieusement cette affaire, qu'il en demeura toujours le maître et le moyenneur." Mémoires de Rohan, i. 115.

[2] Excepting the Duke of Vendôme, who was arrested in the Louvre before he could leave. Subsequently he found an opportunity to escape to Brittany, a province of which he was governor. See his letter from Ancenis, March 1, 1614, in Mercure françois, iii. 253–5.

[3] "Ce fut aussi un des plus cruels embarras où la Reine se trouva dans cette fâcheuse conjoncture." Mémoires de Pontchartrain, ii. 40, 41.

The Huguenots prudently stand aloof from the quarrel.

their quarrel. Indeed, Condé's letter to the queen contained a special mention of the wrongs to which the Protestants had been subjected by the failure of the government to execute the edicts made in their favor, and by its studious efforts to sow discord and division among them.[1] A very few of the Huguenots would seem to have hesitated as to the course they should take at this crisis, and the Duke of Rohan not only sent an agent to watch the negotiations between the court and the princes, but advised, or acquiesced in the dangerous step of calling a political assembly of the Huguenots of Lower Guyenne to meet at the very time and place where the next national synod was to convene.[2] But the sober good sense of the Protestants restrained them from committing the blunder of linking their fortunes to the whims of a body of political malcontents with whom they had nothing in common. They saw through the shallow pretext of concern for the preservation of the Protestant churches, alleged, as the motive for their revolt, by noblemen, every one of whom, with the single exception of Marshal Bouillon, was a firm adherent of the Roman Catholic religion.[3] They agreed, with Duplessis Mornay, that it was the clear duty of the Huguenots to remain quiet, and, while keeping on their guard, to leave it to those whose duty it was, to settle the present disturbances. A holy, a purely religious cause must not be conjoined with a civil undertaking.[4]

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[1] "Et par une entière observation des Édicts de ceux de la Religion Prétendue Réformée, on leur eust osté tout sujet de plainte : on eust reprimée ceux d'entr'eux qui eussent passé les limites de leur devoir : on n'eust semé des divisions, qui leur faisans songer à leur particulier, ont failly à jetter le public et l'Estat en peril." Condé's letter, dated February 19, 1614, is given in the original by the Mercure françois, iii. 224–231, and in Latin by President Gramond, Hist. Galliae ab excessu Henrici IV. (Amsterdam, 1653, 40–42).

[2] Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 130, 131. Rohan, in his Mémoires, i. 117, 118, refers to the mission of Haultefontaine, but makes no mention of the call of the political assembly.

[3] "Je vous confesseray aussi franchement," wrote Vander Myle, March 15, 1614, "que je ne suis pas capable de comprendre, d'où procederoit cette charité pour la conservation de nostre religion, que plusieurs veulent que M. le Prince et autres princes et seigneurs qui sont avec luy, nous porteroient," etc. Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay (Elz. ed.), iii. 585.

[4] Letter to Baron de Blet, February 28, 1614. Mémoires, iii. 568, 569.

The trouble was settled on the fifteenth of May by the treaty of Sainte Menehould, brought about in good part by that man of sterling patriotism and tried abilities, the historian Jacques Auguste de Thou.[1] Dismissing from present consideration the prizes which the princes were able to secure each for himself at the expense of the public, the great point reached by the revolt of 1614 was an engagement entered into by the court to summon the States General of the realm to meet in the city of Sens, on the tenth day of the approaching month of September. The Prince of Condé was confident that by means of this assembly he would be able to overthrow the present administration and place himself at the head of affairs.[2]

Treaty of Sainte Menehould, May 15, 1614.

Meanwhile the attention of the Huguenots was directed to the sessions of the National Synod of their churches, held at Tonneins, on the Garonne, in the month of May, 1614.[3] As the preceding synod had striven not unsuccessfully to restore harmony between the leading nobles of the Protestant communion, so the present body put forth its efforts to introduce concord, both within the bosom of the Reformed church of France and between the different churches holding a common faith in western Europe. A doctrinal controversy had for some time raged between two noted theologians—Tilenus, a professor in the college founded by the Duke of Bouillon at Sedan, and the more celebrated Pierre Du Moulin, late Chaplain of Catharine of Bourbon, sister of Henry the Fourth, and for twenty-two years one of the pastors of the Protestant church of Paris, worshipping at Charenton.[4] The

National Synod of Tonneins, May, 1614.

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[1] It is pleasant to note that De Thou's excellence was so highly appreciated by contemporaries, as appears from the following sentence in the Mercure françois (ii. 252): "Or la candeur de ce Président, et sa probité, eurent tant de pouvoir sur M. le Prince, qu'il lui donna parole de s'approcher et venir à Soissons, et là entrer en une Conférence."

[2] See the text of the numerous letters of Marie de' Medici, of Cardinal Du Perron, of the Duke of Vendôme, and the Prince of Condé, in the Mercure françois, iii. 216–259. "Articles de la Paix arrestée et conclue à S. Menehould," May 15, 1614, ibid., iii. 297–301.

[3] The acts of this synod occupy the beginning of the second volume of Aymon, Tous les Synodes, pp. 1–77.

[4] On Pierre du Moulin, as one of the leading preachers of the Huguenots, see

matter in dispute was the character of the union of the divine and human natures in the person of the Lord Jesus Christ. The sympathies of the members of the national synod were decidedly on the side of the Charenton minister, for whose orthodoxy they vouched with a positiveness which is quite wanting in the case of his antagonist. None the less were they anxious to bury the controversy in oblivion. To this end they appointed a conference to be held at Saumur, at which both Du Moulin and Tilenus should be present, and Duplessis Mornay and the professors of the Protestant *académie*, or university, should endeavor to bring the two theologians to forget their former disputes in "a good union of doctrine." Indeed they gravely proposed to institute a careful search for the books written on either side, with a view to the removal of the offending cause from the body politic. Every volume written upon the subject in dispute either by Tilenus or by Du Moulin, having been brought to Saumur, the entire mass of controversy was to be placed in the safe-keeping of Duplessis Mornay. What the ulterior disposition of the collection was intended to be is not stated, but may be surmised.

James the First's plea for Protestant union.

The Protestant synod was honored with a letter from no less a personage than James the First of England, a monarch who seemed to have renounced the influence which, as Elizabeth's successor, he might rightfully have claimed in the settlement of the destinies of Europe, in favor of theological discussions, in which he believed himself to be a master. The communication, which was not read until it had been loyally submitted to the French government, proved to be in the main a plea for union and peace among all that sincerely professed the Christian faith. To its conciliatory advice the synod replied not only by a letter full of appreciative sentiment respecting his majesty's character and services to the cause of Protestantism, but by a plan "for

The synod submits a plan of harmony.

A. Vinet, Histoire de la Prédication parmi les Réformés de France au dix-septième siècle (Paris, 1860), 9–71. It is, as Vinet well remarks, a conclusive evidence of Du Moulin's great excellence in controversy, that the Roman Catholic church long esteemed him her most formidable adversary, and that, more than sixty years after the publication of the Protestant pastor's book "*La vocation des pasteurs,*" Fénelon deemed it deserving of a formal refutation.

reuniting the Christian churches which have shaken off the yoke of the Pope, and for the adjustment of the differences that have arisen, or may yet arise, between them in future." The scheme was a long one. The project, as is well known, came to nothing. But, in strong contrast with the tenacity with which a past age clung to every detail of doctrine, as if upon the minutest point depended the whole system of Christian truth, the framers of this paper deserve to be long remembered as having sketched a course of procedure that accorded more nearly with the dictates of Christian charity and the suggestions of common-sense than any set forth by their predecessors in similar undertakings. In the congress of theologians whom it was proposed to assemble, for the purpose of drawing up a common symbol of faith, no discussion of rival tenets was to be tolerated. Instead of that, a tabular statement would be submitted of the confessions of the Reformed churches of England, Scotland, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the Palatinate. Out of all these the joint confession would be constructed of the doctrines which all held in common. From that confession "might be omitted," said the broad-minded authors, "many points which are not necessary to our eternal salvation; among which may be reckoned those controversies that have been agitated respecting Free Will, the Perseverance of the Saints, and Predestination. For it is a very certain thing, that all errors in the matter of religion arise from our desiring either to know too much, or to have too much; that is to say, that curiosity or avarice are the source of them. It was this latter sin that corrupted and ruined the church of Rome. Satan still puts forth all his efforts to corrupt us by the former. However this may be, could we but gain this advantage over ourselves, to consent to be ignorant of many matters, and be satisfied with knowing solely that which regards our soul's salvation and God's glory, we should make a great stride, and should undeniably have already greatly advanced our work of Union."[1]

Over the complaints of the synod respecting some acts of injustice of which the Huguenots were the victims, I pass lightly. In comparison with the greater grievances of a subsequent part of the century, they seem almost unworthy of notice.[1]

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[1] Expédiens que l'on propose pour réunir les Églises Chrétiennes, etc., in Aymon, Tous les Synodes, ii. 57–62.

On the twenty-seventh of September, 1614, Louis was just thirteen years old. Custom placed the majority of the kings of France at their fourteenth year, and the lawyers had found reasons satisfactory to their conscience for interpreting this to mean not the completion but the beginning of the fourteenth year. As Marie de' Medici had abundant cause for desiring to shift the load of responsibility for the administration of affairs from her own shoulders to those of her son, she was not slow in availing herself of the opportunity of doing so before the meeting of the three Orders of the kingdom. On the second of October, but five days after his birthday, Louis the Thirteenth, accompanied by his mother and his brother, as well as by the Prince of Condé, the Count of Soissons, and a goodly retinue of dukes, peers of France, marshals, cardinals, and other dignitaries, repaired to the halls of the Parliament of Paris. In the presence of that august body he proceeded to hold a *lit de justice*, and to proclaim that he entered upon the full rights of his regal office. At the same time he declared it to be his good pleasure that the queen, his mother, should assume the charge of the affairs of the kingdom, with the same authority that she had heretofore exercised.[2] A formal Declaration, dated the first of October, was then registered in his presence, Chancellor Sillery, in the midst of the judges, all clothed in their red gowns of office, acting as the head of the

Louis proclaims his own majority.

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[1] As an instance, one of the six Protestant counsellors of the Parliament of Paris became a Roman Catholic. The Synod of Tonneins petitioned that his place should be filled by the appointment of another judge representing the religion from which he had apostatized. Five years later, at the Assembly of Loudun, the Huguenots reiterated a demand to which no attention had been paid. Mr. Buckle (History of Civilization in England, i 345), with the perversity which characterizes his entire treatment of the Huguenots of this period, makes this a piece of unpardonable presumption. Would he have us believe that they had no right of self-preservation, but that they should have tamely acquiesced in any diminution of their safeguards which the royal council might be pleased to effect?

[2] Mémoires de Pontchartrain (Ed. Michaud et Poujoulat), 336; Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu (Ed. Petitot), x. 350; Benoist, ii. 139, 140.

judiciary of the kingdom. The document contained, together with two or three other articles eminently appropriate to the occasion, a confirmation of the Edict of Nantes and of all the legislation based upon it, couched in terms clear and forcible. These laws were to be inviolably kept and observed. Any that violated them were to be punished with severity as disturbers of the public peace.[1]

And confirms the Edict of Nantes, October, 1614.

The States General of 1614.

The meeting of the States General which, according to the treaty of Sainte Menehould, should have been held on the tenth of September, began about a month later, in Paris instead of Sens. It is no purpose of mine to enter into a discussion, which in a history of the Huguenots would be out of place, of the purely political relations of this body, the last of its kind to be summoned until the tardy convocation of the memorable States General of 1789, which sealed the fate of royalty in France. There are, however, certain considerations arising out of the position of the Huguenots in the sight of the law that make it necessary that we should give more than a passing glance to a gathering which failed so signally both to set bounds to the growth of the power of the Order of Jesus, and to check the development of that principle of absolutism in government which was to prove not less fatal to the existence of the Protestant religion within the dominion of the very Christian king, than to all civil freedom.

It is generally admitted by historians that the impotence exhibited by the States General of 1614 to administer any proper remedy for the ills under which the kingdom was confessedly suffering, goes far to account for the long interval of a century and three-quarters during which the voice of the people, even as imperfectly expressed by this method, remained unheard. The blame must be set down to the account not so much of the *Tiers État*, as of the two privileged orders, which so readily combined for the purpose of effectually suppressing all movements tending to the cure of existing abuses. It is true that even in the Third Estate the religious consciousness had been partially paralyzed during the half century which had elapsed since the States that met at Orleans and Pontoise, in the first year of the reign of Charles the Ninth (1561). What persecution was powerless to accomplish was effected through the searing influence of wars ostensibly waged in the name of religion. The opposed camps of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism were now clearly marked out. There was now no prospect, scarcely the possibility, that France should be gained over by the Reformation. The epoch of general awakening and general expectancy, the epoch of an undefined anticipation of a change for the better in spiritual affairs, ended abruptly on the Sunday morning when Francis, Duke of Guise, encouraged or permitted his soldiers to fire upon defenceless peasants gathered for divine worship in a barn in a small town of Champagne, and when the Massacre of Vassy proclaimed the outbreak of a war that was to last for more than a generation. There was, therefore, no representative of the Tiers État in 1614 to set forth before Louis the Thirteenth, as Jacques Bretagne, *vierg* of Autun, had set forth, in the presence of Charles the Ninth and Catharine de' Medici, in 1561, the necessity of a free national council, to be presided over by the king in person, for the purpose of instituting a reformation of the Church—a council wherein no one should sit who had an interest in retarding that reformation—a council that would recognize the word of God as the sole guide for the settlement of the matters in dispute.[1]

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[1] Déclaration de la Majorité du Roy, contenant confirmation des Édits de Pacification, et défenses des Duels. Donné à Paris, le 1. Octobre, 1614. Vérifié en Parlement le 2. des dits mois et an. Benoist, ii., Documents, 31–33.

The Tiers État opposes the publication of the decrees of Trent.

To the need of some slight and superficial amendment in the church, the Tiers État of 1614 was not, it is true, altogether blind; and it steadily refused to incorporate in its *cahier* a petition for the publication of the decrees of Trent, which the clergy urged with great persistence. Not so with the *nobles*. At first, indeed, these last also objected, on the ground that the very Christian kings, Louis the Thirteenth's predecessors, had seen impediments in the way of the publication, and had purposely deferred it. They were willing only to request his majesty to recognize the decrees with such modifications as might seem advisable. But presently, when the clergy consented to make the reservation that the decrees should not affect the person and rights of the king and other matters respecting which apprehensions had been expressed, the nobles yielded so gracefully and so completely, as to receive from the prelates, through their president, Cardinal de la Rochefoucault, the most fulsome praise. The nobles, forsooth, had acquired undying glory, and, beside merit in God's sight, had laid the clergy under an eternal obligation.[1] On the other hand, the Bishop of Beauvais having appeared in the chamber of the third estate to advocate the measure, his arguments were met and skilfully parried by the president, Robert Miron, provost of the merchants of Paris, who reminded him that the promulgation of the decrees of a council, even though that council were œcumenical, was an unheard-of novelty. The registers of parliament contained no such document. Neither Constance nor Basle had been so honored. "The true publication of councils," he said, "lies in the observance and execution of their prescriptions." And he added, not without a spice of malicious pleasantry, that, although the divisions of opinion now rife seemed rather to dictate the rejection than the acceptance of the much-opposed decrees in question, the hierarchy might nevertheless take a step in the direction which they were anxious for others to pursue. "You, gentlemen of the clergy, have it in your own power to enter upon the execution of the decrees of the Council of Trent, by cutting off the plurality of benefices, and other abuses to which those decrees offer a remedy."[2] The advice was excellent; but there is no record of its having been followed.

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[1] The Rise of the Huguenots, i. 489–493.

The spirit of manly independence in the expression of opinion was not extinguished in the breast of the representatives of the people. There is evidence, indeed, rather of a dawning consciousness, on their part, of those rights which were at last to be proclaimed in tones of thunder at the common downfall of the monarchy and the "noblesse." Early in their sessions they were solicited by the noblesse to join that order and the clergy in a request that the king should discontinue the "Paulette"—an annual tax levied upon the holders of judicial and other offices under the crown, in return for which they secured the transmission of those offices, upon their death, to their sons. The representatives of the Tiers État insisted on adding two more articles. The one regarded a reduction of the taxes known as "*tailles*" by at least one-quarter, or to the scale of the year 1576; the other sought to stop the lavish presents by which the very life-blood of France was drained. "We cannot consent," they said on one occasion to the deputy of the clergy who came to reinforce the request of the nobles—"we cannot consent to the continuance of the excess and the profusion of the pensions extorted during the king's minority, chiefly by persons of little consideration, without by the same act consenting to the subversion of the State. If by the withdrawal of the Paulette the revenues of the king are diminished by fourteen hundred thousand livres, it is reasonable and necessary to remove all superfluous expenses. As to the reduction of the *tailles*, this is imperatively demanded by the impossibility of levying them, and by the extreme wretchedness of the poor people."[1]

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[1] Mercure françois, iii. 496.

[2] "Néantmoins Messieurs du Clergé se peuvent mettre d'eux-mesmes dans ce Concile, en practiquer les resolutions, en retranchant la pluralité des Benefices, et autres abus ausquels il a remedié." Mercure françois, iii. 495. Archives curieuses, 2e série, i. 46, 47.

It calls for the reduction of taxes and the withdrawal of pensions.

The nobles and the clergy refusing to endorse the very reasonable requests of the Tiers État, the latter proceeded to present those requests without the co-operation of the privileged orders. When Savaron, lieutenant-general and representative of the sénéchaussée of Clermont in Auvergne, a man no less admirable for the gravity of his character than for his abilities and his erudition,[2] appeared in the name of the third order before the king, on the fifteenth of November, 1614, he made a terrible arraignment of the oppressors of the commons. He reminded the young prince and his mother that France threw off the Roman yoke, long ages ago, simply because of the insupportable burden of tribute imposed upon her by a foreign master. He warned their majesties that a desperate

Savaron's arraignment of the loyalty of the nobles.

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[1] Mercure françois, iii. 464; Archives curieuses, 2e série, i. 31.

[2] See Henri Martin, Histoire de France, xii. 245. Savaron edited the writings of Sidonius Apollinaris who was himself born not very far from Clermont, probably at Lyons, in the fifth century A.D.

people might in time be compelled to copy this example. He held up to universal reprobation the greed of the nobles, "whose loyalty," he said, "the king has been obliged to purchase for money, while these excessive expenditures have reduced the people to browse upon the grass of the fields like brute breasts." At this blunt speech the nobles were enraged.

Anger of the noblesse.

As the deputy left the royal presence one of their number exclaimed in a tone loud enough to reach his ears, that Savaron ought to be handed over for summary chastisement to the pages and servants in waiting. An open outbreak between the two orders being imminent, the clergy undertook to mediate between the angry noblesse and the equally resolute Tiers État. The prelate sent to induce the latter to make friendly advances to the upper chamber was no less a personage than Armand de Richelieu, the future arbiter of the destinies of France, but as yet simple bishop of Luçon and possessor, as he was wont to say, of "the poorest and vilest diocese of France." Inasmuch as Savaron, who declared that, having borne arms before assuming the gown, he was ready to answer for his words either as a soldier or as an officer of justice, nevertheless disclaimed any intention to attack the honor of the noblesse, the third estate consented, at Richelieu's suggestion, to send a deputation of twelve of its members to give that assurance to the nobles, while demanding at the same time a repudiation of the insulting remark applied to Savaron. De Mesmes, who was the spokesman for the twelve, was no less dignified than Savaron, and his words were as significant as Savaron's had been. Addressing himself to the delegates of the nobles, he said: "France is our common mother, who has nursed us all at her breast. The clergy have had the blessing of Jacob and Rebekah, and have carried off the birthright. You, gentlemen, are their juniors, and we are their younger brothers.[1] Treat us as your younger brothers, treat us as belonging to the household, and we shall honor and love you. It has often happened that younger

De Mesmes proclaims the brotherhood of the three orders.

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[1] "La France est notre commune mère, qui nous a tous allaités de sa mamelle. Messieurs de l'Église ont eu la bénédiction de Jacob et Rebecca, et emporté le droit d' aînésse; vous en êtes, messieurs, les puînés et nous en sommes les cadets," etc.

brothers have repaired the fortunes of houses which elder brothers had ruined and dissipated. By the grace of God, we have reached official stations and dignities. We bear the character of judges; and, as you secure peace for France, so do we secure it to the families into which division has entered." If we may credit the official minutes of the proceedings of the noblesse, their president, the Baron of Sennecey, made on the spot a most insulting reply. The nobles had already, he said, forgotten the displeasure occasioned by Savaron's speech. "We can retain harshness," he added, "only against those from whom we can obtain satisfaction by generous arms. We should believe that we had committed an act too shameful to our reputation and the reputation of our predecessors, had the great and disproportionate difference that exists between the Tiers État and the Noblesse allowed us to be offended." He denied that the relation between the two orders was that of elder and younger brothers, a relation implying identity of virtue and blood. The Tiers État was a dependent who ought to esteem it a great piece of good fortune and a ground for self-congratulation that it was permitted, after God and the king, to be subject to the noblesse.[1] Nor was this an end of class arrogance. The Baron of Sennecey sought and obtained an audience of the king, that he might have the opportunity to complain of the impertinence of the Tiers État, in venturing to institute a comparison between itself and the higher order, and repudiated in strong terms the hateful notion that there subsisted between them any such tie as that of "fraternity." "No!" loudly cried out the young nobles who accompanied him, "there is no more 'fraternity' between us and the *roturiers* than there is between a master and his footman."[2]

The doctrine of "fraternity" repudiated with insult.

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[1] I ought, however, to mention, as Henri Martin has done, that the registers of the Tiers État inform us that De Mesmes himself, on his return, reported only a somewhat commonplace reply on the part of Sennecey, containing the desired disclaimer respecting the insult offered to Savaron. It is not at all improbable, therefore, as M. Martin suggests, that the account has undergone essential alterations, and does not faithfully represent what the president actually said.

[2] Procès verbal de la noblesse, etc., Recueil des États Gén., vii. 85, etc., ap. Sismondi, Histoire des François, xxii. 307, seq., and Henri Martin, Histoire de France. xii. 245, seq.; Boullée, Histoire des États Généraux, ii. 139, etc. The account of the States General contained in the Mercure françois (and reproduced

Another affair that occupied a good part of the attention of the States General equally deserves notice. Although the death of Henry the Fourth had thus far remained unavenged, good men of both religions were desirous not to let pass without rebuke the dangerous teaching of the Jesuits respecting the right of the Roman pontiff to depose heretical princes and deprive them of their crowns. The Protestant National Synod of Tonneins, a few months since, had expressed itself briefly but forcibly on this point. "Inasmuch as the pernicious doctrine of the Jesuits against the life, estates, and authority of sovereigns, is every day more impudently published by the chief men of that sect (Suarez having, within a few months, outdone his companions in the treatise which he has anew brought out), this body, detesting that abominable doctrine with its authors, exhorts all the faithful to hold it in horror and execration, and all that are commissioned to teach, to combat it vigorously, for the purpose of maintaining, conjointly with the rights of God, those of the sovereign powers whom He has established."[1]

The first article of the Tiers État reprobates the regicidal doctrine of the Jesuits.

Not to be behindhand in the advocacy of the prerogatives of France as a country free of all subjection to a foreign prince, the patriotic Tiers État placed as the very first article of the cahier or memorial which it proposed to present to Louis the Thirteenth an enunciation of the same principle. "In order," it said, "to arrest the course of the pernicious doctrine, introduced within a few years, against kings and sovereign powers established of God, by seditious persons who aim only at disturbing and subverting them, the king shall be petitioned to have it decided in the Meeting of his Estates, as a fundamental law of the realm, which shall be inviolable and known to all men, that, as he is recognized to be sovereign in his estate, holding his crown of God alone, there is no power on earth, be it what it may, spiritual

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in an abridged form in the Archives curieuses) refers to the whole matter very briefly. It informs us that, in consequence of the quarrel "there was no good union between these two chambers [the Noblesse and Tiers État] until the 5th of December, when the deputies of the chamber of the Tiers État repaired to the chamber of the Noblesse, and protested that none of their number had had the intention to utter or had uttered any words to offend them." Mercure françois, iii. 467; Archives curieuses, 2e série, i. 31.

[1] Aymon, Tous les Synodes, ii. 38, 39.

or temporal, that has any right over his kingdom to deprive thereof the sacred persons of our kings, or to dispense or absolve their subjects of the fidelity and obedience which they owe it, for whatsoever cause or whatsoever pretext it may be. . . . That the contrary opinion, specially, that it is lawful to kill and depose our kings, to rise in rebellion against them, to shake off the yoke of their obedience, for any occasion whatsoever, is impious, detestable, and opposed to the truth, and to the institution of the state of France, which depends immediately upon God alone." Coupled with this declaration was an order that the declaration be sworn to by all the deputies to the States and by all royal officers, be taught by all professors, doctors, and preachers, be maintained by all clergymen in public discourse, and be executed by all sovereign courts of judicature. All books containing the contrary doctrine were to be held to be seditious and damnable, all advocates of it, being Frenchmen, rebels and guilty of high treason, or, being foreigners, sworn enemies of the crown.[1]

The article had originated in the Tiers État of Paris and the Isle de France, which placed it at the head of its particular memorial. As soon as offered in the States General, nine of the twelve governments of which the popular chamber was composed voted in favor of it. The delegates from Guyenne wanted to think the matter over until the morrow, but delay being refused, concurred in the motion. Lyonnois regarded the article as good, but desired to have it communicated to the clergy and nobility. Orléanois approved of all excepting the title of "fundamental law," which struck the delegates as "too proud" a designation.[2]

Violent opposition of the clergy and nobles.

It might certainly have been expected that so patriotic an expression would be regarded by the two privileged orders as innocent, if not commendable. It was far otherwise. At the rumor that the third estate had adopted an article "relating to the faith and to religion, and looking to the introduction of a novelty respecting the pope's authority," the clergy instantly took alarm. It sent two cardinals to beg the king and his mother to interpose their authority, and despatched other ecclesiastics to the nobles and to the Tiers État, to dissuade them from entering upon the consideration of matters pertaining to religion or church government, without previously consulting the clergy. It assured them that, on the other hand, the clergy would respect their rights. The chamber of nobles promptly acquiesced, and gave the clergy every reason to feel secure in that quarter. But Marmiesse, *capitoul* of Toulouse, who came at the head of a delegation of six members of the Tiers État, to explain its position, receded not a step. The body whom he represented had, he said, no idea of touching upon vital points; they wished merely to deal with the robes, with the externals, to obviate the scandal, the shame, the deformity with which others would invest the church; to meet the views of all good Frenchmen who desired to see the church in her purity, her honors, prerogatives, and authority. Again the clergy deliberated. It came to the unanimous conclusion that the proposed article had a distinct tendency to create a schism, either among the faithful in France, or between them and the rest of Christendom. For it reduced to an article of the faith what is regarded by the church as *problematic.* A political statement was made a principle of theology. Thus arose division, and heresy obtained an advantage which she had never heretofore been able to gain.[1]

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[1] See the text, in the Mercure françois, iii. 571, 572, under date of December 15, 1614.

[2] Ibid., iii. 572.

A protracted discussion between the orders ensued. The nobles did everything that the clergy could have desired, and were duly complimented by the clergy for their piety. The Tiers État stood its ground with obstinacy, and listened unmoved to the interminable speeches of bishops, who wearied, but did not convince. Du Perron, the same ecclesiastic who disputed with Duplessis Mornay at Fontainebleau, in 1600, and was rewarded by the pope with the cardinal's hat, now came to the chamber of the third estate, with an escort of twelve nobles of distinction, not to speak of archbishops and other dignitaries of his own order, and delivered an address of three hours' duration,[2] in which every available argument was mustered to do service for papal pretensions. Of the three assertions of the article of the Tiers État, he cheerfully conceded two; namely, that for no cause whatever could a king lawfully be assassinated, and that the king of France was a sovereign with all the powers of sovereignty, and no feudatory holding his lands of the pope or of any other prince. But he denied the third assertion, that under no circumstances could kings be dethroned. This was a *problematic* doctrine, that is, not necessary to salvation, a doctrine which, in point of fact, was not held by all the rest of Christendom. Even in the Gallican church, from the time of the institution of the theological school down to the appearance of Calvin, all had held the contrary view. "When a prince comes to violate the oath he has made to God and to his subjects, that he will live and die in the Catholic religion, and not only becomes an Arian or a Mohammedan, but goes so far as to declare war against Jesus Christ, that is to say, to constrain his subjects in their consciences and force them to embrace Arianism, or Mohammedanism, or other similar infidel sentiments, that prince may be declared to have forfeited his rights, as guilty of felony toward Him before whom he took his coronation oath. In case this comes to pass, it belongs to the authority of the church residing in its head, who is the pope, or in its body, which is the council, to make this declaration."[1]

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[1] Mercure françois, iii. 575–9.

[2] So says the Mercure françois, whose report covers pages 590–621 of the

Cardinal Du Perron declares the doctrine of the Tiers to be "problematic."

The cardinal went so far as to intimate that the article betrayed a Calvinistic spirit operating in its authors, but he added that the Protestants themselves would by no means agree to it. "There is not a synod of their ministers," said he, "that would have consented to sign the article which they want to force us to sign. There is not a single one of their consistories which does not regard itself as relieved of the oath of fidelity to Catholic princes the moment the attempt is made to force their consciences. Hence come

He hints that Protestant influence has been at work.

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third volume. The forty-six folio pages which the cardinal's remarks occupy in the Recueil des Actes, Titres et Mémoires concernans les affairs du Clergé de France (Paris, 1673), v. 2e partie, 197–243, give the impression of a much more protracted discourse. It is not unlikely that it has been expanded since the delivery.

[1] Recueil des Actes, Titres et Mémoires du Clergé, v. 2e partie, 201.

those modifications which they have so often in their mouths, 'Provided that the king does not force our consciences.' Hence those exceptions in their Confession of Faith, 'Provided the sovereign authority of God be maintained in its integrity.'"

In a reply on behalf of his order, President Miron repudiated the cardinal's innuendo. The article, he said, was composed without the participation, indeed without the cognizance of any of the Protestant delegates of the third estate.[1] He averred, indeed, that the Tiers État had no intention of wounding the church by its action; but he intimated, at the same time, that it had as little intention to abandon the course taken.

The cardinal's speech and the president's answer were delivered on the second day of the new year (1615). Two days before, the Parliament of Paris had intervened in the discussion.

The Parliament of Paris takes the side of the Tiers État.

On Wednesday, the thirty-first of December, 1614, Louis Servin, speaking in the name of the three advocates and attorneys-general of the king, called the attention of the united chambers of that august body to the fact that the highest court had repeatedly confirmed the maxims, of all time held in France and as old as the crown itself, that the king recognizes in temporal matters no superior but God himself, that no power may dispense his subjects of their oath of allegiance, nor suspend, deprive, or depose him, much less make or authorize attempts upon the sacred persons of kings. Notwithstanding which, they had been advised that many persons, both in public and in private discourse, had of late been so bold as to dispute these points and to hold them to be "problematic" in their character. In consequence of this alarming circumstance, Servin called upon parliament to suspend all other business, and to direct the renewed publication of the declarations heretofore made on the subject in all the courts and places within its jurisdiction. The advice was promptly taken. Upon the very day on which Cardinal Du Perron was delivering his long and tedious argument before the Tiers État, the Parliament of Paris passed a formal decree ordering the observance and publication in all bailiffs' and seneschals' courts of the decisions by which disloyal and regicide principles had been put under the ban of the law.[1]

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[1] "Cest article enfin a esté composé sans qu'aucun de la religion prétendeue réformée en ait approché, ny qui en ait rien sçeu."

If the cup of the clergy's indignation had been filled to the brim by the action of the third chamber of the States, the action of the Parliament of Paris made the contents to run over. Though the next day was the feast of Sainte Geneviève, patron saint of Paris, the clergy met and remonstrated upon the alleged infringement of the liberty granted the representatives of the three orders to deliberate upon any matter concerning which their consciences might lead them to give the king advice. That very day they sent Cardinal Sourdis and others of their body to ask his majesty to arrest the course of the audacious judges, for fear that parliament might proceed to sign and execute its decree. The royal council spent some hours in considering the part it should take in a somewhat perplexing case. The Prince of Condé, who, in the main, approved the course of parliament, but yet was in favor of having the king remove the consideration of the question from that court and reserve to himself the decision after the clergy and the third estate had had full freedom to draw up their *cahiers*, made a speech on this occasion which gives a higher impression of his abilities than that which we should form from the general impotence of his political course.[2] In particular

Deliberation of the royal council.

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[1] The decisions in question were of December 2, 1561, December 29, 1594, January 7 and July 19, 1595, May 27, June 8, and November 26, 1610, and June 26, 1614. Mercure françois, iii. 633. It is interesting to note that the first named was the condemnation of the doctrine propounded by Jean Tanquerel, a doctor of the Sorbonne, "that the pope could depose an heretical prince." See The Rise of the Huguenots, i. 566, and Journal de Bruslart, Mémoires de Condé, i. 67, 68, where the text of the decree is given. The decree of December 29, 1594, against Jean Chastel, is given by Matthieu (Histoire des Derniers Troubles, ii. fols. 52, 53); who also refers to that of January 7, 1595, against the Jesuit Jean Guignard (ib., ii. fol. 53 v.). The decrees on occasion of the assassination of Henry IV. are well known. The decree of June 26, 1614, condemning the Jesuit writer Suarez's treatise "Defensio fidei catholicæ et apostolicæ adversus Anglicanæ sectæ errores," because of its propositions "tending to subvert states and to induce the subjects of kings and sovereign princes and others, to make attempts upon their sacred persons," may be read in the Mercure françois, iii. 306, 307.

[2] Henry of Rohan in his Mémoires (Petitot Collection, p. 120) well observes of the Prince of Condé, that had his life and actions corresponded with his remonstrances, he would have greatly embarrassed the queen's government.

he unmercifully ridiculed the idea that any condemnation of the crime of regicide would avail to protect the lives of kings, so long as the power to depose kings was lodged in the hands of the pope or any one else. "The enemies of the royal authority," he said, "sustaining opinions which nowhere else than in France could be called *problematic*, have never been so insane as to say that kings ought to be killed. On the contrary, they, with us, detest that pernicious assertion, and it would be very easy to procure the condemnation of it from the pope. That is not the question, however. Let us take up an individual case. We shall see, Sire, that your sacred person may in a certain case be lawfully killed, according to their doctrine. Suppose that your majesty, as they assert, commits some sin. You are admonished thrice over; you persist in your sin. You are excommunicated; you do not repent. You are deposed from your royal dignity; your subjects are absolved of the allegiance which is due to you. Now, while Louis the Thirteenth was king, it was not permissible to kill him; but having from a king become no king, his place is taken by another, a legitimate king. Then if he continue, in opposition to the spiritual authority of the pope, and the temporal authority of the newly elected king, to style himself a king, he is a veritable usurper, guilty of treason divine and human, and, as such, a proscribed person, whom all are allowed to kill. It is therefore folly to ask for a condemnation of those who make attempts upon the lives of kings."[1]

Condé shows how kings may lawfully be killed.

It would be too tedious to trace in detail the successive steps of the wrangle between the ecclesiastics and the Tiers État. The former fought with a desperation worthy of a better cause to prevent the adoption of any resolution that should seem to diminish the papal prerogative, while the latter stood firm in its resolution to defend the rights of the crown and people of France. At one moment the clergy passed a resolution to the effect that temporal laws and penalties were ineffectual to deter the assassins of kings, and called upon Louis to order the publication of the articles of the Council of Constance, which condemned as heretics the authors of murderous attempts even when aimed at the persons of tyrants.[1] Again and again the prelates had recourse to the royal council, now to press their suit that the discussion of the doctrine of the church by the third estate should be silenced, now to protest ineffectually against the statement of the council in an official paper that there existed a dispute between the two orders. At length, after a fortnight had passed, the influence of the upper house proved sufficiently powerful to secure a summary, but illogical, conclusion of the entire matter. President Miron was summoned to the council with twelve of his associates, and there received the instructions of the king to bring him "the article respecting the fundamental law." When, four days later, Miron again presented himself at the Louvre, in company with the presidents of each of the provinces, it was only to be informed by Marie de' Medici that her son forbade the Tiers État from employing the objectionable article in the *cahier* which they were to hand in.[2] Great was the indignation of the delegates of the people. There were suggestions of petitions and remonstrances; but convinced of the futility of any such action, the Tiers État finally concluded to preface their cahier with this simple statement: "The first article has been presented to the king heretofore and in advance, by his express command, and he has promised to reply to and make provision for it, which thing his majesty is humbly begged to do." And here ended the unequal struggle.[3]

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[1] Mercure françois, iii. 635, 636.

The Tiers État forbidden to use their article.

It was evident that the Huguenots were better friends of the French crown and of the independence of the realm than was the Roman Catholic clergy. For, at almost one and the same moment, the Protestant national synod of Tonneins was declaring the national sovereignty, and the clergy of the established church was moving heaven and earth to prevent the States

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[1] Benoist points out, however, that the article of the Council of Constance upon which the clergy fell back. is, after all, so equivocal and unsatisfactory, as that it leaves exposed to assassination all princes against whom a conspiracy is formed *after* the sentence or order of certain judges, that is to say, after the ordinance of some council or pope. Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 147, 148.

[2] The text of the queen-mother's speech is given in the Mercure françois, iii. 651.

[3] Mercure françois, iii 651–53.

General from accepting that sovereignty as a "fundamental law."[1] To the everlasting disgrace of the proud nobility of France, from the highest duke to the most insignificant baron, they had obediently followed the summons of the ecclesiastical order. And verily they had their reward. Before many weeks there came from Pope Paul the Fifth briefs of the most flattering character, addressed to the clergy and nobles, who were jointly congratulated upon their labors to frustrate the assault that had been contemplated upon the authority of the Holy See.[2]

The pope thanks the unpatriotic estates.

It may have appeared to the Huguenots a sort of poetical justice that, as their assembly of Saumur had, two years before, been dismissed by the regent without being allowed an opportunity to consult together respecting the answers given to its demands; so the court positively refused to reply to the petitions of the three orders of the kingdom until, by their adjournment, they had ceased to possess any power to disturb the plans of a government which was fully resolved to introduce no other changes into the administration than such as it pleased.[3] The device was certainly a convenient one for the purpose of enabling the king, or his ministers, to free themselves from importunity in case they failed to meet the expectations of the advocates of reform, whether in matters of church or of state.

The student of political institutions, and the historian whose chief object it is to trace the growth of civil liberty, would be justified in dwelling at some length upon the last speech of President Miron, which alone among the addresses made to the throne on behalf of the three orders, in connection with the presentation of their bills of complaint and petition, is fairly entitled to rank as a masterpiece of dignified and patriotic remonstrance. The writer who has chosen for his special theme the story of the fortunes of the Huguenots must deny himself the satisfaction of reproducing even in part this noble plea for the rights of the down-trodden commons.[1] The address of Richelieu, in the name of the clergy, though otherwise far from possessing the same interest, must be mentioned because of its bearing upon the welfare of the Protestants. If the later course of this ecclesiastic, when he had exchanged the administration of his insignificant western bishopric for the cardinal's hat and the all but absolute control of the destinies of France, seemed to be inspired by a broad and politic toleration, there was little on this occasion to foreshadow any coming liberality. The harangue of the future ally of Gustavus Adolphus and of the German Protestants breathed nothing but fierce hostility to the Protestants of France. He espoused the advocacy of the decrees of Trent. He loudly condemned the practice of conferring abbacies upon heretics or upon laymen. He expressed his grief at the fact that "falsehood" was preached throughout entire districts of France, as for example in Béarn, within the walls of consecrated churches. His most vehement expressions of indignation and horror were reserved for a recent occurrence at Milhau-en-Rouergue, where, on Christmas eve, during the course of a quarrel that arose between the Roman Catholic and Protestant inhabitants of the town, priests were said to have been maltreated, crucifixes to have been broken, altars to have been overturned, the relics of saints to have been profaned, and even the consecrated wafers to have been scattered and trampled under foot. "It is France," said Richelieu, "it is France, formerly exempt from monsters, that has produced the authors of so horrible a crime! I grow pale, I shudder as I say it, oh, unspeakable patience of Heaven! How did not the earth open to swallow them up at their birth!" Not that the clergy demanded the punishment of any but the guilty. Respecting the innocent among the Protestants, the clergy had no desire save their conversion, which it would compass by its

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[1] The synchronism was noticed by M. de Larrey, in his Reponse à l'Avis aux Réfugiez (Rotterdam, 1709), 153: "Ce qu'il y a d'extremement remarquable dans cette affaire, c'est que dans le tems que le Clergé Reformé assemblé en Synode établissoit l'independance des Rois, le Clergé Papiste, qui se trouvoit aux États, faisoit rage pour la detruire." See, also, A. F. Lièvre, Du rôle que le clergé catholique de France a joué dans la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes (Strasbourg, 1853), 17.

[2] "L'enterprise que l'on vouloit faire sur l'authorité du S. Siège Apostolique." Mercure françois, iii. 655.

[3] Ibid., iii. 671, etc.

Cardinal Richelieu's address for the clergy.

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[1] Boullée has given a synopsis and a few brief extracts, in his Histoire des États Généraux, ii., 187–191, to which I take pleasure in referring the curious.

example, its precepts, its prayers. The king, however, was exhorted to seek out and punish with as much zeal as he would the murderers of his royal father the perpetrators of the outrage done to the Host—an outrage which the speaker called "the assassination of his God."[1]

The demands of the clergy foreshadow the Revocation.

More significant than the harangue of Richelieu was a memorial which it was his commission to present to the king in behalf of his order. So much of it as touched upon the Huguenots—and about one-fifth of its three hundred articles related directly or indirectly to them—was in effect a petition to the crown to strip the professors of the Reformed religion of all the immunities and privileges guaranteed to them by the great law of Henry the Fourth. The plan of the subsequent persecutions under Louis the Fourteenth, culminating in the formal recall of the Edict of Nantes, may be read with tolerable distinctness in the minute and multiplied prescriptions of a bigoted zeal, to which no labor was wearisome, no detail tedious, if thereby the ruin of an inimical sect might be compassed. One may be in doubt whether to regard with indignation or dismiss with contempt the petty devices of a document which affected to distort even the opprobrious designation forced upon the Protestants by their opponents—"La Religion Prétendue Réformée"—and by a studied transposition of words, at one time referred to "La Prétendue Religion Réformée"—the *Pretended* Reformed Religion, and at another more briefly to "La Prétendue Religion"—the *Pretended Religion*, as if questioning the claim of Protestantism even to a place among the creeds of the earth. But such demands as that the cognizance of all matters pertaining to the observance of the church festivals should belong exclusively to ecclesiastics, were ominous in the eyes of men who remembered the infinite trouble which the *Fête-Dieu* and its processions and drapings had caused. To ask seriously that Roman Catholic bishops should have the power to send men to the galleys, was a threat of no small significance to the adherents of another faith. To withdraw from the "chambres mi-parties," in case the votes of the Roman Catholic and Protestant judges were equally balanced in the adjudication of a criminal case, the privilege of endeavoring to reach a harmonious conclusion by the adoption of a milder sentence than the statute allowed, on the pretext that such tenderness in the treatment of law-breakers impeded the due course of justice, savored neither of Christian love nor of regard to the dictates of a common humanity.[1]

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[1] See the speech of Richelieu delivered February 23, 1615, among the Remonstrances et Harangues faites au Rois et aux Reines, in the 5th volume of the Recueil des Actes, Titres et Mémoires concernant les Affaires du Clergé. (Paris, 1673), pp. 248–261. The reason assigned by Benoist (ii. 150, 151) for the supineness of the court in punishing the pretended outrage at Milhau, is that it was more than balanced by the destruction of a Protestant Church and the violent treatment of the Huguenots at Belestat, in the same part of France, at the hands of their Roman Catholic townsmen.

In justice to the government, it must be stated that the queen-mother and her advisers showed little disposition to listen with favor to the more exorbitant demands of the ecclesiastical chamber. And when extreme zealots among the nobles attempted to copy the examples set them by the prelates, the regent and the ministers were evidently displeased. The Reformed faith was not without a representation among the nobility of the States General, although the number of Huguenots on the benches was comparatively small. When, therefore, it was moved and carried "that the king be entreated to be pleased to maintain the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Religion, in accordance with the oath taken at his coronation," the Huguenot nobles took alarm, and an acrimonious dispute ensued. The Protestants not only refused to sign the memorial, which, they maintained, in its present form did them serious wrong, but applied directly to the king to protect them against what they regarded as a blow struck at the edicts of pacification.[2] The ferment spread beyond the chamber of the nobility.

The coronation oath.

Nor was this strange. The coronation oath was on its face a distinct menace directed against all whom the established church placed under the ban. "I shall endeavor, according to my ability, in good faith, to drive from my jurisdiction and from the lands subject to me, all heretics denounced by the church, promising on oath to keep all that has been said. So help me God, and these holy gospels of God!"[1] These were the words which Louis the Thirteenth had uttered, with his hands resting upon the Sacred Scriptures, even as his father had done at Chartres, a score of years before.[2] If a declaration was necessary to calm the apprehension of the Huguenots and to assure them that Henry the Fourth "would, through no oath made or to be made, hold himself bound to wage war against or persecute" his former fellow-believers and comrades in war, the Protestants,[3] certainly it was not unreasonable that the young king, ruling under the continued influence of his Italian mother, should give an equally clear and unequivocal statement respecting his intentions. Nor did he refuse to do so. Not only was Duplessis Mornay assured by a letter personally addressed to him by the monarch that no change had come over the gracious purpose which the latter had formed at his accession to the throne and ratified when he came of age; but in a royal declaration of the twelfth of March, 1615, the wise legislation of Henry the Fourth respecting his Huguenot subjects was confirmed for the third time since the beginning of the new reign. The king rehearsed the action of the queen-mother immediately upon her minor son's accession, in causing a declaration to be published in every parliament of the realm, expressing the royal purpose to maintain all the edicts issued by the late monarch in favor of the Protestants, a purpose which he asserted had been fully adhered to. The same motives, he said, induced him, upon reaching his majority, to issue a fresh declaration of similar import to the first. But to his very great displeasure, a dis-

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[1] See the synopsis in Benoist, ii. 151–56.

[2] Louis XIII. to Duplessis Mornay, Feb. 26, 1615. Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay, iii. 717.

Louis again confirms his father's tolerant legislation, March 12, 1615.

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[1] "Je tascherai à mon pouvoir, en bonne foy, de chasser de ma jurisdiction et terres de ma subjection tous hérétiques dénommez par l'esglise." Oath in Bouchitte, Conférence de Loudun, 785 note. Isambert (Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises, xv. 76) traces the introduction of this sentence in the oath back to the Lateran Council in 1219, and remarks that it was taken by every successive king from Saint Louis to Louis XVI. He gives the Latin form: "Item, de terra mea ac jurisdictione mihi subdita universos hæreticos ab ecclesia denotatos pro viribus, bona fide, exterminare studebo."

[2] Cayet, Chronologie novenaire, 557. Le Vassor, ii. 251.

[3] The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre, ii. 382.

pute arose between the deputies of the nobility in the States General, respecting the petition that the king should be pleased to maintain the Roman Catholic religion, in accordance with the oath he took at his coronation—"a proposition scarcely necessary," said Louis, "or, rather, altogether useless, seeing that we profess it, with a firm resolution, by God's grace, to live and die therein." However, the intentions of the movers were excellent, and they had protested to his majesty, both singly and collectively, that they desired the observance of the edicts, and wished that he should be pleased to await from the divine goodness the reunion of all his subjects to the Roman Catholic and Apostolic church by the ordinary and accustomed means of that church. He expressed his own persuasion, based upon the experience of the past, "that violent remedies have served only to increase the number of those that have forsaken the church, rather than to instruct them how to return to it." "In order, therefore," he added, "to remove every false impression from the minds of our good subjects of the Pretended Reformed religion, who profess it with a zeal which is pure, innocent, and far removed from all faction and evil intent, as well as to take away any pretext from such as might seek one for the purpose of disturbing the quiet of the kingdom . . . We declare and order . . . that all the edicts, declarations, and particular articles granted in favor of those of the aforesaid Pretended Reformed Religion . . . as well by our late lord and father as by us, together with the regulations and other letters issued, or decrees given in their favor, on the interpretation and execution of the Edict of Nantes, and in consequence of the same, be maintained and kept inviolably; and that those who transgress them be punished according to the rigor of our ordinances, as disturbers of the public quiet."[1]

So distinct a re-enactment of the Edict of Nantes was well calculated to quiet the apprehensions of the most suspicious among the Protestants, and to convince them of the willingness of the present government to abide by its engagements. It remained to be seen, however, what influence the continued insistence of the clergy might exert. For the clergy never swerved from its aggressive policy, and in its assembly, which came together only a few months after the dissolution of the States General, it did not hesitate, as we shall see in the next chapter, to give new expression to the hope that Louis would gratify his Roman Catholic subjects by undertaking the re-establishment of the ancestral faith in Béarn. The favorable answer from the throne came not yet, but we shall see that it came in due time. The requests of a body that met at regular intervals, to vote a very welcome subsidy to the government, were always likely to be treated with consideration by the crown. Meantime the most interesting action taken by the assembly of the clergy, so far as the Huguenots were concerned, was the establishment of a fund of thirty thousand livres to be annually employed in the support of such former Protestant pastors as might have been induced to embrace the Roman Catholic faith. The plan seems to have worked satisfactorily; at least, it was long kept up. But, whereas it was originally intended that the beneficiaries should be confined to persons who had been actually in the sacred ministry or been of eminent capacity, as evidenced by their writings or public teaching, the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of well-qualified candidates, led the clergy to countenance the distribution of a part of the fund as a free gift among "converted persons who were useful to the service of the church."[1] The usual allowance to each recipient continued to be four hundred livres, a sum about equal to the salaries paid to the Protestant ministers, outside of the principal cities of France, and a decree of the council of state, some years later,[2] made the gift still more valuable by forbidding its seizure for debt.

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[1] Déclaration du Roy, portant renouvellement de tous les Édits de pacification, Articles accordez, Règlemens et Arrêts intervenus en consequence. Publié en Parlement, le dernier Avril, 1615. In Benoist, ii., documents, 33, 34.

Fund for pensioning converts from the Huguenot clergy.

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[1] Règlement fait en l'Assemblée du Clergé, Paris, 1615, in Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., v. 51.

[2] September 15, 1629. Ibid., v. 55. From the statement of a decree of the council of September 18, 1627, ibid., v. 52–54, it would appear that a renegade named Mahaut had the effrontery to style himself *syndic* of the converted ministers and consequently secured a pension of six hundred livres. He is probably the person described in the list of deposed ministers given by the Nat. Synod of Charenton, 1623 (Aymon, ii. 295), as having been formerly pastor at Havre de Grâce.

Whatever hopes of a salutary change in the government of France had been founded upon the convocation of the States General, had come to naught. The determined opposition of the two privileged orders to the proposals of the third estate effectually crushed all the sanguine expectations of reform.[1] The church with unanimity, and the great majority of the nobles, stood by the queen-mother and the administration, under her name, of the upstart Italian marquis. The queen-mother and Marshal d'Ancre repaid the debt of gratitude under which the ecclesiastical chamber had placed them, by unhesitatingly sacrificing the interests of the French crown to the claims of the Roman See. The Prince of Condé, with his secret ally the Marshal of Bouillon, found that so far from using the States General as an instrument to secure for themselves a preponderating influence in the administration, that body had only served to strengthen the tenure of their enemies. Marie de' Medici could now point with confidence to the fact that, whereas previously she exercised the supreme power in her son's name with the consent of a few grandees, her authority had now been recognized by the representatives of the three orders. As she had been shorn of none of the powers which she had exercised for the past five years, she claimed the endorsement of the French nation for her entire course; more especially as it was notorious that the meeting of the States General had been asked for by those who wished to restrict or abrogate her influence.[2]

Disappointed in their expectations, the nobles who laid down their arms, in accordance with the treaty of Sainte Menehould, again prepared to try the issues of a civil war. Scarcely a twelvemonth of comparative quiet had intervened. Condé was again the ostensible head of the movement. The Duke of Bouillon, throwing off all disguise, from a pretended mediator, became an avowed malcontent. Other powerful noblemen, among them the dukes of Nevers and Mayenne, united with them. The Parliament of Paris early showed its sympathy by the passage of a decree inviting the princes and peers of France to meet with it for the purpose of consultation respecting the interests of the realm. When the government forbade their attendance, the judges proceeded to draw up a paper setting forth the disorders in the present administration, and, seeking an audience of the king, handed to him their weighty remonstrance. As a matter of course, President Nicholas de Verdun and the grave judges who accompanied him upon his unwelcome errand, were treated to rough words and sent away with a severe reprimand for what was styled their insolent meddling in political concerns. In her indignation Marie de' Medici gave free rein to her anger and cared little whose ears she offended. She defended herself against the charge of squandering the treasure. She had managed, she said, to preserve, and recently to hand over to her son at his majority, the kingdom as prosperous as it was when she received it from Henry. The princes and powerful nobles had given her no help, the parliament but scanty assistance. In this work the outlay incurred was immense. Commotions arose; the loyalty of every order had to be bought. Quiet had been procured for France by means of money.

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[1] Even the historiographer Charles Bernard is compelled to admit that "France derived no advantage from these Estates, which were pretty loudly said to have been convened not for the reformation, but the deformation, of the kingdom." Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 38.

[2] "De sorte qu'ils s'en allèrent sans avoir de rien servy au roy ny au royaume, comme on avoit pensé; mais seulement à la reine, contre qui ils avoient esté assemblés, qui demeura bien plus autorisée qu' auparavant, puisque c'estoit du consentement des États, et qu'ils ne luy avoient rien retranché." Mémoires de Fontenay-Mareuil (Ed. Mich. et Pouj.), 82.

Fresh disturbances from the malcontent princes.

What was most amusing about the scene was that the noblemen of her suite, the very persons whose integrity was impeached by the queen's statement, were compelled by circumstances not only to stand by and listen patiently to her accusations, but even to applaud them.

The record of the parliament's action was ordered to be torn from the official registers. But the moral effect was not lost.[1]

The budget of grievances was long. It found expression, as usual, in " declarations " and " proclamations," of the customary prolixity and the customary insincerity. With these we have nothing to do.

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[1] See Mémoires de Pontchartrain, ii. 80,81 ; Mémoires de Rohan, 122. A very graphic account of the reception of the parliament's envoy, and of the anger of the queen-mother, encouraged by the adulatory words of the attendant courtiers, is contained in Gramond, Hist. Galliae ab excessu Henrici IV., 80-83.

Meanwhile the queen-mother, undeterred by opposition, began the preparations for the consummation of the object upon which her heart had long and perversely been set. It was more than three years since the "double Spanish marriages" had been definitely arranged between the courts of Paris and Madrid. The resolution of Marie de' Medici and the fervid eloquence of the Duke of Guise at that time overbore in the royal council the faint-hearted opposition of the Prince of Condé and the Count of Soissons, and the prince well deserved the stinging words addressed to him by his father-in-law, Constable Montmorency: "Sir, you know neither how to fight with courage nor how to yield with prudence."[1] The publication of the contracts of marriage was celebrated with tourneys and combats, with dances and other demonstrations of joy that consumed almost an entire month. The Place Royale was the scene of a pompous display wherein almost every nobleman of the court figured either as an assailant or as a defender of the beautiful structure surnamed the Castle of Felicity. In the processions, triumphal cars, resplendent with gold and silver, were drawn by every kind of animal, says the chronicler, as well such as nature produces as those that fable has invented; while temples and mosques, rolling seas and whales and dolphins moved along to the accompaniment of such music of lutes and spinnets, of guitars and theorbes, of hautboys, flutes, and trumpets, that the like had never been heard before. These public displays, together with the scarcely less notable demonstrations made at the reception of the Duke of Pastrana, of the house of Silva, when he came, a few months later, as the special envoy of Philip the Third to the French court, had well earned for the year of grace 1612 the designation of "the Year of Magnificent Displays — *L'année des magnificences.*"[2] The thoughtless multitude that applauded the projected matrimonial alliances with Spain, rival and capital enemy of France, forgot that the good king Henry the Fourth had promised his eldest daughter to the Prince of Piedmont, son of

The double Spanish marriages.

"L'année des magnificences," 1612.

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[1] Le Vassor, Histoire du règne de Louis XIII., i. 277.

[2] Bernard (Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 22–24), describes, while affecting to dismiss, these gorgeous exhibitions.

the Duke of Savoy, whom he regarded as a more desirable ally than the Spanish monarch; it did not know that, had Louis the Thirteenth married the young Princess of Lorraine, as his father proposed, his bride would have brought a rich dower to the French crown in the duchies of Bar and Lorraine, and hastened by a full century and a half the consolidation of those important districts with the French monarchy.[1]

Remonstrances against the marriages.

And now the time for the fulfilment of the matrimonial contract with Spain had come. True, the persons most nearly concerned were mere children, scarcely old enough to leave the nursery. But Marie de' Medici had been led to expect such wonders from the Spanish alliance that her impatience knew no bounds. The expostulation of the Duke of Bouillon, who warned President Jeannin that the haste of this procedure would be likely to cost France the loss of her old allies and throw her into the arms of other confederates who would detract from her greatness,[2] fell upon dull ears. Equally fruitless was the remonstrance which the ambassador of James the First addressed to the king and his mother, pleading the privilege of a monarch who had been on terms of close friendship with Henry the Fourth to exercise all the influence he might possess with Henry's son in order to prevent him from rushing headlong into a connection by which he would seem to Christendom entire, to be espousing all the interests of Spain and turning his back upon the rest of the world.[3] On the seventeenth of August, Marie de' Medici set out for the Spanish border, where the interchange of the princesses that were to become the future queens of France and Spain was appointed to take place. As the malcontent noblemen who had retired from court were known to have gathered a considerable army both of foot and of horse, the royal party were accompanied not only by the dukes of Guise, Elbeuf, Uzès, and Épernon, but by a military force, under command of Marshal

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[1] See Le Vassor, i. 132, 196. It may be noticed that, according to the preliminary articles of Vienna, signed October 5, 1735, both Bar and Lorraine were to become an integral part of France upon the death of Stanislas Lesczcynski. This event took place February 23, 1766.

[2] Bouillon to Jeannin, June 9, 1615, Mercure françois, iv. 92.

[3] Synopsis in Bernard, i. 44.

Boisdauphin, sufficient to discourage attack or attempt at interference.[1]

The Protestant national assembly of Grenoble.

Meanwhile the malcontents were exerting themselves to the utmost to induce the Huguenots to make common cause with them—an effort in which they were the more likely to succeed, because a national political assembly of the Protestants was, by royal permission, at that time in session in the city of Grenoble. No little trouble had been experienced in settling upon the place. The Protestants saw but too clearly the object of the government in selecting, in the first instance, the capital city of the province of Dauphiny for the seat of their assembly. Apart from the inconvenience of meeting in so distant a spot on the extreme eastern frontier of the kingdom, it would scarcely be possible, they reflected, to pursue an independent course in the immediate neighborhood of a nobleman so powerful and so open to the seductive influences of the court as Marshal Lesdiguières. Nor was this the only reason for which they petitioned that another and more suitable place be named. If Lesdiguières was still professedly a Protestant, he was not only known to be an utterly irreligious man and a libertine, but accused on good and sufficient grounds of having recently compassed the murder of the husband of Marie Vignon, the lewd woman with whom he had long lived in scandalous adultery, and whose ambition he had gratified by having her created Marquise of Treffort. With such a man it was shocking to the common instincts of decency to be compelled to associate, not to speak of the ceremonious respect which it would be necessary to render him. But matters were not improved when, in place of Grenoble, the king named Gergeau, or Jargeau, on the Loire, a small and inconvenient town so near to Paris that the assembly would have felt the pressure of the capital. Some restless spirits were in favor of a bold move on the part of the Huguenots, and even named Montauban as a suitable place, in the midst of a Reformed population, for them to adopt of their own motion. In the end they were fain to accept the court's original selection, and begged to be permitted to meet at Grenoble.[2]

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[1] Bernard, i. 45.

[2] Benoist, ii. 165.

Such details would be of little importance did they not serve to bring into relief the reigning spirit of mutual distrust of the court and the Protestant subjects of the crown.

The Huguenot demands.

The assembly had no sooner begun its sessions than it was plied with solicitations to espouse the cause of the Prince of Condé as its own. Nor were the delegates altogether averse to taking this imprudent step. Their past experience of the inability of Marie de' Medici and her advisers to deal generously or even justly with them, inclined them to take sides with those who, whether their professions were honest or insincere, undertook to represent the true patriotism of the day. Wisely, however, they determined on this occasion to await the reception that might be accorded to the complaints and requests which they made it one of their first duties to put in proper form. And what was the nature of these requests? The contemporary historian Gramond, president of the Parliament of Toulouse, stigmatizes them as the ordinances of an insolent brood of sectaries whom success had inspired with lust of absolute rule, and ostentatiously parades the disgust with which the insane aspirations of their authors inspires him.[1] The perusal of the Protestant articles, or even of the epitome which Gramond himself gives us, will, on the contrary, create in the dispassionate reader no feelings but those of respect for the courage, patriotism, and loyalty to their faith of the men who drew them up. To reiterate the "essential maxim" which the famous first article of the Tiers État and the action of the Parliament of Paris had formulated, and to urge that the principle that the king of France is independent of all other powers ought to be held as a "fundamental law" of the kingdom; to call for a more thorough inquiry into the authors of the assassination of Henry the Fourth; to petition that the pernicious Decrees of the Council of Trent should not be accepted and promulgated in France, according to the demand of the clergy, "to which it had by subtilty enticed the *noblesse*"—in short, to repeat the wise and just suggestions made by the representatives of the *people* of France in the late States General, was certainly an indication rather of a true love of country than of a mad thirst for power. Whatever else was added came within the bounds of a due regard for the right of self-preservation belonging by nature to all men and to all bodies of men. The Huguenots claimed that the ecclesiastics of a church so inimical as the Roman Catholic should not sit, in the royal council or elsewhere, as judges respecting the concerns of the Protestant religion or its adherents; that the king should authoritatively declare that in the use of the word "heretics" in his coronation oath he had not intended to refer to the members of the Reformed Church; that the injurious designation of "*pretended*" Reformed Church should be dropped from the documents which the Protestant pastors were compelled to sign; that the Protestants should themselves elect the two deputies-general that were to represent them, instead of submitting to the king six names from which to pick out those most likely to be subservient tools of the court; that the possession of the cities of security be continued to the Protestants for ten years; that if the governors of such cities of security had apostatized, they should be replaced by men professing the Protestant religion; that the Protestant churches of Béarn should be permitted a representation in the political assembly by the side of the churches of France.[1] In all this, including even the respectful request with which the document closed, that the monarch should consider carefully the supplications of the Prince of Condé and of those associated with him, there was nothing which a Protestant ardently devoted to his country and to his faith might not properly suggest, nothing that a ruler having at heart his own best interests and the welfare of a large body of his subjects ought not to have been anxious to grant. For if the assembly had in any degree exceeded its competence in treating of matters that could by some be regarded as purely political, the anxiety of all good citizens for the safety of the person of their chief magistrate, not to speak of the particular concern of Protestants in checking the overweening pretensions of their arch-enemy, the occupant of the papal See, must be regarded as an ample justification.

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[1] "Superbæ plebiscita gentis, Latine restitui ut sonant verba, quo neminem lateat prosperis rebus affectasse Sectarios usque in tyrannidem rerum imperia. Piget me dum hæc scribo vesanæ libidinis qua se præcipitem dedit Secta impotens," etc. Hist. Galliæ ab excessu Henrici IV. (Amstelodami. 1653), 96.

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[1] The summary in Benoist, ii. 174–176, is very full; the accounts of Gramond, 95, 96, and of Anquez, Hist. des Assemblées politiques, 267, 268, are briefer. The extract in the Mercure françois, iv. 213–19, gives the text of six of the twenty-five articles.

At the same time it cannot but be admitted that the Protestant assembly erred in judgment when by its last article it seemed inopportunely to give a partial endorsement to the movement of Condé and Bouillon. It alienated still more the queen-mother and others whose course was indirectly censured, and rendered them even less disposed than before to concede the just demands already made. But more disastrous than this mistake was the error which the assembly of Grenoble committed in the letter with which the bearers of the budget of its requests were charged. In their eagerness to contrast their own fidelity to the crown with the disloyal attitude assumed by the clergy and those who upheld the clergy's hands in the late meeting of the States General, the Protestants were betrayed into expressions of a blind and extravagant obedience to the royal authority. The blunder was not a solitary one. We shall see that as the toleration of the Reformed religion became more and more precarious, as the safeguards of their liberties were successively impaired or withdrawn, the Huguenots, in their endeavor to prove themselves to be, what in reality they were, the most obedient and trustworthy subjects of the crown, were tempted to rear with their own hands that formidable structure of the absolute authority of the king, which, when once erected, was destined to prove the ruin of their hopes of quiet. In the end it was no very difficult task to overwhelm those who had been studiously instructed to believe that, save where their religion was directly concerned, they had no right to defend themselves against the oppression of a king who, in virtue of his divinely conferred prerogative, and as the "living image of the invisible God," was absolute master of the lives and property of his subjects.[1]

Extravagant deference to royal authority.

The queen-mother and her children had already left Paris and were advancing toward Guyenne and the Spanish frontier with as much expedition as a royal progress will admit of. The Protestant envoys, coming up with the court at Amboise, were promised an opportunity to hand in the assembly's demands when Tours should have been reached. At Tours they were promised that the royal answer should be given them at Poitiers. Of that answer, when at last it came, it could only be said that it gave the Protestants little reason to believe that the government had any object but to gain time by giving vain and illusory promises. True, there was a definite statement that the Reformed were not the "heretics" designated in the coronation oath, and, while the king refused to make any change in the title by which the Protestant religion was to be known, he graciously permitted the pastors to style themselves simply "ministers of the church established in such or such a place in accordance with the Edict." But nothing of essential importance was conceded, and the assurances, whether that the death of the late king should be more narrowly looked into, or that the clerical members of the royal council would retire whenever Protestant affairs were treated of, were so vague or could so easily be evaded, as to amount to little or nothing.[1]

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[1] This point is discussed by Le Vassor, ii. 339, 340.

The royal answer.

The deputies, themselves detained at court—a suspicious circumstance—wrote to the assembly and expressed their dissatisfaction and alarm. The Jesuits, they said, were preaching at court and everywhere spreading the report that the royal marriages had been resolved upon only with the view of extirpating the heretics. And when Chancellor Sillery was informed of the fears which these utterances fostered among the prospective victims—it was none other than Duplessis Mornay himself that brought the matter to his notice—he confined himself to the exclamation, "Good God! Are we to take account of all that the Jesuits take it into their heads to preach? They do not govern the state." To which the experienced diplomatist well replied: "No alarm is created by what the other monks may say, but our people believe that they must pay attention to the proceedings and the speeches of the Jesuits. We see them constantly about the princes and state ministers. Under cover of religion and piety they instil their own political views and designs. You know even better than I, sir, that

Alarm caused by Jesuit preaching.

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[1] Benoist, ii. 176, 177.

France has only too deeply experienced the fatal effects of the counsels given by the Jesuits."[1]

Were the Jesuit preachers injudiciously divulging a real design of the court, and not simply imposing upon their credulous hearers? Were there in existence certain secret articles agreed upon by the high contracting parties in accordance with which the marital union of the princes and princesses was to be cemented by a general proscription of Protestantism? Louis and his mother asserted the contrary in the reply sent about this time to a letter lately written by the Grenoble assembly requesting the adjournment of the royal progress and of the marriages. "The king cannot," it said, "for many good reasons defer his journey, but neither the journey nor the marriages ought to give umbrage to the Protestants, since they will produce no change in the protection, liberty, and security the Protestants have ever enjoyed, nor in the observance of the edicts, and the maintenance of foreign alliances.[2]

No secret articles agreed upon between France and Spain.

Marie de' Medici and her son probably spoke, or meant to speak, the honest truth on this occasion. They had bound themselves by no secret contracts to a policy of persecution. There is a class of persons, however, that are not readily believed even when they tell the truth; and the present rulers of France had unfortunately incurred suspicion of belonging to this class. The Grenoble assembly, more alarmed than ever, resolved to remove from a town where, as it had from the first anticipated, the predominant influence of Lesdiguières was a perpetual menace to its independent activity. The step was injudicious, not only because offensive, if not positively insulting, to the marshal, but because by the change of place the assembly forfeited the royal sanction to its existence, and came into direct collision with the authority of the king. There was no great interest of the Protestant religion in France that would have suffered by a little delay, and certainly the Huguenots that had deputed them might well have expected of the members of the political assembly that their pleasure

The political assembly resolve to leave Grenoble.

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[1] Vie de Duplessis Mornay, 417, Le Vassor, ii. 342.

[2] Mémoires de Pontchartrain, 100.

should be consulted in a matter that might prove of great concern to the general cause. For the removal was likely to prove the signal of war.[1] Marshal Lesdiguières endeavored to reason with the delegates, and presented the state of the case in a wise and sensible speech, which won him golden opinions from all impartial men. The doughty general of Henry the Fourth well deserved the designation given him by the historiographer Bernard of "a man of great experience," however much we may question the appositeness of the farther characterization of so licentious a nobleman as "of high virtue."[2] "But in reality the potent arguments to which he gave utterance on this occasion were from the pen of the indefatigable Duplessis Mornay, whose castle of Saumur served as the inexhaustible arsenal from whose resources the soundest instruments of statesmanship, as well as the most trenchant weapons of religious controversy, forged by a practised hand, were freely dispensed to all parts of the Protestant world.[3] I can touch only upon a few of the considerations by means of which prudence sought to check ill-regulated zeal — the danger that if the king should resort to rigor in punishing Huguenot insubordination, the Protestants would lose in a day two or three hundred of their churches, and among these not a few of the most flourishing, the fruits of the labors of the past eighteen years; the certainty of many a massacre provoked by the Jesuits and executed with ardor by a populace only too ready to fall upon those whom they would hold to be the authors of the war; the detestation of all good Frenchmen, who would sympathize and even fra-

Remonstrances of Marshal Lesdiguières.

The argument suggested by Duplessis Mornay.

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[1] "Et certes la résolution de quitter Grenoble étoit de si grande importance, et les suites en étoient si fort à craindre pour toutes les Églises Réformées de France, que les députez méritent d'être blamez de l'avoir prise de leur tête, sans avoir consulté auparavant ceux dont ils avoient reçu leur commission." Le Vassor, ii. 364.

[2] Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 53.

[3] In Duplessis Mornay's letter of September 7, 1615, he gave Marshal Lesdiguières permission to make use of the truths and reasons alleged in the enclosed paper as he might deem advisable, but requested him to furnish no copy of it to any one and to avoid giving the writer's name. Both the letter and the paper are given in the Vie de Duplessis Mornay (Leyden, 1647), 418–423, as well as in the Mémoires de D. M. (Amsterdam, 1652), iii. 786–792.

ternize with the victims of unjust persecution, but would loathe men who were both quarrelsome and restless; the condemnation of foreign princes and states, that otherwise might undertake their defence, when they saw the French Protestants taking advantage of the youth of the king for their own ends, and enfeebling the only prince of Christendom who could be a counterpoise to the power of which all stood in dread; the maledictions of such of the churches themselves as might refuse to obey the summons of their ill-advised associates, for needlessly disturbing their peace and endangering their very existence. Respecting the issue of the war that might ensue, he left those to judge who, with the experience of the past forty years before them, would consider the difference between arms taken up of necessity and arms taken up in mere wantonness, between the resolutions of a persecuted Huguenot and of a Huguenot that can live unmolested. "Remember," he said, "how often our fathers and we ourselves have sighed for such a liberty as that which we now possess. If there be some lack in the things granted us by the Edict, as in point of fact there is only too much, we can justly and earnestly petition for reparation or increase, in order to strengthen and better the condition of our churches; but we may not transcend the bounds of conscience or of prudence." He answered the objection that the Spanish marriages, a Jesuit inspiration, were planned with a view to the extirpation of "heresy," by affirming that the prince who takes the daughter of his neighbor does not of necessity espouse with her his neighbor's counsels, nor cease to regard his own interests, nor set his kingdom on fire in order to gratify him. "After all, however," he concluded, "if, when we have remained steadfast in our duty, the attempt should be made to deprive us of our religion, or of anything whereupon our liberty or security is dependent, acquired by the blood of our fathers and by our own blood, and granted to us by that great king, the restorer of France, we shall enter upon the career of arms full of justice and of true zeal, we shall find in our bosoms the heart and valor of our ancestors, we shall be supported in our righteous defence by all good Frenchmen, we shall be assisted by all princes and states that love either the true religion or the welfare of this realm. In sum, we shall be favored by the blessing of God, which we have heretofore manifestly experienced in our just warfare, and this warfare He will cause to redound to the glory of His name and to the spiritual and temporal advancement of our churches."[1]

The political assembly removes to Nismes.

But not even the arguments of Duplessis Mornay, forcibly set forth by Marshal Lesdiguières, could persuade the Protestant assembly, too fully imbued with suspicion of the motives of the latter, to renounce its projected removal. In his indignation Lesdiguières talked of closing the gates of Grenoble and detaining the delegates by main force; but soon perceiving the storm which so violent a course would raise everywhere throughout Protestant France, he permitted them to go, contenting himself with preventing the deputies of Dauphiny from accompanying their associates. The rest of the body proceeded to Nismes, where it took up its abode, sending messengers to the king to beg him not to take amiss the removal from Grenoble, and proposing, in case that were his preference, to go to any other place that he might designate. When, however, his majesty, or the ministers that acted in his name, repressing some natural anger at Huguenot insubordination,[2] took advantage of the incautious offer, and bade the assembly transfer its sessions to the city of Montpellier, the Protestants perceived their blunder too late and refused to leave the friendly shelter they had reached. For it was no secret that at Montpellier, where Châtillon, a powerful nobleman of too indolent a disposition to oppose the court's influence, was governor, the assembly would enjoy no greater freedom than in the city from which it had just escaped. The king's ministers, not sorry to have induced the Protestants to put themselves in the undesirable attitude of a discontented party whom nothing but an entire submission to their whims would satisfy, were in no haste to take measures to compel the assembly to proceed to Montpellier.[1]

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[1] Lesdiguières's speech before the assembly of Grenoble, September 21, 1615, is given at length in the Mercure françois, iv. 267–274. A comparison shows that the marshal used Duplessis Mornay's paper with commendable fidelity.

[2] "Le Roy a pris en bonne part les raisons que nous luy avons faict représenter, touchant le changement de nostre assemblée en ce lieu, auctorisant sans aucune injonction néanmoins la continuation d'icelle à Montpellier, où nous ne sommes point allez, d'autant que les mêmes raisons qui nous ont fait partir de Grenoble s'y rencontrent à plus près, outre plusieurs autres considérations, lesquelles représentées à S. M., nous espérons qu'elle en demeurera satisfaite." Lettre des députés de l'assemblée générale de Nismes, à Messieurs du conseil des églises de l'Isle de France, Picardie, etc. Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. franç., xiv. (1865) 59. The deputies were equally confident in their hope that by the assurance of respect which they had sent to Lesdiguières they had removed the disagreeable impression produced by their removal from Grenoble. At least, the marshal declared "qu'il ne lui en demeuroit aucun maltalent pour se départir de notre union." In this they were misled by their wishes.

It is no part of my purpose to describe the journey of the king to the Spanish frontier, nor to detail the pompous ceremonial of the exchange of the two princesses, future queens of Spain and France, effected upon the river Bidassoa, the boundary between the two kingdoms. The curious, if they will, may read the story in all its tedious prolixity upon the pages of the admiring chroniclers of the day.[2] The marriage of Louis the Thirteenth and the Infanta Anna of Austria, having been previously performed by proxy, was celebrated with all solemnity in the city of Bordeaux, and with no other mishap than that the Bishop of Saintes was at the last moment called upon to officiate in place of his superior, Cardinal Sourdis, Archbishop of Bordeaux. This last-named prelate had been so audacious, or so unfortunate, as on the day before to render himself liable to arrest on the charge of complicity in a case of murder. As, with the great cross carried before him, the cardinal was passing, whether by accident or design, near the public prison in which was confined one Hautchastel, a gentleman whom the parliament of the city had condemned to death for his crimes, and in whose behalf the king had refused to intervene, the nobles of the prelate's suite had demanded of the jailer the surrender of his prisoner, and when he refused had killed him, broken down the doors, and liberated the culprit. The prelate protested that the crime was committed without his knowledge or consent. The parliament judged otherwise, and to avoid imprison-

Audacious act of the Archbishop of Bordeaux.

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[1] Le Vassor, ii. 366, 367.

[2] See the Mercure françois, x. 287–300. Bernard, Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 58, 59.

ment, or possibly a worse fate, Cardinal Sourdis hastily made his escape.[1] A dignitary of the church who was not only guilty of murder but of an unpardonable affront to the king sojourning within the walls of his episcopal city, could scarcely be expected to pronounce the blessing of heaven upon that king's nuptials.[2]

The Protestants of Bordeaux commanded to hold religious services.

The departure of Louis the Thirteenth from Bordeaux was closely followed by an incident that may seem somewhat whimsical to any one at all conversant with the desire felt by the judges of the kingdom to restrict the exercises of Protestant worship within the narrowest possible limits. Scarcely had his majesty started northward on his way to Paris when, for some reason or other, the municipal authorities ordered a general disarming of the Protestants of the place. The measure created wide-spread alarm and led the consistory, through fear that this might be the prelude of a fresh massacre after the example of the butcheries of the preceding century, to order the suspension of all public religious services. Now the parliament in turn took alarm. A cessation of worship both evidenced and was calculated to spread distrust. Nothing remained for the judges to do but to compel the consistory to withdraw its obnoxious order, and on the fifth of January, 1616, the Parliament of Guyenne issued a peremptory command enjoining upon the two Protestant pastors of Bordeaux, both of them Scotchmen, Cameron and Primrose by name, at once to resume their intermitted functions, under pain of being punished as guilty of high treason! As it was, the clergymen in question having fled from the place, the Protestant worship, despite the desire of the Roman Catholic judges, could not be resumed until after the return of more peaceful times.[1]

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[1] The story is told by Bernard, i. 59, 60, and more fully by Gramond, 103–106. The president of the parliament of Toulouse is even more outspoken in his denunciation of the crime than the official historiographer, and does not hesitate to assert that Cardinal Sourdis went to the prison with the express purpose of setting free his friend, and that his satellites accompanied the episcopal cross with the view of breaking into the prison if need be. "Inauditum in hanc diem," he writes, "damnatum reum dum patibulo imminet, presbyteri ausu vi armata tortori ereptum." The question whether parliament did right in ordering the ecclesiastic's arrest, instead of referring the matter for trial to the pope, is one which Gramond declines to answer. He states the arguments alleged on both sides.

[2] The indignation of the historian De Thou at the impunity with which the culprit finally escaped, is all the more startling from the fact that Archbishop Sourdis seems to have been a connection of his by marriage. See De Thou's long letter in the appendix to Bouchitte, Conférence de Loudun, pp. 689–691.

The assembly of Nismes concludes a treaty of union with Condé.

Meanwhile the Prince of Condé and his associates had effected little worthy of mention. Unable to shake the resolution of Duplessis Mornay to keep aloof from a quarrel in which his clear discernment saw that the Reformed churches had no concern, the confederates were more successful with the political assembly of Nismes, which, with inferior discretion, allowed itself, on the tenth of November, 1615, to conclude a treaty of union with Condé accompanied by very material reservations. If the churches which the assembly represented contributed little actual strength to the prince's forces, the moral effect was of importance. The queen-mother took the alarm, as well when she learned that Marshal Boisdauphin had not been able to prevent Condé from advancing southward to await the king on his return, as when the army of the latter was reinforced by the troops of Soubise, when the Duke of Sully, after long hesitancy, espoused the side of revolt, and when Rohan, Sully's son-in-law, though poorly supported, made the important capture of Lectoure in Gascony, and induced the city of Montauban to declare itself for the confederates.[2] Hence it was that, on the very day that the assembly at Nismes gave in its adhesion to Condé, the king at Bordeaux was made to publish a long "declaration" intended to destroy the effect of any such action, by renewedly confirming all previous legislation in favor of the Huguenots.[3]

It was not long before both parties showed that they were tired of the profitless contention. Marie de' Medici had effected the matrimonial alliance on which her heart was set, and only desired quiet. Condé and his associates having convinced themselves and others that they had little to hope for from a continued resort to arms, were quite willing to obtain at once the large concessions which, in view of the fact that they were made at the cost of the national purse and not of her own, the queen-mother was certain in the end to grant. The general assembly of Nismes, having discovered its own impotence to induce the great mass of the Protestants to embroil themselves in a needless quarrel, addressed the king (on the third of January, 1616) an earnest plea, the burden of which was, from beginning to end, a recapitulation of the reasons that should move him to give France peace, and to put an end to a war which menaced the state and diminished his own authority.[1] The conferences took place at Loudun, in Poitou. When the assembly, in order to be near at hand, asked the permission of the king to remove to La Rochelle, the request was cheerfully granted. In this way a new and singular feature was added to the history of a political body whose character and antecedents were sufficiently strange and paradoxical. For whereas by its withdrawal from Grenoble and its refusal, in obedience to the royal command, to take up its quarters at Montpellier, the Protestant assembly had from an authorized become an illegitimate gathering; so by receiving the gracious permission of his majesty to come from Nismes to La Rochelle, the deputies had no sooner set foot within the Protestant seaport than they became once more the members of a regular and lawful convocation. For such sudden transformations a parallel could scarcely be found elsewhere.

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[1] See Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 188, etc. Unfortunately the sequel was less amusing, for the incident led to internal dissensions, as well as to a conflict between the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions, of which the results were as usual disastrous.

[2] Benoist, ii. 184; Mémoires de Rohan, 129, etc.

[3] See the text of the royal Declaration of November 10, 1615, in Benoist, ii. pièces just., 35–39.

It removes to La Rochelle.

I need to give no account of the long negotiations that ended in the arrangement which bears the name of the Peace of Loudun, and was promulgated in the royal declaration signed at Blois, in the month of May. As the Protestants, or such portion of them as recognized the action of the political assembly, came into alliance with Condé tardily and reluctantly, so their interests were little consulted.[2] The

Peace of Loudun. May, 1616.

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[1] Harangue dernière des députez de l'assemblée de Nismes au roy, prononcée par la bouche du sieur de Breteuille, à la Rochefoucault, le 3 janvier 1616. Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. franç., xiv. (1865) 51–3.

[2] See Bouchitte, La Conférence de Loudun, a large quarto volume published

discussion of the terms of pacification, so far as they were concerned, had been by no means completed, when the Prince of Condé happening to fall sick and being resolved to close the matter at once, hastily appended his signature to the document by which his own interests were well provided for, and left the Huguenots no choice but to follow his example. Inasmuch as the prince had solemnly pledged himself to enter into no arrangement without their consent, his Protestant friends gained from the transaction only new confirmation of the utter untrustworthiness of the political allies with whom they were led from time to time to make common cause. The illusory promises of the court, including the addition of thirty thousand crowns annually to the allowance made to the Protestants for the maintenance of the garrisons of their cities of refuge and for the salaries of their ministers, were little compensation for the struggle. They were not even relieved from the necessity of coupling the opprobrious epithet "pretended" with the designation of their religion. Thus with singular inconsistency a concession amounting to nothing more than the toleration of a form which ordinary courtesy might have dictated, was denied to a party which had been able to maintain its rights at the point of the sword.[1] On the other hand, as if previous declarations to that effect had been insufficient, the king was made, shortly after, not only to give to the world a new and definite assurance of his intention to maintain his Huguenot subjects in their rights, but distinctly to assert that he had not intended to comprehend them in the oath he had taken at his coronation to drive out of his kingdom the heretics denounced by the church.[2]

Course of the Duke of Rohan.

It was with extreme reluctance that Henry of Rohan had espoused the quarrel of the late confederates. Soon after Condé's menacing withdrawal from court the duke had written a paper to be submitted to the queen-mother full of sound advice respecting the course which she ought to pursue. In this document he insisted that if she re-

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by the French government as a part of its magnificent collection of inedited documents bearing upon the history of France. Also, Benoist, ii. 199, etc., and documents, 39, etc.

[1] See the remark of Bouchitte, p. lxiii.

[2] Declaration of Paris, July 20, 1616. Text in Benoist, ii. pièces just., 43, 44.

solved to go forward with the journey to consummate the Spanish marriages, she must at all hazards destroy the existing or possible apprehensions of the foreign allies of France by drawing closer to Savoy and to England, and prove by her good treatment of the assembly of the Protestants that she was sincere in her purpose to protect her Reformed subjects in the enjoyment of their rights. He assured Marie de' Medici of his resolution to serve her faithfully against the Prince of Condé, and not only to advance the welfare of the realm to the utmost of his power, but to exert himself to bring the French Protestants to do the same. "But," he frankly added, "should they, through the hatred entertained against them and through evil counsel, be treated as they were at Saumur, I declare that I shall never disassociate myself from the public resolutions which may be taken by our assembly."[1] The entire disregard of his advice, the refusal of the court to grant him according to promise the reversion of his father-in-law's government of Poitou, which he construed as a personal slight, and the urgent solicitations of his more impetuous brother Soubise, were powerful motives inclining him to adopt a course to which he was at first averse.[2] They would, however, have been inoperative, had they not been reinforced by the insincere promises of the Prince of Condé of the help he would render the Protestant cause, and by assurances of support in infantry and horse of which scarce a tithe ever made its appearance.[3] The Duke of Rohan had made a blunder, as considerable as that which the assembly of Nismes committed. This he himself admitted in a caustic reply which, thirteen years later, he addressed to the Prince of Condé, at a time when the latter, now in command of a royal force to reduce the Protestants, taunted him with the crime of rebellion. "I acknowledge," he said, "that upon one single occasion I took up arms unseasonably, because I did it not for the concerns of our religion, but for the interests of your person, who promised us to obtain the reparation of the infractions upon our edicts, and did nothing in the matter, having made up your mind to a peace before receiving tidings from the general assembly." "From that time," he adds, with pardonable pride, "all men know that I have had arms in my hands only of sheer necessity, in order to defend our estates, our lives, and the freedom of our consciences."[1]

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[1] "Mais si, par passion qu'on ait contre ceux de la religion et par mauvais conseil, on les traite comme à Saumur, je déclare que je ne me désunirai jamais des résolutions publiques que notre assemblée prendra ici." Discours sur le voyage du roi en juillet 1615. Mémoires de Rohan, i. 161–166.

[2] Mémoires de Rohan, i. 127, 128.

[3] Instead of the six thousand foot and five hundred horse that were promised, barely six hundred of the former and fifty of the latter came to the first rendezvous; and there were at no time more than two thousand men in all under arms. Ibid., i. 128.

Ephemeral conversion of the Duke of Candale.

It was one of the curiosities of the struggle of which I have just been speaking that during its course a young Roman Catholic nobleman of the first rank, the Duke of Candale, eldest son of the Duke of Epernon, came over unexpectedly to Protestantism. The conversion of the heir of the most virulent of the enemies of the Reformed faith was due simply to a quarrel with his father, and was as short-lived as it was superficial. None the less was it for the time esteemed of great importance. It contributed much to the resolution adopted by the Nismes assembly to adhere to the Prince of Condé. Great were the rejoicings of the Protestants, who looked for momentous results from this accession to their ranks, but received far more damage from the desertion of the Count of Saint Pol, who after having invoked Rohan's assistance, treacherously deserted his associates and accepted the invitations of the court before the Duke had time to arrive.[2]

With the conclusion of the treaty of Loudun, the brief and unfortunate association of the Huguenots with Condé comes to an end. When again he appears upon the stage of action, it will be in his more natural character of an enemy of Protestantism and a willing instrument in effecting its humiliation. Meanwhile his sudden arrest by the queen-mother's order (on the thirty-first of August, 1616), concerns us in this study as little as does the signal revolution in public affairs in the following year (the twenty-fourth of April, 1617), when Marshal d'Ancre and his wife were hurled from power to be succeeded by a favorite, little, if at all, exceeding them in merit, in the person of the Duke of Luynes. When we read, however, that Louis the Thirteenth exultingly exclaimed, as soon as apprised of the death of the detested Italian whom he had himself planned to overthrow, if not to put out of the way, "Now I am king!" we seem to be transported once more to the time of the Valois, and to witness the ignoble triumph of Henry the Third over the butchered Duke of Guise.[1] The base indignities with which the corpse of Marshal d'Ancre was treated by the populace, and the judicial murder of his wife, a few days later, on the foolish and baseless charge of sorcery, would not unnaturally lead the reader to imagine that from the seventeenth century he had been carried back to the most cruel and superstitious portion of the Middle Ages. The remark of Cardinal Richelieu well characterized the period in which a woman could be sentenced to death by a tribunal of justice on such flimsy pretexts as those on which Leonora Galigai was killed: "There is no such a thing as assured innocence at a time when men wish to find culprits."[2]

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[1] Henry de Rohan au Prince de Condé, Alais, November 6, 1628; Colbert MSS. Nat. Library of France, printed in Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Prot. franç., vi. (1858), 56.

[2] Mercure françois, iv. 276-79. Benoist, ii. 181, 182.

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[1] The Mémoires of Pontchartrain, ii. 222, state that the young king sent word to his mother "que c'étoit lui qui avoit fait tuer le dit maréchal;" while those of the Marshal d'Estrées, 327–8, assert with equal positiveness that Louis was often heard to say that he had never intended to have him killed. It is not improbable that his majesty at first expected merely to arrest Ancre, but was not sorry that Vitry, too readily construing the marshal's first impulsive motion as an attempt to resist, promptly put him to death. Gramond makes Louis, standing in open sight at a window of the Louvre, exclaim that the deed was done by his order—"Jussu, inquit, meo transactum opus." Hist. Gall., p. 158. For Louis's remark to the assassin—"Je vous remercie, Vitri, je suis maintenant Roi"—see Le Vassor, ii. 343.

[2] Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, 166.

CHAPTER III

THE REDUCTION OF BÉARN

FROM the time when Henry of Navarre abjured the Protestant faith in the abbey church of Saint Denis, the clergy had not ceased from insisting upon the complete re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in his ancestral domain of Béarn. Henry did his best to satisfy them, by reinstating the bishops of Lescar and Oleron in their sees, as well as bringing back and pensioning a certain number of curates. The ecclesiastics, however, refused to be content with anything short of the recovery of their former ascendancy, and were persistent and hopeful of success. To this end the periodic assemblies of the clergy of France urged the present monarch to perform what they represented as an act of signal piety. In 1615, upon the very day on which the prelates renewed for ten years their annual grant of one million and three hundred thousand livres to meet the wants of the crown,[1] their representative, François de Harlay, coadjutor of the Archbishop of Rouen, implored Louis, in behalf of the afflicted Catholics of Béarn, "that he would restore the immunities of their bishops, and return to the Church a little of the oil which he received of her hands at his coronation, to heal her wounds in those poor and persecuted quarters."[2]

Importunity of the French clergy.

But Harlay's appeals were cold and unimpassioned in com-

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[1] See "Contracts faits par le clergé de France avec les rois et les receveurs généraux du clergé pour l'imposition et levée des décimes," which are given at full length and occupy more than 250 pages folio in the Recueil des Actes, Titres et Mémoires concernant les affaires du Clergé de France, Paris, 1673, iv. 387, etc. They begin with the famous "Contract of Poissy," October 21, 1561, made for six years. See Rise of the Huguenots, i. 543. The contract agreed upon August 8, 1615, was for ten years, expiring December 31, 1625. (Recueil, etc., ubi supra, iv. 499, etc.)

[2] Remonstrances du clergé, in Recueil des Actes, etc., v. part 2, pp. 261–269.

Harangue of the bishop of Mâcon.

parison with those of Gaspard Dinet, Bishop of Mâcon, who, two years later, undertook a similar office of intercession. Calling upon the monarch to emulate the zeal of Louis the Ninth, he exclaimed: "We ask you not, in imitation of the saintly king whose blood, whose name and whose sceptre you have inherited, to cross and recross the seas, for the purpose of driving from the Orient the enemy of the Christian name, or of recovering the holy places which he unjustly occupies; but, Sire, we invoke your religion, we call upon your justice, that you permit not the Catholic subjects of your sovereign state of Béarn to be treated worse than are the adherents of the Protestant religion in this your kingdom—I say it with shame, and yet with truth, worse than the poor Christians under the domination of the infidel." Waxing more excited as he advanced, the prelate declared that after all that Henry the Fourth had done for the Roman Catholic Church in Béarn, there still remained more than a hundred places—towns, villages, or parishes—destitute of priests or religious worship, although fully twenty-five of every thirty souls were Catholics.[1] But what incensed him most was that, not only had the majority of the inhabitants been deprived of their churches and the exercises of their religion, but the ecclesiastical revenues, contrary to all justice, divine and human, were employed for the maintenance of the enemies of the church, for the salaries of ministers, for the support of a large number of scholars that were reared in Calvinism with the intention of scattering them throughout France, and for other profane purposes. And here the example of King Belshazzar and his sacrilegious feast were advantageously held up as an awful warning. "To use the property of the Church for the maintenance of her enemies, what else is this than to cause the concubines to drink from the vessels of the Lord's house?" As if this were not enough, the orator returned to the somewhat trite subject of the contents of the *sainte ampoule.* "Saint Remy, first spiritual father of our Christian kings, who by his prayers obtained that celestial liquid with which you were anointed and consecrated, predicted in his testament that never should this kingdom be destroyed save by the destruction and change of the Catholic religion. Such are the punishments wherewith God visits the kings and kingdoms that profane His service and the holy things devoted to and intended for it."

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[1] On the other hand, Lescun, the Protestant deputy from Béarn, maintained that there were ten Protestants to one Roman Catholic, especially among persons of consideration. Benoist, ii. 246. If the latter estimate should not be taken as literally exact, neither can the bishop's figures be accepted as even an approximation to the truth, in view of the fact, recorded by the historian of the Edict of Nantes, that even ten years before he wrote, or on the eve of the Revocation, after all the political changes and toward the close of a long period of seduction by threats and promises, there yet remained about seven thousand Protestant families out of the thirty-three thousand families that constituted the entire population of the principality of Béarn. Ibid., ii. 234. The historiographer Bernard states what is probably the precise truth, when he asserts that there was a difference between Lower or French Navarre and Béarn in a religious point of view: "Lower Navarre was strongly Catholic, and Béarn had fewer Catholics than Huguenots." Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 189.

It may be imagined how deep an impression was made upon the mind of a king so weak intellectually as Louis the Thirteenth, by this dire commination.[1]

In view of the demands of the clergy of France, it is perhaps not improper at this point to glance at the history of Béarn during the sixteenth century, in order the better to judge what ground there was in fact for the frequent accusations made against Queen Jeanne d'Albret, grandmother of the reigning French monarch, of having established Protestantism in her dominions at the foot of the Pyrenees by a violent and tyrannical use of power.

Progress of the Reformation in Béarn.

The reformed doctrines made their way into Béarn (as well as to the west of Béarn, into the scanty remains of the old kingdom of Navarre retained by its titular monarchs) during the reign of Henry, husband of Margaret of Angoulême, sister of Francis the First. If Margaret never openly embraced Protestantism, she scarcely disguised her cordial sympathy with its tenets, and extended to its professors as hospitable a welcome as her husband would permit her to offer. The more rapid progress of the reformation dates from the reign of Margaret's daughter, Jeanne d'Albret, and indeed from the latter part of that reign. For, at first, the new queen of Navarre exhibited less inclination to forsake the Roman Catholic faith than did her husband, the impetuous, but inconstant, Antoine of Bourbon. A striking change occurred later, when husband and wife appeared to pass over each to the opposite side, Antoine falling in with the plans of the "triumvirate" so far as to become an ally of persecution, just at the moment that Jeanne avowed herself distinctly a friend of the persecuted. Not until after Antoine's death, in 1562, however, did the Protestants of Béarn experience the full benefit of her favor.

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[1] The harangue of the Bishop of Mâcon, June 2, 1617, may be read in the Mercure françois, v. 45–50, and in the Recueil des Actes, etc., v., part 2, 272–76.

Queen Jeanne d'Albret.

Meanwhile the change involved no persecution of the Roman Catholic clergy or of their followers. The two forms of religion were equally protected, but the queen, taking account of the altered state of things, made provision for the new religion by the side of the old. It was ordered that the churches should be used by the adherents of both communions, and that Roman Catholics and Protestants should equally be free from molestation during their possession of the sacred edifices. The reformed pastors received a stated salary, as did also the parish priests.[1] Thus it was that in her brave reply to the Cardinal of Armagnac, when the latter endeavored by menaces to induce her to abandon her course of reform, she was able to affirm truthfully: "I do nothing by violence, since there is no resort to imprisonment, condemnation or death, which are the sinews of violence."[2]

The queen's equity did not, however, shield her from the assaults of her enemies. Not to speak of conspiracies against her small but coveted dominions from the side of France, the cardinals of the Holy Office, in 1563, formally cited her to Rome and threatened her with deposition as a heretic,[1] and, two years later, the Duke of Alva entered into a plot to kidnap Jeanne and her children and hand them over for trial to the Spanish Inquisition.[2]

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[1] The salary of a pastor at Pau was two hundred and ten livres, elsewhere one hundred and fifty. This was in 1560. Histoire de Jeanne d'Albret, Reine de Navarre, par Mlle. Vauvilliers, i. 177. If this statement be correct, it would seem that the salaries were soon found to be inadequate; for the Ordinances of 1566 fixed the compensation of ministers that were married men at three hundred livres, of those who were single at two hundred and forty. Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français, xl. (1891) 294.

[2] The letter of the cardinal was dated at Belle-Perche, August 18, 1563; the queen's admirable reply was sent back by the courier that had brought the prelate's missive. Both are given textually by Olhagaray, in his Histoire de Foix, Béarn et Navarre (Paris, 1609), 536-551, and both merit a careful perusal.

Conspiracy of her enemies.

It has been commonly represented that as early as in 1563, the mass was abolished on pain of death, all ecclesiastical property was confiscated, and the images and altars were destroyed.[3] Even Olhagaray, a well-informed historian, falls into this mistake,[4] through an apparent confusion of dates. But so far is the statement from being correct that, in the very year in question, the States General of Béarn petitioned the sovereign that every one be permitted to worship God according to his own faith; and Jeanne, acknowledging the justice of the request, issued at once a "perpetual and irrevocable edict" by which the Roman Catholic and Reformed religions were publicly recognized and permitted to exist side by side.[5] Three years later (in 1566), the States of Béarn issued a mandate enjoining the ministers, rectors, and vicars to abstain from interfering with each other in the exercise of their respective functions, and this was followed by an order of Bernard d'Arros, lieutenant-general of the queen of Navarre, fixing the hours for Protestant preaching and for the celebration of the Roman Catholic mass in the churches held in common by the two religions. For six months, from April to October, the Reformed were to hold their services from six to eight o'clock in the morning; for the other half of the year, from seven to nine o'clock. The Roman Catholics were to control the sacred edifices for the rest of the day.[6]

Mutual toleration.

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[1] Mlle. Vauvilliers gives, iii. 221–262 the text of the papal "Monitorium et citatio Officii sanctæ Inquisitionis contra illustrissimam et serenissimam dominam Ioannam Albretiam, reginam Navarrae," both in the original Latin and in translation. It is dated Rome, September 28, 1563.

[2] Rise of the Huguenots, ii. 150, 151.

[3] See Bulletin, ubi infra.

[4] Histoire de Foix, Béarn et Navarre, 535.

[5] The edict was registered February 2, 1563, in the sovereign council and before the seneschal, on the motion of the syndics of the states. Mémoires du Duc de la Force, i. 122.

[6] L. Cadier, Les Pasteurs du Béarn au Siège de Navarrenx, published in Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français, xxxiv. (1885) 260,

Jeanne's ordinance of 1566.

This same year (1566) Jeanne published an important law, wherein, so far from "abolishing the mass on pain of death, ordering the destruction of images and confiscating ecclesiastical property," the queen renewed her provision for the coexistence of the two religions, and guaranteed the free exercise of their worship. If doubt on this point were previously excusable, none is possible since the recent discovery and publication of the text of the ordinance itself.[1] It is true that the queen distinctly expressed her hope to accomplish the extirpation of the "papal idolatry," but with equal distinctness she announced her purpose to adjourn the attempt to a time when the greater part of her people should have renounced all idolatry and embraced the word of God. It is also true that Roman Catholic *preaching* was altogether forbidden. This measure, if incapable of justification, is at least easily explained in view of the seditious character of the customary sermons of the priests and monks. Otherwise, however, the proper and orderly celebration of the public worship and sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church was not interfered with. In the interest of good morals and of the public peace, religious processions outside of the sacred edifices were suppressed, and blasphemy, licentiousness, games of chance, dissolute dances, mendicancy, whether by begging friars or by other able-bodied persons, were strictly forbidden. Renewed provision was made for the support of the Protestant ministers, and, more particularly, for the education at the public expense of promising youth in the college which the queen had founded at Orthez.

Meanwhile the Roman Catholic priests were enjoined not to return to and officiate in places where the services of their religion had been intermitted, and bishops and others, save lay patrons, were ordered in future not to confer vacant benefices upon any one, since it was the queen's purpose to unite the

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261. Mr. Cadier's statement is based upon a document in the communal archives of Laruns. See also Mémoires du Duc de la Force, i. 123.

[1] "Règlement de Jeanne, Reine de Navarre, Duchesse d'Albret, concernant la R. P. R. pour le Béarn," dated July, 1566; published, from a copy found in the library of the city of Auch by M. Soulice, in the Bulletin of the French Protestant Historical Society, xl. (1891) 292-95.

revenues of such benefices to the provision already made for the poor of the Reformed Churches of the principality.

M. de Terride seizes the principality.

Jeanne's authority reëstablished by Count Montgomery.

A revolt that arose as the consequence of the promulgation of this law in Lower Navarre was promptly put down. Not so the more formidable rebellion which broke out when arms were taken for the third time to crush the Huguenots of France. The Roman Catholic party despatched M. de Terride to co-operate with the insurgents of Béarn and to seize the queen's territories for the benefit of the king of France. The entire principality fell into his hands with the exception of the city of Navarrenx. The clergy and their adherents played into the hands of the invaders, opening the gates of the walled places and becoming the cause of numerous massacres and other excesses, in which, it must be confessed, the professors of the traditional faith were frequently involved in the same ruin with their Protestant fellow-citizens. The brilliant generalship of the Count of Montgomery, sent by Admiral Coligny at Jeanne's request, freed her from this new danger by the reconquest of her states. Montgomery's campaign of scarcely a score of days well merited the praise of his opponent Marshal Montluc, who said that no finer action had been seen in the wars of the sixteenth century.[1] The queen's clemency was displayed in a general amnesty which she published soon after (from La Rochelle, on the thirty-first of May, 1570). Even this was not sufficient to secure the loyalty of a portion of her unruly subjects. A fresh uprising took place in Lower Navarre, and the siege of Rabastens by the pitiless Montluc was attended by scenes of unparalleled cruelty. Even yet Jeanne clung to the path of conciliation and religious toleration. It was not until the States of Béarn, now become thoroughly Protestant, through the flight of those whose persistent attempts to rob their princess of her domains had met with signal failure, addressed their queen an urgent plea for the establishment of the religious affairs of the principality on a permanent basis, that Jeanne d'Albret enacted (on the twenty-sixth of November, 1571) those Ecclesiastical Ordinances under which the territories at the foot of the Pyrenees had, at the time of which I write, been governed for nearly half a century. Even then, however, no reign of persecution was inaugurated, and the queen of Navarre confined herself to ordering the formal suppression of a religion which had to her become the synonym of rebellion, and whose clergy declined to avail themselves of her offers of pardon.[1] It was in keeping with her exalted character that Jeanne did not confiscate the ecclesiastical revenues which Count Montgomery acting by her authority had sequestered two years before (on the second of February, 1569), for the purpose of augmenting her own wealth or of bestowing them, either wholly or in part, as rewards upon her favorites. The Ordinances committed them intact to a council, to be elected by the national synod of Béarn, with the stipulation that they be applied to the maintenance of the ministers of the Gospel, to the support of public schools, and to the relief of the truly poor—widows, orphans, strangers, prisoners, young children, and unmarried women, unable by their toil to meet their necessities and solicitous to conceal their destitution from the public notice.[2] So wealthy, however, was the church of Béarn, that the revenues which had been fully consumed by the former clergy, were found far more than sufficient to sustain the Protestant pastors and meet all the educational and charitable ends which Jeanne d'Albret had in view. The surplus was therefore applied to such uses of state as the necessities of the time dictated.[3]

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[1] 'Car lever un siège contre forces esgalles, vaincre et forcer une ville, prendre le lieutenant du roy dans une bonne ville en trois jours, presque à la teste d'ung mareschal de France et d'ung lieutenant de roy comme j'estois. et bref, en tois jours conquérir tout ung païs, cela semble estre ung songe. Il fault confesser, que de toutes noz guerres, il ne s'est faict ung plus beau traict de guerre que cestuy-cy." Mémoires de Blaise de Monluc [Montluc] (Ed. of the Soc. de l'hist. de France, by Alph. de Ruble), iii. 285.

The ecclesiastical ordinances of 1571.

The author of this legislation did not long survive its institution. Her son and successor maintained it in full vigor during his reign of eight-and-thirty years. For if Henry of Navarre so far yielded to the importunities of his clerical advisers as, after his abjuration at Saint Denis, to authorize the re-introduction of the Roman Catholic religion into Béarn, with its bishops of Lescar and Oleron and a considerable number of inferior clergy, he steadfastly refused to annul the conclusions reached by his mother with the co-operation of the Estates of the principality. Both Jeanne d'Albret and Henry of Navarre regarded the representatives of the people of Béarn as clearly within their right when they undertook to designate the purposes to which the ecclesiastical revenues should be applied. Those revenues were the property not of the hierarchy, but of the Christian people for whose benefit churches had been built and religious exercises were held. The people alone were competent to decide what teachers they would listen to, what shepherds they would have to care for the interests of their souls. A change that had been effected not by violence or constraint of the sovereign, but by the solemn decision of the commonwealth, duly expressing itself in the deliberations of the three orders of the principality, must be respected as the constitution of Béarn, which could not be altered except in an equally solemn manner by the common consent of the people and the sovereign.[1] Therefore it was that when Henry the Fourth deemed it but just to confer upon the Roman Catholics of Béarn similar rights to those which he granted to the Huguenots of France by the Edict of Nantes, he took pains in the new law, to which he gave the same designation as to that more famous document of an "edict perpetual and forever irrevocable," to confirm in express terms his mother's ordinances.[2] Besides re-establishing the two bishops of Lescar and Oleron, with salaries drawn from the king's own

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[1] The seventy-one articles of the Ecclesiastical Ordinances of 1571 are fully analyzed and discussed by Mlle. Vauvilliers, Histoire de Jeanne d'Albret, iii. 97–116. M. de Rochambeau has, I believe, published the text of these ordinances in his Galerie des hommes illustres du Vendômois, pp. 187–213. (See Bulletin, xl. 288, note.)

[2] Ordinances, ubi supra, Vauvilliers, iii. 104, 105.

[3] Mémoires du Duc de la Force, i. 125, 126.

Maintained in force by Henry of Navarre.

Confirmed by his "perpetual and irrevocable edict."

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[1] M. N. Weiss has ably discussed this entire question in his paper entitled "L'intolérance de Jeanne d'Albret," in the Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. franç., xl. (1891) 261–292.

[2] "Entendons neantmoins que nosdits règlements et de nos predecesseurs demeurent en leur forme et vigueur, pour les articles auquel [aux quels] n'est derogé par cestuy, nostre present Édit." See Mercure françois v. 174; Benoist, Histoire de l'édit de Nantes, i. 285; Olhagaray, Histoire de Foix, Béarn et Navarre, 706. Mémoires du Duc de la Force, i. 127, 128.

treasury, he provided for the reintroduction of the Roman Catholic worship in twelve parishes, as well as in other places, not already occupied, which had lay patrons of the Roman Catholic faith. Roman Catholics and Protestants were to be admitted without discrimination to all offices and dignities, but the number of the former was not to exceed the number of the latter. Not unnaturally did the reintroduction of the clergy into Béarn create considerable excitement,[1] and the Duke of La Force tells us that at Pau, "he had all the trouble in the world," to secure the registration of the edict in its favor. In the end, the States of the principality which he took care to assemble, acquiesced without complaint in the new order of things, on receiving from the newly appointed bishops and their friends the positive promise that having obtained the free exercise of their religion they would make no further demands.[2] In fact, there seemed to be good reason to expect that under the beneficent sway of the edict, the reign of quiet and order would be as fully assured in Béarn, as under the Edict of Nantes in the neighboring provinces of southwestern France, where peace was so well cemented that "no longer were there heard among the people those names of 'Papists' and 'Huguenots' that had been current since the reign of the second Francis." [3]

Henry refuses to expel the Protestant ministers.

Any expectations of the kind, however, were evanescent. Scarcely had the bishops been admitted to the principality, when, despite their engagement, they broached their plan of securing the expulsion of the ministers. For this end, they followed Henry from Lyons to Chambéry, from Chambéry to Montmeillan, where they presented to his majesty their formal demand for a writ of replevin to recover all the ecclesiastical property unjustly withheld from them, and for the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in every part of Béarn. This met with a direct and positive refusal. About the same time (1601), it is true, Henry acceded to the petition of the bishops to be admitted to the Council of State of Béarn with a deliberative voice. But the uneasiness inspired by the new pretensions of the Roman Catholics was allayed by a positive assurance given by the monarch that he had had no intention of introducing any change in the ecclesiastical situation or in the ordinances of the queen his mother, and that these ordinances should be maintained in full force and vigor.[1] The matter did not end there. For several years, what with the importunity of the prelates and the corresponding excitement on the part of the Bearnese Protestants, who turned to their French brethren for support,[2] Henry the Fourth and his vigilant governor, the Duke of la Force, enjoyed little quiet. The king was at last wearied beyond endurance with the pertinacity of the bishops, and absolutely forbade them to speak to him again on the subject of any modification of his edict. And when, in spite of this, they undertook to reopen the matter, he made a retort more frank than courteous. "You would do better," said he, "to remain at home and preach in your churches than to torment the people of your dioceses and to be perpetually coming from Béarn to the court and driving me distracted by your importunity.[3]

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[1] As it did, also, in some parts of Foix into which it was contemporaneously introduced. At Mazères, in that county, however, there being scarcely any Roman Catholic inhabitants, not a soul was present when the mass was performed, except the suite of the commissioners sent to put the edict into execution. Olhagaray, ubi supra.

[2] Mémoires du Duc de la Force, i. 128.

[3] Ibid. i., 130.

And rebukes the pertinacity of the bishops.

Louis the Thirteenth had very different views from those of his father, as he was surrounded by very different counsellors. It was no difficult matter to persuade him that the "States" of Jeanne d'Albret were no States of Béarn at all, since the clergy who should have constituted the first order were absent, and their place was but usurped by Protestant ministers; that Henry the Fourth had year by year granted larger concessions to the Roman Catholics of his principality, and would have done still more for them had his life been spared; and, in answer to the plea of prescription, that the fifty years of Protestant possession was but an insignificant space of time compared with the period of fifteen hundred years of which the Roman Catholics boasted.[1]

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[1] Mémoires du Duc de la Force, i. 133–35. Nevertheless it should be noticed that some part of the ecclesiastical revenues were diverted. "Néanmoins il étoit retenu une partie des deniers ecclésiastiques [in 1599], qui de longue main étoient affectés aux pasteurs de ceux de la religion et autres charges du pays." Ibid., ii. 85.

[2] Henry IV. was determined that the Huguenots of Béarn should not be represented in the National Synods of the kingdom of France without a special permission from him. See his letter to La Force, April 27, 1607. Ibid., i., appendix, 455.

[3] "Cependant, au mois de décembre, les Évêques ayant voulu encore en reparler à sa Majesté, le Roi leur repartit qu'ils feroient mieux à demeurer prêcher dans leurs églises, que de tourmenter les peuples de leurs diocèses, et de s'en venir toujours du Béarn à la Cour lui rompre la tête. Ibid., i. 211, 212.

Louis XIII. orders the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion.

The blow fell on the twenty-fifth of June, 1617, when an order from the king in council was issued granting the demands of the clergy both as to the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic church throughout Béarn and as to the restoration of the ecclesiastical revenues to their original destination.[2] Of his own authority, and quite disregarding the fact that the solemn decisions of the sovereign States General of Béarn could constitutionally be repealed only by an equally solemn decision of the same body, Louis the Thirteenth by one stroke of the pen overturned the entire fabric which his father and he himself had repeatedly promised to uphold. The boldness of autocratic and arbitrary government could no further go. Against a ruler to whom pledges so often repeated were of no binding force, no usages, no "*fors*," such as those upon which the Béarnais relied as upon an impregnable defence, could be of any avail. Yet, since the semblance of justice must in a measure be preserved, it was somewhat ostentatiously provided that the king's Protestant subjects should be maintained in all their rights both of religious worship and of the pecuniary support of their ministry and institutions. The king undertook to supply all the funds necessary for the salaries of the ministers and of the professors of the colleges, for the needs of the poor, and, in general, for all the other purposes for which the ecclesiastical revenues had been employed, from the income of the royal domain of Béarn, and, in default of that, from the in-

Compensation to be made to the Protestants.

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[1] These are among the reasons alleged in the answer made to the "Discours" published by the Protestants of Béarn in 1618. See Mercure françois, v. 181–191.

[2] Mém. du Duc de la Force, ii. 104; Benoist, ii. 243; Mercure françois, v. 52–54, where the text of this important document is given.

come of his other duchies, counties, etc. If assurances passed current for deeds, the Protestants had no reason to complain of any financial damage that the change would effect. On only one point were the demands of the clergy not, indeed, denied but adjourned: the king deferred until after the return of the commissioner who was to be sent to Béarn with the document any action upon the request that the clerical order should again be admitted to the States General of Béarn and to the Council of the principality, with seat and deliberative voice.

Three months later, a formal edict gave the force of permanent law to the provisions of the king's order in council, and left no room for doubt in the minds either of Roman Catholics or of Protestants respecting the fate of Béarn.[1]

Opposition of the Béarnese.

It proved no easy matter to bring the little territory at the foot of the Pyrenees to acquiesce in this violent action of the crown. A country proud of its traditions and tenacious of its ancestral rights and privileges, however narrow its limits, does not yield instantly even to the pressure of overwhelming force. The injustice was aggravated in the present instance by the bad faith of the court in issuing the order in council without awaiting the return of the special envoy of Béarn, as had been promised, and by the mendacity of the document itself, which asserted that the arguments and documents submitted by the Protestant deputies had been duly heard and examined.[2] So far from receding from its position, moreover, the king's advisers had even gone farther, in response to new demands made by the assembly of the clergy before its final adjournment, drawing back from nothing except the preposterous suggestion of the prelates that the king should grant them four cities of security in Béarn. Inasmuch as they were backed by the whole authority and military establishment of the crown, and claimed that the Roman Catholic population outnumbered the Reformed in the proportion of six to one, the absurdity of the proposition prevented the royal council from entertaining it seriously.[1]

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[1] Edict du Roy Louis XIII. du mois de Septembre 1617, portant restablissement de la Religion Catholique en Béarn, et main-levée des biens des Ecclesiastiques saisis dès le temps de la Reyne de Navarre. Recueil des Actes, Titres et Mémoires concernant les affaires du Clergé de France, vi. 42, 43.

[2] Benoist, ii. 243.

The struggle against the arbitrary course of the government, however just it might be, was from the beginning hopeless. Yet Béarn exerted itself with a courage and determination worthy of a far different issue. Louis the Thirteenth, having once committed himself, was resolved to execute the promise given to the clergy, and would not listen to reason. It was no difficult matter for the Protestant deputies to prove that their immemorial usages had been violated, or that the Roman Catholics of Béarn could complain of no great ill-usage, inasmuch as they boasted of three hundred priests in Béarn, without taking into account the bishops, canons, and preachers, as against only sixty ministers of the Reformed Religion.[2] But nothing came of their remonstrances. In their perplexity the Bearnese sought the advice of their neighbors, and, availing themselves of the system not long since introduced, invited a political assembly of three adjoining provinces to meet in the town of Casteljaloux. No secrecy had been observed, since no treasonable plans were contemplated. Consequently, before the assembly had time to come together, the consuls of Casteljaloux received warning from the king not to admit the delegates into the town, and from Bordeaux came a parliamentary order to treat them as rebels and disturbers of the public peace. The gates were shut in their faces. When they turned their steps to Tonneins on the Garonne, a similar rebuff awaited them. They were constrained to retire quietly to Orthèz in Béarn itself, whence they wrote letters to the king, which he not only declined to receive, as emanating from an unauthorized meeting, but answered by publishing a declaration against all that might take part in their deliberations.[3] The highest judicature of the little principality, meanwhile, availed itself of its time-honored privilege of remonstrance, and delayed to register the obnoxious edict until its reasons should have been heard by the crown. A royal commissioner was sent to hasten the execution of this formality,

Political assembly of Casteljaloux.

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[1] Benoist, ii. 247.

[2] Ibid., ii. 246.

[3] May 21, 1618. Benoist, ii., pièces justificatives, 45–47.

but met with scanty respect at the hands of the excited Béarnese, and was even insulted, it is said, by the students at Orthèz.[1] Louis now met and attempted to silence all further opposition by a *lettre de jussion*—a peremptory command, "for the first and last time," addressed to the procrastinating judges of Béarn, in which indeed he condescended, contrary to the ordinary practice, to argue the case and state the motives of his action as dictated by conscientious considerations.[2]

Louis issues a "lettre de jussion."

Months passed, and yet the court, while unwilling to recede, did not, in the unsettled condition of public affairs, deem it prudent or convenient to enforce its will by force of arms. Meanwhile judicious men among the Protestants exerted themselves to the utmost, on the one hand, to restrain their fellow-believers from suffering themselves to be hurried by pardonable resentment at the injustice with which they were treated into acts that might lead to deplorable outbreaks and possible war; and, on the other, strove to induce the government, if it must carry out its determination respecting the restoration of the ecclesiastical revenues of Béarn to the Roman Catholics, to place the compensation to be made to the Protestants upon so firm and unquestionable a basis as to quiet all their reasonable apprehensions.[3] Such, above all, was the course of the veteran Duplessis Mornay, who, if his untiring efforts did not meet with the success they deserved, yet earned unstinted praise for his candor and disinterestedness. "You may be assured," wrote to him one of the king's secretaries of state, "that the freedom you use to express your thoughts on this subject needs no excuse, but rather earns for you praise and esteem, in addition to the satisfaction you experience from having done the duty of a good Frenchman, and of an old and

Prudent advice of Duplessis Mornay.

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[1] Mercure françois, v. (1618) 159–161. Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, 183.

[2] "Lettre de Jussion au Conseil de Pau du 25 Juillet 1618," from St. Germain. Mercure françois, v. 162–66. Recueil des Actes, etc., du Clergé, vi. 45–47.

[3] In a letter to Lesdiguières, November 3, 1618, Duplessis Mornay insists that the compensation on the royal domain "ne soit point par forme de pension qu'il faille aller requerir tous les ans, mais de charge locale affectée sur ledit domaine, non revocable sous aucune cause ny pretexte, et qu'en cas qu'ils [the Protestants] y fussent troublés, ils puissent avoir recours sur l'Ecclesiastique, nonobstant la susdite mainlevée." Mémoires, iv. 87.

worthy servant of the kings our masters. Grow not weary therefore of rendering services to the public."[1]

Too clear-sighted to dream of the possibility of successfully opposing the power of the French king, too sensible of the horrors of even a justifiable war, if such war there were, the aged governor of Saumur counselled his fellow-believers to adopt the course dictated by prudence. "In such a difficulty as this," he wrote to La Force, "I believe that if we are able to secure the free course of the Gospel, the seminary for the training of its ministers, and the safeguards of those that profess it, we ought to commit the rest to God, who holds in His hand the hearts of kings, and who knows the times and the seasons for advancing and completing His work."[2] Meanwhile his advice to La Force and the Bearnese was to consent promptly to the registration of the king's edict of replevin, but to introduce such modifications as the parliaments of France were accustomed to make, and thus gain time.[3] He would indeed have preferred to have the States of Béarn regularly convened, so that whatever change was necessary to be made should be effected in an orderly manner and in accordance with the immemorial usage of the land; but the government rejected the plan as an insult to the royal authority.[4]

The assembly goes to Orthèz, then to La Rochelle.

Not that the court was altogether averse to conciliation. The political assembly originally appointed for Casteljaloux, but forced to take up its abode in Orthèz, had made a further move to La Rochelle, and that city, with characteristic self-confidence, took under its protecting wing the body upon which the indignation of the king rested.[5] From its new shelter the assembly soon took occasion to depute some of its members to court, to give to Louis assurances of fidelity and devotion which were more than usually welcome at a time when the kingdom had again been thrown into confusion and the Protestants were strongly urged to take sides with Marie de' Medici against her son. Grateful for the assembly's expressions of loyalty, the king by a fresh declaration (Amboise, the twenty-fourth of May, 1619) not only renewed his profession of an unshaken purpose to observe the Edict of Nantes and the other laws given for the benefit of the Protestants, but graciously relieved such as had taken part in the unlawful assembly held in Orthèz and La Rochelle of all the pains and penalties they had incurred by reason of his previous mandate.[1]

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[1] M. de Seaux to Duplessis Mornay, Paris, December 8, 1618, Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay, iv. 107.

[2] Letter of April 28, 1618, Mémoires, iv. 25.

[3] Letter to the Duke of Rohan, July 13, 1618, ibid., iv. 47.

[4] Ibid., iv. 51, 52.

[5] "Cependant La Rochelle a receu l'Assemblée absolument en sa tuition : ce sont les mots." Duplessis Mornay to Marbault, January 21, 1619. Mémoires, iv. 130.

The moderation shown by this unauthorized gathering of the Protestants, which, while striving to make with the king the best terms for the Bearnese, sent decided letters to the latter, calling upon them to come to an amicable arrangement, and to the French provinces, urging them to inviolable loyalty to the king's service—which, in fact, declared that any who might abandon that service were deserters from the union of the churches[2]—seemed likely to effect the desired result. It induced Louis, on the very day that he granted pardon for the assembly convened without his permission, to authorize another assembly to be held a few months later at Loudun.

Political assembly of Loudun, 1619–20.

This new convocation, which began its sessions on the twenty-sixth of September, 1619, and did not suspend them until the eighteenth of the ensuing month of April (1620), was destined in its ulterior consequences to be of extraordinary and almost fatal importance to the political fortunes of the Huguenots. Many grievances pressed upon the consideration of the Protestants. Not to speak of the matter of Béarn, flagrant injustice had been done them by the weakness or the criminal connivance of the government in various quarters of the kingdom. Lectoure, an important place of security of the Huguenots, had been left in the

Protestant grievances.

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[1] Déclaration du Roy, confirmative des édits de pacification, et les assemblées de Casteljâloux et Orthèz approuvées. Benoist, ii., pièces justificatives, 47–49. A detailed account of the history of the political assembly. which ended its sessions April 22, 1619, or more than a month before the issue of the king's amnesty, may be read in Anquez, Histoire des Assemblées politiques des Réformés de France, 311–315.

[2] Anquez, ubi supra.

hands of its governor, Fontrailles, after he had signified his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. In fact, he was believed thereby to have purchased the support of the court as against a rival contestant for the office. The Parliament of Paris had stubbornly refused to permit two Protestant judges to take the places to which they were entitled, and the royal ministers who were so determined to secure obedience to the king's commands in distant Béarn, showed a strange indifference when his authority was defied by the chief tribunal of the realm and under their very eyes.[1] There were towns belonging to Protestants unlawfully seized, Protestant places of worship torn down. There were towns and entire districts from which Protestant ministers and even Protestant laymen had been expelled. From a score of places, where, according to the edicts, Protestant worship was permitted, it was excluded by the malice of ill-disposed officers or judges. Protestant children were abducted, to be brought up in a religion different from that of their parents. Protestant patients were expelled from the hospitals, or were tormented by importunate attendants, in order to compel them to abjure their faith. In some places the Protestant dead were denied a burial; in others, having been buried, were disinterred and cast out of consecrated ground. It was a long list of acts of injustice, some grave, others petty, all vexations.[2] In addition to redress for these, the Huguenots had some requests to prefer, especially in reference to the lengthening of the term of the tenure of their hostage towns.

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[1] The matter was of five or six years' standing. Two of the Roman Catholic counsellors having been converted to Protestantism were expelled from parliament by their colleagues, who to the reiterated commands of the king replied through the first president that they could not receive more than the six Protestants provided for by the Edict of Nantes. When the treaty of Loudun was alleged, which specifically ordered the reception of the two judges that had been excluded, the reply was made that no account could be taken of a compact made when men were in arms. Duplessis Mornay to M. de Seaux, February 22, 1618, Mémoires, iv. 12. Of the temper of the parliamentary judges the following incident, which occurred six months later, enables us to form a correct notion: "The king had commanded the reception of our counsellors very peremptorily, and had sent Sieur de Deagen to insist upon it; so much so that our deputies [general] had good hopes of success. Nevertheless, on the twenty-third inst., parliament having come together, behaved worse than ever. The judges said that it was a question of religion, and that the king had authority over their bodies but not over their consciences. There were seventy-seven votes against thirty-four" Duplessis Mornay to Henri de Rohan, August 31, 1618, Mémoires, iv. 64, 65.

[2] It is given at great length by Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 276–78.

Graciously as the assembly had been granted and as its deputies were at first received by the king, it was not long before the spirit of mutual distrust manifested itself. The assembly wished to present a preliminary budget of complaints, and obtain an answer to this, before proceeding to hand in the remainder. The crown not only insisted upon receiving the whole at once, but demanded that the Huguenots should select their six candidates for the office of deputy-general, and adjourn at once upon receiving an intimation from Paris of the two whom Louis had chosen from the number, without waiting to be informed of the fate of their petition. As both sides were disposed to stand their ground, the struggle was prolonged. Five times did deputations traverse the ground from Loudun to Paris and back, but little advantage accrued to the assembly or its constituents. Except that no resort seems to have been made to bribery, the course of the government was much the same as it had been, eight years before, at Saumur; even to the peremptory command at length issued to the Protestants to disperse within a given time, and the covert menace that in case a minority alone should comply with the royal command and make a nomination of deputies-general, the crown would recognize their action as that of the whole body, and choose therefrom the official representatives of the Reformed.[1]

The assembly ordered to adjourn.

In the end the not unnatural reluctance of the Huguenots to adjourn without some very definite reply to their petition was overcome by means of a ruse on the part of the government. Such of their requests as could most easily be disposed of were conceded. The tenure of the places of security was lengthened by one year—the Huguenots were to retain them for four years, instead of three years more, and within that period be permitted to hold another political assembly. A liberal sum of money was pledged to defray the expenses of the present session. Respecting the most important of their complaints, the Huguenots were promised satisfaction before six months should have elapsed.[1] In fact, the Prince of Condé, who received the assembly's deputies at the Louvre, in the presence of the king's favorite, the Duke of Luynes, on Saturday the first of February, 1620, and who declared that the duke and he were well acquainted with the king's intentions, proceeded to assure them that in case the promises made to them were not redeemed within the half year, the Protestant deputies should be permitted to come together again, to renew their complaints to his majesty and obtain reparation. Whatever attempts were subsequently made to deny that these engagements were entered into, there can be no rational doubt on the point. The memorial sent by the Assembly of Loudun to Duplessis Mornay, about a week later, gives a circumstantial account of the interview with Condé and Luynes containing the impugned statement.[2] Lesdiguières in an "instruction" given to his envoy Bellujon whom he despatched to the assembly, claims the credit of having himself secured the promise from the court.[3] And we have it upon the word of Duplessis Mornay that he received from the king, through the Duke of Montbazon who visited him at Saumur, the command to assure the Assembly of Loudun that everything that had been promised should be executed, the Duke of Luynes adding that since his word had

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[1] The similarity is striking. "Enfin," said the king, "si ceux de ladite assemblée qui obéiront à nosdits présents commandements, *en quelque nombre que ce soit*, avant que se séparer d'icelle, font nomination des députés qui auront à résider à notre suite, nous entendons recevoir ladite nomination, et permettre à ceux que nous aurons choisis sur icelle, de faire la fonction de leurs charges près de nous." Anquez, Histoire des Assemblées politiques des Réformés de France, 324.

The assurances given by the Prince of Condé.

And endorsed by Montbazon on the part of the king.

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[1] Escrit envoyé par Messieurs de Lesdiguières et de Chastillon à l'Assemblée de Loudun, du 20 Mars, 1620. Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay, iv. 338, etc.

[2] "Et que si dans les six mois on n'avoit fait executer ce que dessus, nous pourrions nous rassembler." Mémoire envoyé à M. Duplessis par l'Assemblée de Loudun, 9 fevrier, 1620, Mémoires, iv. 303.

[3] He says even more explicitly: "Où ladite restitution de Leitoure [Lectoure], la réception desdits conseillers, et l'expédition dudit Brevet ne seroyent par effet accomplies et de bonne foy dans six mois au plus tard; en ce cas mesdits Seigneurs le Prince et Duc de Luines procureront avec effet envers sadite Majesté à ce que les Deputés, qui sont en ladite Assemblée, ou autres à eux subrogés par les Provinces se puissent r'assembler pour représenter à sadite Majesté leurs griefs et plaintes, et en obtenir la reparation." Instruction de M. de Bellujon, Paris, February 9, 1620, Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay, iv. 314.

intervened, he would make it as good as royal letters (*valoir brevets*), both as regarded the parliamentary counsellors, and the restitution of Lectoure and the new assembly to be held within six months, should the pledges not be redeemed.[1] Moreover the Duke of Montbazon, when subsequently reminded of the message, so far from stooping to utter a falsehood in order to save the honor of a king and his counsellors who had broken faith with the Protestants, protested with an earnestness that cannot but carry conviction to every reader, that he had brought Duplessis Mornay no word from the king or from the Duke of Luynes that he had not been repeatedly commanded to utter, by the mouth of his majesty and in the presence of the Prince of Condé.[2] It is true indeed that this frankness of a true Frenchman and brave follower of Henry the Fourth was too damaging to the reputation of the king and to that of Montbazon's own son-in-law, the Duke of Luynes, to be allowed to pass unnoticed. A second reply was therefore soon set in circulation of quite a different tenor, but purporting to emanate from the same pen. It affirmed that Luynes had merely pledged his own word that he would use all his influence with the king to secure the ends referred to.[3] The paper was a clumsy forgery that deceived nobody. Contemporaries ascribed it to the pen of the king's Jesuit confessor, Père Arnoux, an adept in a species of casuistry found convenient by men who would relieve themselves of the obligation of troublesome engagements.[4]

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[1] Duplessis Mornay to the Duke of Montbazon, Saumur, October 23, 1620. Mémoires, iv. 452; Mercure françois, vi. 443, etc.

[2] The Duke of Montbazon to Duplessis Mornay, Paris, November 1, 1620. Mémoires, ubi supra; Vie de D. M., 546. This letter, so creditable to the manliness of its author, breathes a spirit of sadness because of the degeneracy of the times upon which he had fallen.

[3] "Je ne dis pas qu'il ne leur ait promis de moyenner de tout son pouvoir envers sa Majesté ladite permission, au cas que les choses promises ne fussent executées." The forged letter is dated Paris, December 10, 1620, and signed "H. [Hercules] de Rohan." Mercure françois, vi. 448–454; Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay, iv. 482–86. The reply of Duplessis Mornay to this strange production is calm and dignified. Letter of December 22, 1620. Mémoires, iv. 492, etc., and in Vie de D. M., 549–552. See Mercure françois, vi. 57, 58.

[4] On receipt of Duplessis Mornay's answer, the Duke of Montbazon informed the bearer that he had written the first letter but not the second, as could be seen from the difference of style. Vie, p. 552. This work is my authority for

The adjournment of the political assembly came at an opportune moment. New disturbances had arisen to claim the king's attention, deserving particular notice here because of their incidental bearing upon the fortunes of the Huguenots. The escape of Marie de' Medici from the castle of Blois, where she had been kept under close surveillance since the death of Marshal d'Ancre and his unfortunate wife, led to commotions in which the queen-mother, although assisted by Épernon and other powerful nobles, proved inferior in power, and a reconciliation between mother and son was effected on the thirtieth of April, 1619. But only a few months elapsed before the restless Marie set on foot a more formidable movement. The Prince of Condé, released from his tedious confinement of three full years in the Castle of Vincennes, had, it is true, so far from taking part with her, thrown himself into the arms of his captor. But the Count of Soissons and the Dukes of Longueville and Épernon, not to speak of La Trémouille and even Rohan, were allies of no mean account. With such support and with strong places holding for her from the shores of the English Channel to the distant south, the ambitious princess seemed to be in a fair way to regain her lost ascendancy in the councils of France and reduce the king to the necessity of once more accepting her tutelage. Yet the whole fabric of opposition to the royal power fell at the first touch, as easily as a house built of cards. Scarcely a show was made of resistance to the king's armies. A single engagement was fought deserving to be called a battle; and the defeat of Marie de' Medici's forces at the crossing of the Loire near Les Ponts

Civil commotion.

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the statement that Père Arnoux was commissioned by the king to compose, in Montbazon's name, the second letter (page 548). So also Benoist, ii. 312. The duke did not dare to disavow it. Arnoux was accused of being the author of the specious argument by means of which Louis XIII. was convinced that he was not bound to keep the promise, given shortly after this, to make no innovations at Navarrenx: The promise is either one of conscience or one of state. It cannot be a promise of conscience because it is opposed to the interests (*le bien*) of the church. Being therefore a promise of state, your Majesty ought to believe his counsellors who say that for the good of your service the place should not be any longer in the hands of a Huguenot. Déclaration des Églises réformées de France et Souverainté de Bearn, de l'injuste persecution qui leur est faicte, etc. Mercure françois, vii. 394–447.

de Cé led to a prompt and unexpected pacification, on the tenth of August, 1620. A struggle had been hopeless from the beginning in which the Bishop of Luçon, the future Cardinal Richelieu, who was all powerful in the queen-mother's party, was not too loyal to play into the hands of the enemy and to reveal to the Duke of Luynes any important movement which she was about to make, in time for the latter to counteract it. As for the people, so unconcerned were they respecting the issue, that Louis, on entering Ponts de Cé, to his great surprise saw the shops open and the inhabitants as quiet as in a time of the most profound peace. They rightly judged the question to be simply, whether, under a feeble king, his mother or his favorite should hold the reins of government.[1]

Finding himself at the head of an army and with no enemy to fight, Louis conceived the idea of pushing on toward the south of the realm in order the more firmly to establish his authority in the provinces where it had of late been disputed. Béarn was foremost in his thoughts.[2]

Despite all the prudent advice received by the sovereign council of Pau, the judges had persisted in a course that could have but one issue. Where the responsibility for this rested, it is not altogether easy to decide. Regnard, the royal commissioner, in disgust at his poor success, accused La Force of being the chief cause. So absolute was the power of the governor in Béarn, said Regnard, that had it been La Force's desire, the edict would long since have been officially spread upon the judicial records.[3] The other Roman Catholics at Pau were of the same opinion as Regnard, and it is probable that they were substantially correct. Had La Force from the first exerted his influence to secure prompt obedience to the royal command, he would doubtless have suc-

La Force, governor of Béarn.

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[1] Le Vassor, Histoire du règne de Louis XIII., iii. 631.

[2] Although in his long and interesting letter to Duplessis Mornay (from Pau, October 20, 1620) Louis states his first object in going to Guyenne to have been to satisfy the Protestants by placing a Protestant, M. de Blainville, in command of the city and the castle of Lectoure, the object which he puts second—to secure the verification and execution of the edict of replevin (mainlevée) doubtless interested him most. Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay, iv. 440.

[3] Mémoires du Duc de la Force, ii. 106.

ceeded. But Jacques Nompar de Caumont, the same nobleman who, when a boy of twelve, had narrowly escaped death in the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day, and whose romantic adventures at that memorable period have obtained a world-wide currency,[1] was a politic statesman, who, in his desire to obtain the support of each of the religious communions, was in danger of losing the confidence of both. A brave and trusty follower of the fortunes of Henry of Navarre, by whom he was held in affectionate esteem, he was riding in the coach with that monarch when the king fell by Ravaillac's knife, and it was his sad privilege, as he held the form of the expiring monarch in his arms, to address him the last words that fell upon Henry's ears: "Ah! Sire, souvenez-vous de Dieu!"[2] Had Henry lived but a few days longer, La Force would have received, before the monarch left Paris for his projected campaign, the baton of marshal of France, for which, as it was, he was compelled to wait impatiently for many a year. Meanwhile in his administration as governor of Béarn and French Navarre, an office to which he had been appointed as far back as 1593, La Force had been an enemy of extreme measures. In the present struggle he had, on the one hand, been denounced as a traitor by the more violent Protestants, because of his suggestion that the king's will should be obeyed; while, on the other, Louis did not hesitate, in more than one letter, to reprimand him for his failure to punish the "unheard-of audacity" of the members of an assembly at Orthèz who had declared they would oppose the monarch's order even at the expense of their lives.[3] Such odium as La Force now incurred is the common lot of moderate men. Duplessis Mornay was unpopular at more than one period of his life. About the time of which I am speaking, he could write from his castle of Saumur that alone in these quarters he had stood firm in his duty, "barked at on every side, by the adherents of both religions."[4] But between the two Huguenots there was a conspicuous difference. The course of Duplessis Mornay not only proved that the point at which he principally aimed was that he might make it clear that "true Religion is concerned only where the service of God is at stake, and that the king can have no more faithful subjects than those that are truly religious"[1]—but exhibited the Protestant statesman for all future generations to admire as a man of sterling integrity. The subsequent career of La Force, on the contrary, was not so distinctly above reproach as to relieve his memory of the suspicion that, after all, his cautious movements were dictated rather by a prudent regard for his own advancement than by unselfish interest in the side which he had espoused.

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[1] Rise of the Huguenots, ii. 473.

[2] Mémoires du Duc de la Force, i. 222.

[3] Ibid., ii. 105, and the letters of Louis XIII. to La Force, of July 5 and 27, 1618, ibid. ii. 465, 467.

[4] "Moy particulièrement, comme vous aurez sçeu, seul demeuré dans les termes du devoir en tous ces quartiers, abbayé de toutes parts, tant d'une que

At Bordeaux, Louis summoned La Force and the first president of the Sovereign Council, or Parliament, of Pau, and sent them back with a peremptory order to that body once for all to register his edict for the restitution of the ecclesiastical revenues of Béarn to the Roman Catholic clergy. The weakness of the Béarnese, who knew neither how to obey nor how to defend themselves, sealed their fate.[2] Instead of complying with the command, the judges again refused, nor was it until they became convinced that the king was in earnest in his threats that they reassembled and hastily passed the verification of the hated law.[3] It was too late. Louis was already on his way.

Louis proceeds to Pau.

On the fifteenth of October he reached the gates of Pau and entered as a victorious enemy, rather than as a gracious king. The proffer of the customary canopy was declined. He would accept no honors, he said, at the hands of a city that contained no consecrated church in which he might worship God according to the rites of his religion. Making but a brief tarry in the capital of the principality, he has-

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d'autre religion." Duplessis Mornay to Du Maurier, August 27, 1620, Mémoires, iv. 416.

[1] "Le gain que j'y ay pretendu gist à faire tousjours voir, que le vraye Religion ne s'interesse que là où il va du service de Dieu, et que le Prince ne peut avoir subjets plus fidèles que ceux qui sont vraiment religieux." Ibid., ubi supra.

[2] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 183.

[3] Arrest de verification de l'édit . . . au Conseil de Pau, du 8 Octobre, 1620. Recueil des Actes, Titres et Mémoires du Clergé, vi. 47.

tened to visit Navarrenx, ostensibly for the purpose of inspecting the one stronghold of Béarn, the single fortress which had triumphantly withstood the forces of Terride in the third civil war. The aged and venerable officer in charge, M. de Salles, had been studiously assured of Louis's kindly intention, and made no attempt to hold by force a place that might easily have defied hostile assault. Count Schomberg preceded his majesty by a short interval of time. This he spent to such good advantage as to convince the garrison whom he found under arms within the walls that, as it was usual to do a monarch honor by going forth to meet him, they would acquit themselves but poorly of their duty should they act otherwise. "So great is the influence," somewhat cynically observes a royal historiographer, "which the authority of a respectable person exerts." Both governor and garrison paid a dear price for their loyal confidence. When the Béarnese soldiers returned escorting the king into Navarrenx, they found their places already occupied by four companies of the royal guards, stanch Roman Catholics, who showed no disposition to vacate the quarters into which their kind hosts had thoughtlessly afforded them the opportunity of insinuating themselves. And when De Salles, soon after Louis's arrival, came to do homage to his majesty, he was politely informed that, in view of the danger of surprise, whether from the side of Spain or from the envious nobles of Béarn, so important a fortress could not be any longer left with safety in the hands of an octogenarian. No choice was left him but to accept as gracefully as he might the loss of his honorable office, involving the forfeiture of the reversion, to which his nephew was entitled. It was poor comfort to receive a pecuniary recompense of one hundred thousand francs and the honorary title of a *maréchal de camp.*[1] The Baron de Poyanne, a zealous Roman Catholic and a man of a quite different stamp, succeeded to the guard of Navarrenx. "Immense was the damage sustained by the Huguenot sect, in the loss of the citadel," writes President Gramond. "There is

The Protestant governor put out of Navarreux.

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[1] I follow Bernard's account. Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 166. The story of Schomberg's trick comes therefore from no unfriendly pen. Benoist would seem to be mistaken in asserting (ii. 294) that De Salles received no compensation for his governorship.

not in Béarn, there is not in France," he admiringly adds, "a stronger fortification, whether the nature of the site be considered, or the defences which art has erected. Its stores of powder and of all kinds of ammunition filled the spectator with surprise and admiration."[1]

It is a perilous thing for a monarch or for a statesman to learn that there are methods of compassing his ends which, if they be not so honorable, are easier than a straightforward dealing with antagonists. A first success is wont to encourage to new attempts, and greater prospective gains seem to justify more flagrant breaches of good faith. Of this Louis was to give proof in the matter of the Protestant political assembly and, still later, in the appropriation of the castle of Saumur.

Having secured himself against the possibility of resistance on the part of a people jealous of its rights, and having witnessed the celebration of mass in his chamber at Navarrenx, on the fiftieth anniversary, it was said, of the session of those States which, under Queen Jeanne d'Albret, overturned the Roman Catholic religion in Béarn, Louis returned to Pau to engage in the congenial work of restoring that religion to its ancient pre-eminence.

Louis XIII. overturns his grandmother's legislation.

The states of Béarn had been summoned to assemble. In their presence Louis now took, according to the ancient practice, the solemn oath to observe the rights and customs of the country, and in turn received the oath of allegiance of the members. This done, he deliberately applied himself to setting at naught the laws and usages sanctioned by his predecessors.[2] The bishops and abbots were reintroduced into the States, and an edict which the king caused to be verified in his own presence assigned them seats in the chief judicial court, inferior only to those of the presiding officers. In his presence, also, the favorable answer which had, three years since, been given to the clergy of France was formally registered. A day later, a still more important edict was issued and placed upon the records. By this law the separate existence of Béarn and its neighboring territories at the foot of the Pyrenees came to an end, and the very regions to the maintenance of whose particular privileges and ancestral rights Louis had just solemnly pledged his word were by a stroke of the pen stripped of their independence and merged in the alien territory of the kingdom of France. So lightly do the most solemn engagements rest upon the consciences of some monarchs! By the same edict a new French parliament of Pau was created, to replace the former Sovereign Council and other superior judicatures.[1] Nor was the change one of form alone. Soon the reality of the alteration was evidenced by an order to substitute in all judicial proceedings the French for the old Basque tongue spoken by the people of the region. That there might be no doubt respecting the intention of the monarch to destroy all signs of a separate national existence, Louis abolished the captains of the *Parsans*, as they were called, an efficient local military organization boasting of an antiquity rivalling that of Béarn itself, by means of which a force of five or six thousand men could, in case of need, be assembled within a few hours' time, to repel the incursion of an enemy. In short, the whole fabric of government and of civil and military administration, endeared to the people by the traditions of centuries, was overturned in a moment by a young king just entering upon his twentieth year, who in his innovations thought it unnecessary to take counsel of any others than his favorite, the Duke of Luynes, his Jesuit confessor, Father Arnoux, and Du Vair, Keeper of the Seals.[2]

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[1] Gramond, Historia Galliæ ab excessu Henrici IV., 333. "Immensa Sectæ jactura fuit ab arce amissa. Non in Benearnio, non est in Gallia fortius munimentum, seu loci genium spectas, seu quæ arte parantur propugnacula : his accedebat pulveris tormentarii, globorum, hastarum, scloporum, aliorumque id genus armorum copia ingens, qualia asservantur armentariis regiis ; tormenta bellica supra viginti centena numerabantur, pars magna regii modi."

[2] "Ce fut là où l'on commença à se moquer de tenir sa parole," observes the Duke of Rohan ; "car, après avoir éte promis de maintenir les Béarnais en leurs priviléges, le lendemain on les leur ôta en faisant la réunion de Béarn avec la France, et, contre la foi donnée on changea le gouverneur de Navarreins." Mémoires, i. 183.

The cherished religious institutions of the people were destroyed in a manner no less arbitrary. The Protestants—according to the historiographer Bernard's admission, constituting a majority of the population—were turned out of the churches where they had worshipped, were deprived of the cemeteries in which for a half-century they had buried their dead, and their sworn enemies took possession of whatever they pleased. A Jesuit college was founded in Pau itself. The great "temple" of that city, having by this time been pompously purified of all taint which it might have incurred by reason of fifty years of Reformed worship, again resounded to the unwonted chants of priests and monks. Louis himself took part in the procession, following the host with uncovered head, and, in the words of an admiring chronicler, with as much humility and submission toward God as he was himself exalted in rank above his people.[1] Then mass was said, and at vespers on the same day, Father Arnoux preached before the king in the same place an ardent sermon, taking the exclamation of the patriarch Jacob for his text: "Quam terribilis est locus iste! Non est aliud nisi domus Dei, et porta coeli"— "How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." [2]

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[1] Édit portant réunion de la Navarre, du Béarn et des pays d'Andorre et Damezan à la couronne de France, et création du parlement de Pau, October 19, 1620. Isambert, Recueil des anciennes lois françaises, xvi. 140. Mercure françois, vi. 354.

[2] Benoist, ii. 294.

The Protestants turned out of the churches.

It would have been hard to endure so complete a revolution, affecting alike the civil and the religious, the judicial and the military constitution of the country, even had it been executed with calmness and good order. On the contrary, it was accompanied, we are told, by insulting words and by acts of violence. I shall not, however, pause here to relate these occurrences in detail. Nor indeed do they deserve extended mention in comparison with the more systematic outrage to which the Huguenots were subjected when the attempt was made under the next king to subject not a single district alone, but the entire kingdom, to the religion whose chief claim to acceptance was made to consist in the fact that it was the religion which the sovereign desired to be universally accepted.[3]

Insults and violence.

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[1] Bernard, Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 177.

[2] Both Bernard (ubi supra) and the Mercure françois (vi. 353) are at the pains to record the Jesuit's text.

[3] The particulars may be read in Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 195, 196.—Besides the account of this writer, the reader may consult upon the royal visit to Béarn, Gramond, Historia Galliæ ab excessu Henrici IV., 332–35; Ber-

Meantime, before undertaking to trace the disastrous consequences for the peace of the kingdom and for the welfare of the Huguenots in particular resulting immediately from the despotic and faithless course of the monarch in the settlement of the civil and religious affairs of Béarn, it is necessary that we should glance a moment at the fortunes of the French Protestants elsewhere.

Two national synods of the Reformed Churches had of late been held, which are reckoned the twenty-second and twenty-third in the series of these memorable bodies. Important, however, as were their discussions and the settlements of doctrinal and disciplinary matters which they effected, the full treatment of such topics would clearly be out of place here, and to only a few points of general interest can a reference be made. The national synod of Vitré in Brittany, which met on the eighteenth of May, 1617, and continued its sessions just a month, was called upon to consider such timely but unexpected questions as the reception of the Moriscoes lately driven out of Spain by the suicidal fanaticism of Philip the Third. On account of the number of these poor exiles who were found wandering from church to church, appealing to the Christian sympathy of those whose faith they professed to have embraced, the exercise of care was enjoined in instructing them, and great caution in recommending them to others. The delicate question as to the account which was to be made of the rite of baptism administered by Roman Catholic priests without suitable instruction to "Moors and other infidels removed from their native lands and brought within the bounds of Christendom," was answered with tact and consistency. The sacrament was not to be repeated, but the lack of due preliminary teaching must be remedied by the assiduity with which the truths of Christianity should subsequently be imparted.[1] The synod both wrote and sent a deputation to court. The speech delivered by Pierre Hesperien, pastor of the important church of Sainte Foy, and spokesman for his

National synod of Vitré, May, 1617.

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nard, Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 164–170; Mémoires du Duc de la Force, ii. 110–118; the Mercure françois, vi. 353, etc.; Le Vassor, Histoire du règne de Louis XIII., iii. 672–74.

[1] Aymon, Tous les Synodes, ii. 96, 97.

associates when they were admitted to an audience, is too characteristic of the attitude of the Protestants at this time to be passed over. They were and prided themselves upon being the most loyal subjects of the crown. The assassination of their great friend Henry the Fourth by a murderer believed to be instigated by the Jesuits, the defence of the crime of regicide orally and in doctrinal treatises by casuists belonging to that order, the determined opposition made by the clergy and, at their request, by the Roman Catholic noblesse, to the adoption of the famous first article of the petition of the Tiers État in the States General—these and other incidents led the Protestants to repeat on every occasion, and with what seems to us unnecessary emphasis, and in exaggerated terms, an unlimited submission to the royal authority, the bitter fruits of which they might be the first to taste. Thus it was that Hesperien addressed to Louis the Thirteenth these words: "Our consciences and our religion teach us to submit to the higher Powers, and that to resist them is to resist the ordinance of God, who has raised your Majesty to the throne, and has placed the crown upon your head, the sceptre in your hands, and all heroic virtues in your royal heart. Therefore it is, Sire, that, after God, we recognize your Majesty to be our only sovereign; and it is an article of our creed that there is no intermediate power between God and kings. It is among us a damnable heresy to call it into question, and it is a capital crime among us to dispute it. This lesson, Sire, we have learned from our predecessors. We are persuaded of it, and we publish it everywhere. We preach this doctrine in the pulpit of our churches. We wish to live and to die in these sentiments, to the end that our posterity may learn to practise them by following our example."

Exaggerated loyalty of Hesperien's address to the king.

If we can scarcely pardon the Protestant orator's excess of loyalty it is still more difficult to excuse the language in which he indulged when referring to the recent overthrow of Marshal d'Ancre. The deputies had come, Hesperien said, to express to Louis their satisfaction at seeing his authority well established, his sacred person fully liberated. "After God," he exclaimed, "we owe this happiness to the firm resolution your majesty adopted and so generously executed in punishing that great disturber of your realm, who had overturned your authority, and, what was worse, had exposed your sacred person to very imminent dangers. Your majesty acted therein in a manner altogether extraordinary, and the enterprise was purely divine and miraculous; inasmuch as in a moment it caused calm to follow storm, peace to follow war. Our fears were changed into assurance, our dangers into safety; and our government, which was tyrannical, became a mild and just government. It is for this reason that it is now seen (as if your majesty had but just ascended the throne), that we have a king indeed, and that the whole earth confesses that the king of France is very worthy to rule and govern." In expressing the universal joy felt at the fall of the insolent upstart, Hesperien forgot, or found it convenient to ignore, the cowardly murder of the favorite by which Louis's triumph was achieved. Such flattering words were as unseemly in the mouth of a Protestant minister as they would have been in the mouth of a Roman Catholic bishop. The king's reply to Hesperien's petition for the continuance of his good favor toward the Protestants was brief and, as it proved, illusory. He promised that if they continued to serve him faithfully, they might be sure that they would find they had a good king in him, and he would protect them according to his edicts.[1]

The synod of Alais (1620), endorses the canons of Dort.

In reference to the Synod that met three years later at Alais, in the Cévennes mountains, and held twice as long a session (from October to December, 1620), the most interesting circumstance that may claim our attention was the heartiness of its endorsement of the great convocation that had taken place at Dort. The French Huguenots had gladly accepted the invitation extended to them to take part in what was intended to be an œcumenical council of the churches holding the Reformed faith; but the deputies commissioned by the Synod of Vitré were overtaken at Geneva on their way to Holland by an order from the king strictly forbidding them to proceed.[2] It would have been difficult for the most suspicious to explain what precise dangers could arise to the

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[1] "Harangue faite au Roi le 27 de Mai l'an 1617 par les députés du synode national des Églises Réformées de France, avec la reponse de sa Majesté." Aymon, Tous les Synodes, ii. 105–107; Mercure françois, v. 28–31.

[2] Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 299.

French monarchy from the representation of its Protestant subjects in a religious gathering that was to pronounce upon the doctrines of grace. But the idea that Calvinism naturally led to revolution, and that if the French Protestants had not set up one or more cantons or republics, it was only because they had not enjoyed opportunities such as had fallen to the lot of their Swiss or Dutch fellow-believers, was a notion that created a bugbear out of the most innocent association between the Huguenots and foreigners. Not having been permitted to participate in the discussions of the Synod of Dort, the French Reformed churches set the seal of their approval upon its conclusions. The canons of Dort were publicly read and approved by the unanimous vote of the members present; after which not only did all the delegates "swear and protest, each by himself, that they consented to this doctrine and that they would defend it with all their ability to their last breath," but a formula was prepared to be signed and sworn to in like manner by every member of future national and provincial synods.[1]

In only one point did the Synod of Alais disappoint expectation: the very cautious party succeeded in preventing the more ardent from engaging the body in a decided expression of opinion respecting matters in Béarn and the convocation of the political assembly at La Rochelle of which I shall shortly speak. Many gave a sinister interpretation to this timidity, and positively asserted that a considerable number of the members had been bought with royal gold. The deputies from Béarn who were at Alais cried aloud that they were betrayed by their French brethren; and the populace of the town taking their side of the dispute, with the characteristic ardor of the Cévenols, nearly created a public disturbance.[2]

I shall not enter at length upon that copious subject of complaints respecting infractions of the edicts given in favor of the Huguenots, with which the chronicles of the times abound. Such infractions as seem to deserve more particular mention at this point may be regarded as due not so much to any settled purpose on the part of the government, as to its weak complaisance for those whose support the court desired or whose enmity it feared. The matter of the proposed Protestant *académie*, or university, at Charenton illustrates the state of affairs. For a long time the Protestants residing at the capital had contemplated the erection of an institution of higher learning which should be able to exert influence over the men of rank and social standing who congregated at Paris. Since they could not hope to have the school in Paris itself, they proposed to erect it in the village of Charenton, where stood the great "temple," and whither the Protestants of Paris went every Lord's day to enjoy the privilege of worship and of listening to preachers of whose eloquence Charenton boasted. Their right to have such an institution at Charenton was clear and unassailable. According to the Edict of Nantes, the only limitation affecting the educational establishments of the Protestants was that they must be confined to the places where their public worship was permitted.[1] None the less were the first attempts of the Huguenots checked by the strenuous opposition of the University of Paris, which once and again protested against permitting the ministers to call from all parts of the kingdom the professors who should instil their poisonous teaching into the minds of the young. The most dramatic scene was enacted in the month of July, 1619, when, the legal obstacles having been removed, the Protestants were reported to be on the point of starting at least two classes, the one in philosophy and the other in theology, in a building which had been reared close by their great church edifice. The rector of the university, attended by sundry doctors of the Sorbonne, by the procurators of the four "nations," and by all the chief academic dignitaries, presented himself successively before the Count of Soissons, whom Louis had left to command in Paris while himself going to meet his mother in Touraine, and before the first president of Parliament and the attorney-general. The sum of the rector's appeal was that the university, that eldest daughter of the kings, was over-

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[1] Aymon, Tous les Synodes, ii. 145, 183–85. "The doctrine of Arminius" was directly condemned.

[2] Benoist, ii. 299, 300.

Proposed Protestant university at Charenton.

Opposition of the University of Paris.

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[1] See the thirty-seventh of the secret, or particular articles. Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, pp. lxxi., lxxii.

whelmed with grief at seeing a seminary of heresy established so near her, at the gates of the royal city, the capital of a kingdom the most Christian in the world. For this reason she threw herself at his Majesty's feet, bathed in tears and piteously extending her arms in supplication, and begging him not to permit that the heretics should busy themselves in the new college with devising methods of combating the Church, his holy and sacred mother. That was a thing which the university could not suffer with patience, nor tolerate without groaning, nor witness without speaking.

The rector's vehement address was well received by the Count of Soissons, who promised his influence with the king to prevent the establishment of the hateful college, and the incident developed so intense an opposition that the Protestants of Paris resigned themselves to their fate and made no farther attempt to satisfy their long-cherished hope. For nearly two hundred and fifty years—until 1867—Protestant theology was the only science that remained untaught in the great schools of the French capital.[1]

Father Arnoux succeeds Father Cotton as royal confessor.

It might be urged that in endeavoring to protect herself against the foundation of a Huguenot college or university in her neighborhood, the great Parisian school was doing no worse by the Protestants than she had done by the Jesuits, whom she had been striving to prevent from encroaching upon her exclusive scholastic privileges. But as between the Jesuits and the Huguenots, the government took no impartial course. In fact, it was in the evident favor shown to these capital enemies of the Protestants that lay, as shrewd observers judged, the most tangible cause of apprehension. The Duke of Luynes, jealous of Father Cotton's influence, substituted for him as royal confessor Father Arnoux; thus proving that a favorite's power might go to the length of not merely shaping the king's conduct in civil and political matters, but of dictating the religious views that were to be instilled into his mind. But Arnoux, like Cotton, was a member of the Company of Jesus and intent upon the advancement of that society. His imprudent attempt at controversy, when he attempted to prove the Reformed Churches guilty of the fraud of garbling the proof texts affixed to their Confession of Faith brought him no credit. Du Moulin, the learned and skilful pastor of Charenton, was not slow in preparing a justification of his maligned fellow-believers, under the title of "Défense de la Confession des Églises Reformées de France contre les Accusations du sieur Arnoux, Jesuite," which being too masterly to be refuted by honest argument, it was thought best to crush, if possible, by an appeal to the strong arm of the law. Du Moulin and his three colleagues, Montigny, Durand, and Mestrezat, whom he had associated with himself as joint authors of the work, had been so bold as to prefix to it a letter addressed to Louis the Thirteenth, in which neither the good services rendered by the Huguenots nor the past actions of the Jesuits were passed over in silence. Most offensive, because most true, was the intimation the writers gave that to his Protestant subjects the present king was indebted for his sceptre, since *it was they that had carried Henry the Fourth, his father, to the throne at the point of their swords.*[1] This was too much for the patience of ex-Leaguers and Roman Catholics of doubtful loyalty, and an order of council was secured by which all persons were henceforth forbidden to dedicate any book to the king without his express permission. It was on this occasion that Richelieu, still bishop of Luçon, and at present living in enforced retirement from political life, endeavored to conciliate the good-will of allies who might be very useful to him in the future, by contributing one of the many controversial tracts which the Jesuit attack called forth. Neither the learning nor the dialectic ability displayed by the future cardinal was beyond reproach, and the prevalent feeling was of contempt for

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[1] See the long account in the Mercure françois, vi. 289–291. "A seminary of errors, a school that depraves God's words, corrupts the Testament of Jesus Christ, and teaches the method of ruining the doctrine of the apostles, the creed of the fathers, and the universal faith of the ancient, true, and catholic church"—such was the description given of the projected college. See also Benoist, ii. 281, and Athanase Coquerel's article in the Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme françois, iv. 36–40, xvi. 586, 587.

Richelieu, bishop of Luçon.

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[1] "Les zelez se recrierent seulement sur ce que les Ministres avoient dit que ceux de leur Religion *avoient porté le feu Roi sur le throne à la pointe de leurs épées.* Cela est trop audacieux, crioit-on." Le Vassor, Histoire du règne de Louis XIII., iii. 36. See also Mercure françois, v. 40–43.

the prelate who having made scant use of the opportunities afforded him to labor for the spiritual good of his little western diocese, had turned theologian and controversialist only when the course of affairs deprived him of the pleasure of exercising a faculty for political intrigue wherein lay his chief delight.[1]

Jesuit progress.

The ascendency of the Jesuits was undeniable. In February, 1618, a year before the university's successful attempt to prevent the erection of the Protestant college at Charenton, that venerable seat of learning was chagrined to see the Jesuits opening their schools, despite her protests, in the *Collége de Clermont* within the walls of Paris. The favor was due to the intercession of the Duke of Luynes with the king, and included the right to teach all the sciences. When the university resisting issued a decree forbidding its scholars to frequent the Jesuit classes, the king in council promptly declared the action null and void. Thus an insignificant favorite obtained with ease for these children of fortune privileges which Marie de' Medici had in vain endeavored to secure for them.[2]

Their greatest triumph was the permission which the Jesuits sought and gained to preach in the Protestant cities of security. Knowing but too well the character of their sermons, the Huguenots in a petition which they presented to Louis in 1611, begged "that it be not permitted to the Jesuits to establish any college, seminary, or house of residence, nor to preach, teach, administer confession, or live in the places held by the Protestants." And the king had replied that "no college of Jesuits could be established at any spot in the realm but by his majesty's permission, and that he would so arrange as to preclude any occasion for complaint."[3] The meaning which these words were intended to convey was certainly clear enough, and the Protestants rested secure in the confidence that ample provision was made for their cities of refuge. But before six years had passed, the Jesuits obtained access, despite all opposition, to one of the most important of the places—the city of Montpellier. With the view of silencing Protestant protests, the king in council declared that *he had not meant* in his previous orders to deprive his Roman Catholic subjects, residing in towns held by the Reformed, of the right to enjoy the services of such preachers, secular or regular, as the bishop of the diocese might choose to send them. Had freedom of interrogating his majesty been one of the privileges kindly granted to the Huguenots, they might humbly have asked him, what then he had meant them to understand from his previous assurances.

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[1] Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, 173, 174; Mercure françois, v. 43; Bernard, Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 148; Benoist, ii. 231, 232; Le Vassor, iii. 29–38. "On se mocqua," remarks the latter, "d'un prélat qui avoit negligé de faire le theologien dans son diocese, et qui après s'être donné tout entier à la politique, s'avisoit d'écrire sur la controverse, quand il n'avoit plus le moien de s'intriguer."

[2] Arrêt du conseil qui rétablit les Jesuites dans le droit de faire des leçons publiques au collége de Clermont, Paris, February 15, 1618. Isambert, Recueil des anciennes lois françaises, xvi. 112; Mercure françois, v. 6; Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, 182; Benoist, ii. 256.

[3] "Qui y sçaura bien pourvoir en sorte qu'ils n'ayent aucune occasion de se

Interpretative ordinances.

In point of fact, the order of council whereby the Jesuit preachers gained admission to Montpellier may justly be regarded as the first of a long series of interpretative ordinances which, under the guise of explaining, were dishonestly intended to annul the most solemn pledges and sanctions contained in the royal edicts.[1] A little more than two years later, when the political assembly of Loudun published a paper enjoining upon the municipal officers of the Protestant cities of refuge to permit no Jesuit or monk sent by the bishop to preach within their walls, the Parliament of Paris retaliated by declaring that all persons who should refuse them admission rendered themselves liable to the penalties pronounced against disturbers of the public peace and traitors.[2]

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plaindre." Royal note to the fifty-third article of the petition of the Assembly of Saumur, among the documents appended to Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 23.

[1] The decision of the council of state was dated November 10, 1617. See Benoist, ii. 235.

[2] January 14, 1620. Mercure françois, vi. 311.

CHAPTER IV

THE LA ROCHELLE ASSEMBLY—FIRST HUGUENOT WAR—THE SIEGE OF MONTAUBAN

Huguenot grievances.

The violent measures to which Louis the Thirteenth chose to resort in solving the difficulties respecting Béarn precipitated a recourse to arms. The six months had elapsed at the expiration of which the Huguenots were authorized in advance to reassemble, in case the royal promises should not be fully executed. Little sincerity had characterized such pretence of carrying them out as was made. The parliamentary counsellors were indeed admitted to their seats at Paris, but it was with vexatious conditions. The restitution of Lectoure to the list of Protestant places of security was scarcely more than nominal. If the usurping Roman Catholic governor Frontrailles was removed—his consent being purchased by a gratuity of fifty thousand livres—the Protestant whom the king appointed his successor was not the choice of the churches, but one of those pliant officers upon whose obedience the royal ministers could count with assurance. Besides, had he been disposed to act otherwise than as they might desire, his Roman Catholic subalterns and the Roman Catholic garrison that was to guard the Protestant hostage city, would suffice effectually to thwart any effort at resistance put forth by him. The promised payment of the wages of the garrisons of the places in Huguenot hands was equally nugatory: the order was ostensibly given, but no money was forthcoming.[1] Worst of all, the very time at which a wise and conciliatory policy was expected in the settlement of the delicate question of the relations of the rival churches to each other in Béarn, had been chosen for a brutal display of superior force; and a people of independent instincts and the more jealous of its ancestral privileges that these were all that remained to it to testify to a long and honorable past, had been compelled to witness the instantaneous and reckless overthrow of its civil order, of its religious institutions, of its native military organization, at the bidding of a beardless prince, or, rather, of his two or three upstart counsellors.

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[1] Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 310, 311.

Political assembly of La Rochelle – Nov. 25, 1620.

The city of La Rochelle had been entrusted by the political assembly of Loudun with the duty of convening it anew in case of necessity. After mature deliberation the city availed itself of this authority, and invited the Protestant deputies to reassemble within its walls on the twenty-fifth of November, 1620. To Viscount Favas, one of the deputies-general selected by the crown from the list submitted by the Protestants in the preceding spring, is attributed, apparently with good reason, the predominant influence that led the Rochellese to come to this determination; and Favas must share with the dukes of La Force and Châtillon the responsibility of subsequently encouraging and inciting this unfortunate convocation to persist in its dangerous course.[1]

The Huguenot gathering forbidden by the king.

At the first intimation of the Huguenot purpose, the king signified his disapproval. When the meeting was definitely agreed upon, he issued a formal declaration prohibiting the meeting as an unlawful one, forbidding the citizens of La Rochelle to admit the delegates within their walls, and threatening the most severe punishment to the disobedient.[2] It is characteristic of the spirit of independence, not to say arrogance, of the Rochellois, that when the bailiff had duly served a copy of the royal mandate upon the mayor, for all answer he is said to have received the curt

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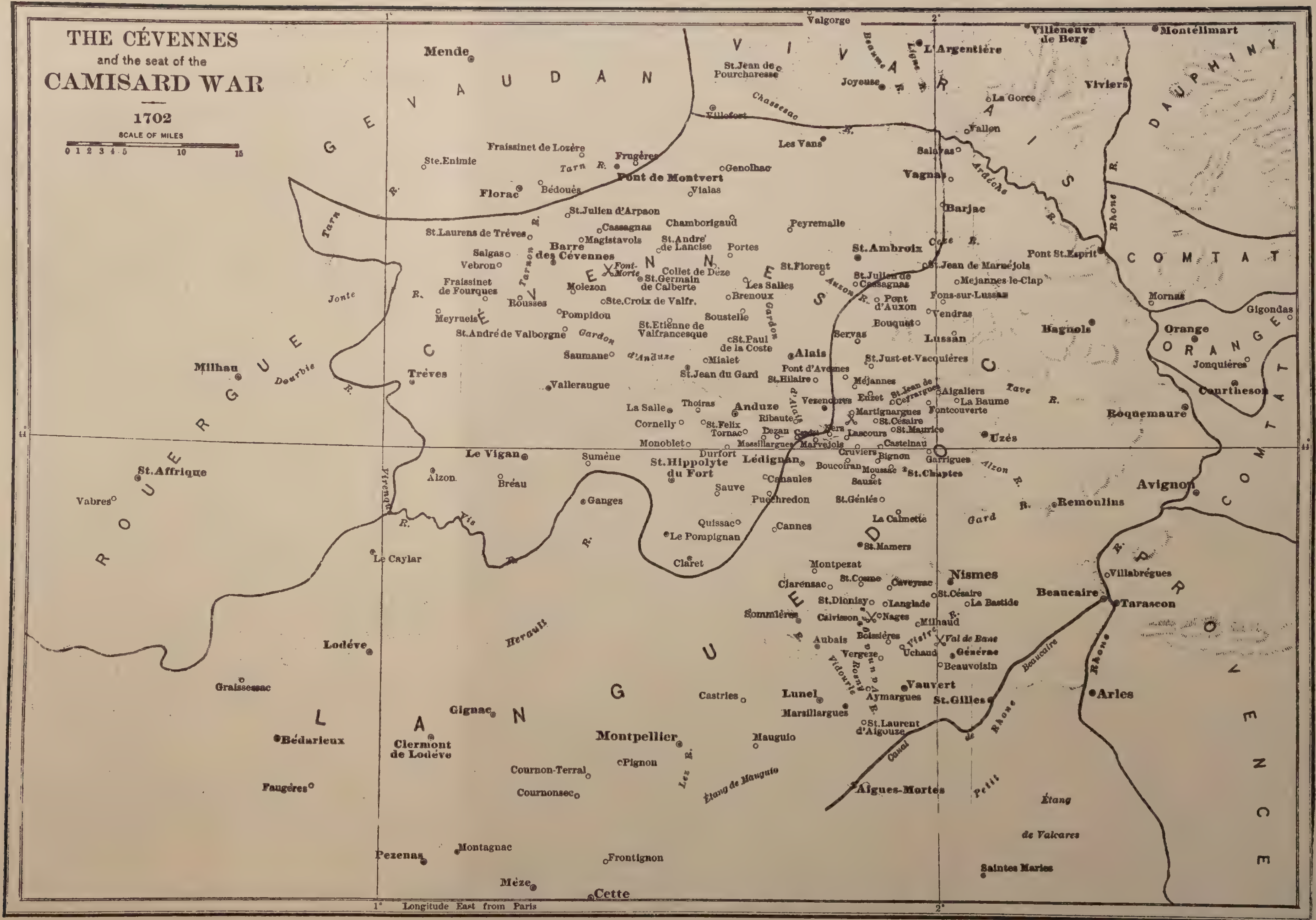
[1] Viscount Favas had been chosen deputy-general from the "noblesse," and Chalas, a lawyer of Nismes, from the Tiers État. Mercure françois, vi. 57. The selfish motives of Favas are told without exaggeration by Rohan (Mémoires, i. 183, 184). Nor does Rohan use too strong language with reference to Favas in his *Discours sur les raisons de la paix faite devant Montpellier*, when he designates him as "celui qui a fait convoquer à contre-temps l'assemblée générale, qui, convoquée l'a fait affermir à la subsistance, qui, affermie, l'a trahie, et qui, après son traité à la cour, n' a laissé de contre-pointer la ville de La Rochelle contre l'assemblée."

[2] Declaration of Grenade, October 22, 1620. Mercure françois, vi. 455–58.


THE CÉVENNES
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Valgorge
Mende
Villeneuve de Berg
Montelimart
L'Argentière
St.Jean de Pourcharesse
Joyeuse
Viviers
La Gorce
Villefort
Chassezac R.
Vallon
Fraissinet de Lozère
Ste.Enimie
Frugères
Tarn R.
Pont de Montvert
Genolhac
Les Vans
Salavas
Vagnas
Ardèche R.
Florac
Bédoués
Vialas
Barjac
St.Julien d'Arpaon
Chamborigaud
Peyremalle
Cèze R.
Pont St.Esprit
Rhone R.
St.Laurens de Trèves
Cassagnas
Magistavols
St.André de Lancise
Portes
St.Ambroix
St.Jean de Maruéjols
Salgas
Barre des Cévennes
Font-Morte
Collet de Dèze
St.Florent
Mejannes-le-Clap
Vebron
St.Germain de Calberte
St.Julien de Cassagnas
Fraissinet de Fourques
Tarnon R.
Molezon
Les Salles
Auzon R.
Pont d'Auxon
Fons-sur-Lussan
Mornas
Jonte
Rousses
Ste.Croix de Valfr.
Brenoux
Vendras
Gigondas
Meyrueis
Pompidou
Soustelle
Bouquet
Bagnols
Orange
St.André de Valborgne
St.Etienne de Valfrancesque
Gardon
St.Paul de la Coste
Servas
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Gardon d'Anduze
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St.Just-et-Vacquières
Jonquières
Milhau
Dourbie
Trèves
St.Jean du Gard
Pont d'Avennes
St.Hilaire
Méjannes
Courtheson
Valleraugue
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Aigaliers
Tave R.
La Baume
La Salle
Thoiras
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Vezenobres
Martignargues
Fontcouverte
Roquemaure
Cornelly
Ribaute
St.Césaire
St.Felix
Tornac
Dezan
Cardet
Vers
Lascours
St.Maurice
Uzès
Monoblet
Massillargues
Marvejols
Castelnau
Le Vigan
Sumène
Durfort
St.Hippolyte du Fort
Lédignan
Cruviers
Bignon
Garrigues
St.Affrique
Alzon
Bréau
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Moussac
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Alzon R.
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Sauzet
Vabres
Ganges
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Puechredon
St.Geniés
Bemoulins
Vis R.
Vigan R.
Quissac
Cannes
La Calmette
Gard
Hérault R.
Le Pompignan
St.Mamers
Le Caylar
Claret
Montpezat
Nismes
Villabrégues
Clarensac
St.Cosme
Caveyrac
St.Césaire
Beaucaire
Tarascon
St.Dionisy
Langlade
La Bastide
Sommières
Calvisson
Nages
Milhaud
Aubais
Boissières
Vistre R.
Val de Bane
Lodève
Hérault
Vergeze
Uchaud
Générac
Vidourle
Rosny
Beauvoisin
Graissessac
Vauvert
Castries
Lunel
Aymargues
St.Gilles
Canal de Beaucaire
Arles
Gignac
Marsillargues
Bédarieux
Clermont de Lodève
Montpellier
Mauguio
St.Laurent d'Aigouze
Pignon
Lez R.
Cournon-Terral
Étang de Mauguio
Cournonsec
Faugères
Aigues-Mortes
Petit Rhone
Étang de Valcares
Montagnac
Pezenas
Frontignon
Mèze
Saintes Maries
Cette

direction: "Since you have discharged your commission, you may depart as soon as you will."[1]

It was at this juncture, when Louis the Thirteenth was denouncing the La Rochelle assembly as unlawful and criminal, was denying his promise and falsely putting forward the restitution of Lectoure to Protestant hands as a chief motive of his southward progress, that Duplessis Mornay addressed to Montbazon the appeal to which reference has been made and which, together with the duke's reluctant, but sufficient, admission, was soon sown broadcast over the land as ample justification for the Huguenot convention. How under the Duke of Montbazon's name a letter forged by Father Arnoux, the Jesuit, was shortly after circulated with anxious haste by the court, has also been stated. But neither this shabby performance nor the paltry quibble by which the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Luynes strove to make the world believe that they had not absolutely pledged the king's word, but had merely pledged their own, to secure permission for such a gathering from his majesty, had any appreciable effect in removing from men's minds the conviction that both Louis and his closest counsellors had forfeited all claim to be regarded as honorable men.

It is opposed by Rohan, Soubise, and Duplessis Mornay.

There was less unanimity respecting the advisability of holding the assembly than there was as to the righteousness of summoning it. The Duke of Rohan and his brother, the Duke of Soubise, opposed the convocation, and, when it convened, exerted themselves to have it break up.[2] Duplessis Mornay advocated delay and would have preferred that the two deputies-general formally call upon Condé and Luynes to fulfil their admitted engagements.[3] But, when the members of the assembly had once come together, Duplessis Mornay could not bring himself to admit that it was incumbent upon him to recommend the delegates to return to their homes, at a time when, not to speak of other grievances, the troops constituting the garrisons of the Protestant hostage towns had not received a franc of their wages for nearly fifteen months.[1] And Rohan frankly wrote to the king that the irregularity at La Rochelle, if irregularity there was—he could not tell from personal knowledge, not having been employed in the previous negotiation at Loudun[2]—was an insignificant matter and ought to be condoned in view of the prevalent alarm. Throughout the broad province of Poitou, of which he was governor, the minds of the Protestants were disquieted by reports of seditious sermons preached on the public places and in the markets of the towns with the view of stirring up strife, while Roman Catholic gentlemen were raising troops of armed men and openly apportioning among their followers the property, the honors, and even the very lives of their Huguenot neighbors, precisely as though these had already been given them in plunder.[3]

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[1] "Puisque vous avez faict vostre charge, vous vous en irez quand vous voudrez." Mercure françois, vi. 459.

[2] "Les duc de Rohan et de Soubise son frère, qui s'étoient opposés à la tenue de l'assemblée générale, et s'étoient efforcés de la faire séparer, voyant une telle déroute, se résolurent de n'abandonner le parti." Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 185.

[3] Vie de Duplessis Mornay, 546.

"Remonstrance" of the assembly.

It was not until nearly Christmas, 1620, that the delegates reached La Rochelle in sufficient numbers to organize their assembly. On the second day of the ensuing year they gave to the world the formal apology that was to justify their apparent disobedience to the commands of the king, in the form of a "Remonstrance" addressed to the monarch himself. It would be tedious to repeat the arguments, most of them already stated, that were here alleged in defence of the Huguenot action. Much was made of the message conveyed to the deputies at Loudun in the king's behalf, that, as the promise he now gave his subjects of the Reformed faith was the first he had given them since taking the helm of state, so they must regard it not only as inviolate, but as forever inviolable. They represented their coming together as authorized and based upon the king's sacred word. "At all events," they exclaimed, "we are held guilty only because of having believed the word of the first prince of your blood and the word of a lord whom your majesty holds more dear than all others." They emphasized the fact that they were assured that the order of replevin (main-levée) would not be executed in Béarn until the expiration of seven months, and that one month after all the matters promised them were executed they would be heard in respect to their remonstrances on this point also. Instead of which, Louis had been induced to anticipate the expiration of the time and to proceed to Béarn before the execution of his promises. And now they were pronounced criminals and La Rochelle was threatened with a siege merely because they took the king at his word. Meantime the delivery of seditious discourses, and the dissemination of prints appealing to the passions of the multitude, were everywhere permitted. Huguenots were compelled to submit to outrageous violence; their dead were exhumed, their places of worship burned, their ministers expelled. At Moulins, at Bourges, at Baux in Provence, at Lyons, at Dijon, their divine worship had been violently suppressed, and no justice had been done them. The commissioners that were to have been sent throughout the kingdom to redress their wrongs had never been despatched.[1]

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[1] Duplessis Mornay to M. de Seaux, secretary of state, November 22, 1620. Vie de D. M., 551.

[2] "Bien sais-je," he adds, however, "que tous les députez retournèrent dans ces provinces avec créance qu'on leur permettait de se rassembler dans six mois, si les choses permises n'estoient exécutées."

[3] An important and, I believe, hitherto inedited letter of the Duke of Rohan to Louis XIII., from Saint Jean d'Angely, November 8, 1620, published in the Bulletin de l'histoire du Protestantisme français, vi. (1858) 363.

The paper was a vigorous plea and ended with an incisive attack upon those—the Jesuits were thus covertly designated—who not content with emasculating the edicts of the king given for the protection of the Reformed, were busily paving the way for fresh persecution. Of the answers which it called forth the most notable was a letter addressed by the Duke of Lesdiguières. The great Protestant captain, already meditating the apostasy which was to secure him the advancement for which he longed and the ultimate possession of the constable's sword, still professed himself a devoted friend of the Huguenots, and declared that his words emanated

Lesdiguières answers.

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[1] "Remonstrance au Roy par les Deputez des Eglises reformées de France et Souveraineté de Béarn, assemblez à la Rochelle." (January 2, 1621.) Mercure françois, vi. (2d cont.) 2–13. The document is signed by Bessay and Clemenceau, as president and adjunct president, and Maleray and La Milletière, as secretaries.

from one who would never wish the deputies anything but honor and prosperity in their just designs. But he maintained that they had erred in not first applying to Châtillon and to himself to intercede with the king to redeem his promises, most of which, indeed, he claimed, had already been executed. It was significant that the duke's warmest indignation was apparently kindled by the charges which the deputies had made against the Jesuits, and in particular by the assertion that those worthies now boasted that they had gained the absolute control of his majesty's conscience.[1]

The remonstrances of Lesdiguières, however, could not move the Huguenot delegates. The duke was, in fact, as they themselves subsequently informed him, their "irreproachable witness" as to the fact that the promises he sent them at Loudun had been confirmed at Fontainebleau by his majesty's own mouth to the Protestant envoys when they came to announce to him the assembly's adjournment.[2] "We do not esteem," they added with a touch of quiet sarcasm, "that it would be allowable for us to desire or to imagine any other permission more valid, or any ground of assurance more firm, than the sacred word of the king!"

In course of time both the sturdy determination of the assembly of La Rochelle and the weakness of its resources revealed themselves. Convinced of the righteousness of their cause, the delegates turned a deaf ear to the good advice of friends, while exhibiting a resolute countenance to the enemy.

From the great nobles of their party it soon appeared that little help was to be looked for. The Duke of Lesdiguières, while still pretending to be a Protestant, had already promised to become a Roman Catholic. His private life had long been a scandal. His relations with Marie Vignon were notorious.

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[1] Mercure françois, vi. 13-23.

[2] The passage is of capital importance: "Nostre bonne foy a esté encore de plus appuyée sur la parole expresse de la propre bouche de sa Majesté de laquelle vous nous estes tesmoin irreprochable, quand vous nous le representez par vostre première du premier dudit mois, nous disant en ces mots, *que ce que vous nous avez promis de sa Majesté* a esté confirmé à Fontainebleau par sa Royale bouche aux Deputez de l'Assemblée de Loudun, lorsqu' ils l'advertirent de sa séparation." The Assembly of La Rochelle to Lediguières, March 18, 1621. Mercure françois, vii. 212.

That he had been privy to the murder of her husband was more than suspected. And now that the man who stood in the way of the union had been taken out of the way, the guilty pair had been married according to the rites of the Roman Catholic church. Although the duke had gone through the form of seeking the pardon of the religious body with which he was still nominally connected, the proceeding was little more than a farce in the case of a man who, within a year and a half from the time of which I am now writing, was ostentatiously "converted" to the king's faith.[1] The Count of Châtillon, Gaspard de Coligny, inheritor of the name but not of the abilities nor of the virtues of his renowned grandfather, the great victim of St. Bartholomew's day, was an untrustworthy ally of whose eccentric movements I shall have occasion to speak later. As his great show of zeal had made him foremost in public estimation, his culpable indifference to the interests of his fellow Protestants at a time when he could have been serviceable soon made him rather the object of their execration.[2] The Duke of Sully seemed long since to have lost any active interest in Huguenot affairs, and indeed, soon after this, together with his son the Marquis of Rosny, signed at the order of the government a declaration by which he engaged to hold no intercourse with the La Rochelle assembly and disavowed their acts.[3] The Duke of Bouillon, never a disinterested parti-

Indifference of the great Protestant nobles.

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[1] The pompous rites with which this event was celebrated are described at full length in the contemporaneous Mercure françois, viii. 683–707, under the title of "Les cérémonies qui se firent à Grenoble à la Conversion du Duc de Lesdiguières." They occupied four days, beginning with Sunday, July 24. 1622. The motive of the "conversion" was so little a secret to the public, that when Lesdiguières had been admitted to hear mass and the announcement of his abjuration had been made by the officiating prelate, the bishop of Embrun, Marshal Créquy handed him upon his return to the "grand' salle" of the parliament the royal patent for his military promotion, with the words: "Sir, since you are a Catholic, the king confers upon you the charge of Constable." Ibid., viii. 688.

[2] Regarding his failure to relieve the town of Vals or Wals in Vivarais, surnamed indifferently because of its strength "La Pucelle" and, because of its Huguenot population, "la petite Genève," see Benoist, ii. 323, and Haag, La France protestante (2d ed., iv. 223, etc.), where his indolent and temporizing character is well delineated.

[3] Benoist, ii. 267, 359.

san of the Reformation, and now weighed down with age and racked by disease, preferred to remain at Sedan in the quiet possession of his wealth and dignities, rather than imperil both by a violation of the neutrality which he seemed to affect.[1] Among the great Protestant lords, Rohan, Soubise, and La Trémouille alone remained, the last two very young men. And these, as they strongly opposed the convocation of the assembly, had until now with equal decision urged its immediate adjournment. A sudden impulse, a prompting of personal honor, or a feeling of genuine loyalty to the Protestant cause, led them to espouse the weaker side.

Conference of Niort.

In the beginning of March, 1621, a conference was held by royal permission at Niort, on the borders of the province of Poitou, between the Reformed noblemen of the region and envoys from the assembly and the municipality of La Rochelle. The former were still in favor of the disbanding of the assembly, but when they undertook to convey their advice to the Rochelle emissaries, these proudly informed them that they had not come for counsel—it was too late for that, their minds were made up—but to secure co-operation in the struggle for the common defence and especially for the salvation of the city of La Rochelle, now threatened with a siege. The discussion grew hot. Rohan and La Trémouille, who were spokesmen for the Poitevin nobles, urged their view, and pointed out the danger impending over all the Huguenots. They exhorted the envoys to persuade the assembly to submit and thus avoid making shipwreck of their hopes. In the heat of the moment they even suggested the risk that the Rochellese ran of being abandoned by the rest of the French Protestants. "If that be so," calmly replied the envoys, "we shall maintain ourselves without your help."[2] The thought of permitting the bulwark of the cause to fall into the hands of the enemy touched to the quick the gallant youths that heard them. Soubise and La Trémouille ended by offering themselves to the succor of the imperilled city, whatever might be the issue. To the disgust of the Huguenots of a cooler temperament — of Parabère, governor of Niort, and others—Henry of Rohan himself followed the example set him by his younger brother, and definitely espoused the assembly's cause.[1] The Poitevin nobles sent word to La Rochelle still recommending that the assembly disband, but assuring them "that they were determined to depend ever upon the holy resolutions of the assembly."[2]

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[1] Benoist, ii. 267, etc.

[2] "J'oubliois de vous dire que ces messieurs [Rohan and La Trémouille] voyant l'opiniastreté des deputés leur dirent qu'ils se jouoyent à estre abandonnez et eurent force autres paroles fortes : à quoy ils respondirent que si ainsi estoit, qu'ils se conserveroyent bien sans eux."

Soubise, La Trémouille and Rohan espouse the cause of La Rochelle.

Béarn, restless and impatient under the severe measures adopted in the preceding year, had shown some disposition to reassert its old independence, and the Protestant governor, the Duke of La Force, alarmed by the aggressive deportment of his neighbor, De Poyanne, the new commandant at Navarrenx, even began to fortify the city of Pau. To the king's expressions of displeasure he replied in conciliatory terms. When Louis bade him disarm, meantime assuring him of his continued affection in case he should merit that affection by his actions, the duke responded that he was ready to turn over the office with which he was entrusted to whomsoever it might please his majesty to direct him to turn it over, meantime, while still holding it, he could not suffer himself to be at the mercy of Poyanne, nor expose himself to the danger of being constrained to abandon his province in a disgraceful manner. "I can do no less," said he, "than consider how to preserve my life and maintain the authority which it has pleased your majesty to confer upon me."[3] The rejoinder came in an order sent from the court to the Duke of Épernon, who was waiting at Bordeaux, to advance upon the recalcitrant

La Force is compelled to flee from Béarn.

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[1] See the interesting letter of Jacques des Nouhes, sieur de la Tabarière, to Duplessis Mornay, from Sainte Hermine, March 6, 1621, printed in the Bulletin de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français, xxiv. (1875) 552.

[2] Du Fraixe to La Force, May 10, 1621. The news letters and reports sent by Du Fraixe, a gentleman of Béarn and deputy of La Force, to the assembly at La Rochelle, are a valuable source of information. They are printed among the pièces justificatives of the second volume of the Mémoires du Duc de la Force, 495, etc.

[3] "Je n'ai pu faire de moins que de songer à conserver ma vie et maintenir l'autorité qu'il a plu à V. M. me donner." La Force to Louis XIII., April 11, 1621. Mémoires du Duc de la Force, ii. 538, 539.

nobleman. The old favorite of Henry the Third had lost none of his former fire and impetuosity. So rapidly did he collect his troops and so formidable was the force which, in conjunction with the soldiers of Poyanne, he was able to put into the field, that La Force was compelled to give himself to precipitate flight, in order to escape capture. In the course of a few weeks all Béarn fell into the hands of the invader, and La Force, deprived of his honors and dignities, was a fugitive from the region which he had so long governed under two successive kings.[1]

Louis XIII. takes the field in person.

While Épernon was completing his brief and satisfactory campaign in Béarn, Louis was preparing to take the field in person against the Huguenots of the south. The way was prepared by a fresh publication of his unaltered purpose to observe all the edicts and declarations issued by his predecessor or by himself in favor of his subjects of the Reformed religion.[2] It was, however, a striking commentary upon the sincerity of the king's words, and upon the special guard into which he pretended to take all the Protestants that remained steadfast in their obedience, that the Duke of Longueville was straightway sent to disarm all the Huguenots of the province of Normandy. For this purpose he chose his time. As, for instance, at Dieppe, the worshippers were no sooner engaged in divine service in their spacious "temple" outside the walls, on Sunday, the ninth of May, than the gates were closed, the walls manned with soldiers, and every house searched for arms. If the doors were closed, the locks were picked or broken. Such conduct was not reassuring, and many of the Huguenots, fearing that worse things were in store for them, fled across the British Channel.[3]

As acts are wont to be more influential than mere words, the severe punishments inflicted by Louis while on his march southward upon certain persons who had been guilty of a riotous outbreak against the Protestants of Tours, had even greater effect than was expected, in quelling the apprehensions of the Huguenots of the central parts of France and in leading them to view the king's formidable armament rather as passive spectators than as interested parties. The zealous Roman Catholics, emboldened by the rumors of an approaching annihilation of Protestantism, had taken occasion of the burial of a convert to that faith to indulge in excesses not uncommon in that age, including the digging up of the corpse, which they tore in pieces with every form of insult, and the burning of the great "temple" where the Reformed met for worship.[1] They had renewed the popular excitement when the government, fearful of the possible effect of the outrage, sent a commissioner from the Parliament of Paris, who, after investigation, condemned several of the culprits to death. The judge who had passed the sentence was compelled to hide from the violence of the mob. It was a happy thought of the king, or his advisers, to stop at Tours on the way from Fontainebleau to the Garonne, and order that the five most guilty persons should be sent to the gallows during his stay in the place. Accustomed for a full century to be treated with scant justice, the slightest appearance of a desire to deal fairly by them was received by the Reformed as conclusive evidence of a settled purpose on the part of the crown to carry out honestly the provisions of the Edict of Nantes. And thus it was that the vast majority remained at home and suffered their fellow believers of Guyenne to feel the undivided force of the storm that broke upon them. The Huguenots had well earned a reputation for uncommon suspiciousness; contemporary Roman Catholics were at a loss to know whither that trait of their character had vanished, and were amazed at the result. "Certainly," observes with some quiet glee the president of the

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[1] Mémoires du Duc de la Force, ii. 127, seq.; Bernard, Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 198; Gramond, Hist. Galliæ ab excessu Henrici IV., 353; Benoist, ii. 344–346.

[2] Déclaration du Roy, Fontainebleau, le 24 jour d'Avril, 1621. Text in Benoist, ii., pièces justificatives, 53–55; Mercure françois, vii. 186; Gramond, 349.

[3] Histoire de la reformation à Dieppe par Guillaume et Jean Duval, i. 210 seq.; Floquet, Histoire du parlement de Normandie. iv. 387 seq.; G. H. Overend, Strangers at Dover, in Proceedings of the Hug. Soc. of London, iii. 129 seq.

He redresses the wrongs of the Protestants of Tours.

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[1] The news of the outrages at Tours produced a great sensation at La Rochelle. It required all the exertions of the mayor to prevent the populace from setting fire to the Roman Catholic church and hurrying to the prisons all the adherents of the Roman Catholic faith that could be found. Du Fraixe to La Force, April 24, 1621; Mémoires du Duc de la Force, ii. (doc.) 518.

parliament of Toulouse, a Roman Catholic historian who rarely has a favorable word to speak for the other side, "it is not surprising that the common herd, whose passion is blind, should have been caught by this artifice; but I can scarcely express sufficient wonder that the leaders, the nobles and the magistrates of the Sect, were deceived by this empty snare, men who up to this day had all enjoyed the reputation of being skilled in the affairs of state."[1]

Not merely from without, but from within the Huguenot ranks, came the influences which tended to weaken the Protestant cause. Liberty was wounded in the house of its professed friends. A scholar of no mean pretensions had but recently published to the world a defence of the royal prerogative which must have satisfied the most ardent admirer of despotic institutions.

Daniel Tilenus.

His controversies.

Daniel Tilenus, pastor and professor of theology in the Académie of Sedan, under the protection of the Duke of Bouillon, was, as has been seen, a trained disputant who, in an age much given to disputation, received more than his share of applause. He was the champion that was chosen to sustain the Protestant side and refute the arguments of one Duval, a doctor of the Sorbonne, at a time when Henry the Fourth, desirous of marrying his sister to the Duke of Bar, left no stone unturned to induce that resolute princess to imitate his own example of apostasy. The trial of dialectic skill, held, singularly enough, in the very chamber of Catharine of Bourbon, she herself being hidden away from sight in her bed, was as barren of result as were wont to be the struggles of such practised athletes, each side claiming for itself the victory. The Duke of Sully, who came in at the close, and to whom the friends of both the contestants began eagerly to rehearse the arguments of their respective champions, playfully begged them to save themselves the trouble; adding the gratuitous advice not to meddle henceforth in such idle undertakings until such time as the Holy Scriptures, on the one hand, and, on the other, that heap of books written by the doctors, with all the canons of the popes and all the decrees of the councils which agreed among themselves as well as do cats and rats, should either have been wholly suppressed or amicably reconciled.[1] Tilenus had not failed to use his pen as well as his voice in opposition to the Roman Catholic church, and had published a "Manifestation of Antichrist."[2] But his most notable encounter had been that one with the Charenton pastor Pierre Du Moulin, which has already occupied us.[3]

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[1] "Certe eo hamo captum vulgus haud est mirabile, cujus cæca libido est: vix miror satis vanitate ejus aucupii deceptos primores, nobilitatem. et Sectæ magistratum, qui in hanc diem pro politicis audierant omnes." Bartholomæus Gramondus, Hist. Galliæ ab excessu Henrici IV., 360. The Tours incident is told simply, but fairly, by this author, pp. 356–358, and in great detail, but with an anti-Huguenot bias that reveals itself in every line, by Bernard, Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 208–211. The comparison between the accounts of the two writers, both strong Roman Catholics, is interesting and instructive. Benoist, ii. 346–348, is, as usual, accurate and straightforward. Bernard recalls the circumstance that the Huguenots were, according to the common story, first so called, at Tours, from the local hobgoblin, "Le roy Huguon." See also the letters of Duplessis Mornay to the king and to Lesdiguières, both of April 20, 1621, as well as the letter of the mayor and echevins of Tours, of the same date. Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay, iv. 627 seq.

It was Tilenus who, somewhat soured by his contests, and the more decidedly leaning to the views of Arminius that Du Moulin was the great advocate in France of the canons of the Synod of Dort, now addressed a pungent letter of advice and remonstrance to the political assembly of the Huguenots at La Rochelle.[4]

He remonstrates with the assembly of La Rochelle.

It is always an easy thing for the apologist for tyranny to construct a plausible argument in favor of blind submission to royal authority. The patriot who, while contending for his rights as a free man, still desires to retain his loyalty, finds himself at best in a difficult position, honoring the monarch in his professions and yet compelled to oppose sturdily some of the acts done in the monarch's name by counsellors whom the monarch has himself deliberately chosen, and whose advice he willingly follows. The conflict of powerful motives has been the weakness of many a revolution in its initial stage. It proved the weakness of the present Huguenot uprising, which never went beyond that initial stage. The writer of the "Advertisement to the Assembly of La Rochelle" made effective use of weapons lying ready at hand; and, not without a show of reason, likened the insurgent Huguenots, in their professed obedience and practical defiance of Louis's commands, to Pilate's soldiers, who, indeed, knelt before our Lord and saluted him, "Hail, King of the Jews!" but, at the same time, crowned him with thorns and spat in his face. Nor did he fail to draw attention to the fact that the assembly undertook to exact of the poor peasant an obedience to its commands which the members themselves refused to pay to the commands of their sovereign. And here, indeed, the author was led by his zeal for the royal authority to urge a plea of which the historians of the period of now under consideration do not seem to have taken sufficient notice, for the right of the king of France to recall and abrogate any law, even to the precious ordinance given by Henry the Fourth at Nantes, the palladium of Huguenot liberties. "You wish him," says Tilenus, "to be bound to observe his predecessor's Edict in every point; but you do not consider that you owe him all obedience by an obligation divine, natural, and civil. Bear in mind that no king is bound by the ordinances of his predecessors, nor even by his own. . . . By the laws of God and of nature he is undeniably bound: nevertheless should he chance to contravene them, he has no other judge but God." For this astounding assertion the writer finds his principal proof in the fifty-first psalm, wherein David having grievously offended, exclaims: "Against Thee, Thee alone, have I sinned;" because, forsooth, it was God alone that possessed the right to judge and punish him.[1]

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[1] "Vous les suppliastes de ne prendre point cette peine, ny de s'entremettre jamais de disputer de la Religion, que la Saincte Escriture ou cet amas de livres escrits par tant de Docteurs, tous les Canons des Papes, et tous les Registres des Conciles qui s'accordoient comme Chats et Rats, n'eussent esté suprimez ou bien conciliez." Mémoires de Sully (ed. of Rouen, 1663), ii. (chapter 90), 248.

[2] Lestoile's Journal, under November 11, 1607, apud Bulletin, iii. 446.

[3] Supra, page 81

[4] It was published, according to the Mercure françois, which inserts it, vii. 223-243 at the beginning of March, 1621. the author's name being given as Abraham *Elintus* (an anagram of Tilenus). The Roman Catholic editor is not unwilling, under the circumstances. to describe him as "un sçavant ministre qui a fort escrit contre le Ministre du Moulin

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[1] "Advertissement à l'Assemblée de la Rochelle," Mercure françois, vii. 223–243. I find Tilenus's letter reprinted, because of its utility to the royal cause, in the "Histoire des deux derniers siéges de la Rochelle, le premier soubs le Regne du Roy Charles IX. en l'année 1573. Et le second soubs le Roy Louys XIII. à present heureusement regnant, és années 1627 et 1628," Paris, 1630.

On the twelfth of May Louis the Thirteenth reached Saumur. For thirty-two years had Duplessis Mornay faithfully discharged the trust reposed in him by Henry the Fourth. Loyal himself, he had so wisely augmented the fortifications of the place, that, in the disorders of a tumultuous period, Saumur had never been taken nor even threatened by any insurgents. Lying on the southern bank of the Loire, and connected by a long bridge with its fortified suburb, *La Croix Verte*, upon the opposite side of the river, it was, as I have already remarked, the most important of the hostage cities of the Protestants; and this, not more because of its great strength than from its opportune situation at a principal crossing of the great stream which nearly divides France in two.[1] Malevolent courtiers, judging Duplessis Mornay's intentions by the standard of their own morality, gave the governor credit for no higher purpose than to play into the hands of the partisans of the La Rochelle assembly, and, so soon as the king should have passed southward, to make it a formidable stronghold to threaten his rear.[2] Thus much is true, that the Duke of Bouillon, an experienced general, saw at a glance the importance of garrison-

Louis at Saumur.

In his first letter, Tilenus exhibits his animosity against Du Moulin and the Protestants of the capital, by declaiming against the luxurious display made by the brides at marriages celebrated in the "temple" of Charenton. In a second, written as a rejoinder to the answer—a feeble production—made by the former deputy-general La Milletière, the ire of the Sedan professor is particularly aroused by the absurd, but annoying, assertion of his opponent, that the *Arminians* had been gained over by the *pope* for the purpose of troubling religion in Holland. See La Milletière's paper (in synopsis and extracts) and Tilenus's replies, Mercure françois, viii. 155–220.

[1] Bernard gives a good account of the natural advantages of Saumur, as well as of the advantages for which it was indebted to art. Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 212–216. It could put under cover from the enemy 8,000 or 9,000 troops. Jodocus Sincerus, who seems to have visited the place a few years earlier—the dedication of his itinerary is dated 1616—describes the citadel as very strong, and divides his admiration between the charming view of the broad plain through which the Loire flows and the extremely elegant "temple" where the Protestants worshipped. Itinerarium Galliæ (edition of Geneva, 1627), 99.

[2] Cardinal Richelieu in his memoirs (p. 241) asserts that the king, while at Tours, received "certain advice" that such had been the suggestion made to Duplessis Mornay by the assembly of La Rochelle, and he affirms that the king had little confidence in him "because it was known that he had an understanding, although a secret one, with the assembly." See Bernard, i. 211.

ing Saumur with at least six thousand fresh troops,[1] but Duplessis Mornay never seriously entertained the thought of refusing admission to the king, should he come that way; least of all in a struggle that did not command his hearty approval.[2]

And yet there was something alarming in the king's visit. The usual road from Tours to La Rochelle, which was believed to be the objective point of the royal expedition, did not run through Saumur, but by Châtellerault and Poitiers. But whatever doubts might be entertained by the Huguenot governor respecting the object of the circuitous route chosen by the king, they were set at rest by the assurances which Duplessis Mornay received. The Duke of Luynes, the monarch's favorite, who, without previous experience, had at one step been elevated to the highest military position to which an officer could aspire, and had been named, to the amazement of the realm entire, Constable of France,[3] declared with positiveness that his majesty was as well satisfied with Duplessis Mornay as with any gentleman of the realm. Several times he repeated the promise that no alteration would be make at Saumur. He gave his word for it that it should no more be touched than the apple of his eye.[4] The king said the same thing with his own mouth. The Duke of Lesdiguières confirmed the statement. It might have been regarded as a bad omen that these were the very three relying upon whose veracity the assembly of Loudun accepted the assurance that they would be permitted to convene again under certain circumstances, and that two of them at least had forfeited their honor in the matter.

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[1] Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 354.

[2] Vie de Duplessis Mornay, 594.

[3] "Iturus in Aquitaniam, Rex Luynæum *ex tyrone* Galliæ Comestabilem fecit . . . rem portento haud procul . . . Mirabitur ætas sequens progressum fortunæ in homine, qui (quanquam ex nobilium ordine) nec virtute bellica, nec dotibus animi supra reliquos valuit." Gramond, Hist. Galliæ ab excessu Henrici IV., 358. The president of the parliament of Toulouse can afford to be less guarded in his expressions than the historiographer Bernard (Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 199 seq.), who prudently confines himself to the narration of the facts, and to a record of the conflicting sentiments of men respecting the revival of the *dangerous* office of Constable. Bernard, however, musters up sufficient courage to describe the manner in which the veteran Lesdiguières the only man qualified for the position by age and experience in arms, was induced not only to acquiesce in, but actually to solicit the royal favorite's preferment.

[4] "Au reste luy reitera par plusieurs fois qu'il ne seroit rien innové à Saumur, en ces mots *qu'il n'y seroit non plus touché qu'à la prunelle de l'œil.*" Vie de Duplessis Mornay, 598.

He breaks his word, and deprives Duplessis Mornay of his governorship.

The issue was such as might have been expected. In grappling with duplicity and intrigue, manly probity is often put to the worst. Constable Luynes had asseverated that the king's occupation of the city and castle of Saumur would be merely a formal affair: no sooner had the garrison come out to do the king honor, than they would be reinstated, and everything would proceed exactly as before. Instead of this, the royal guards assumed the places of the old and trusty soldiers of Duplessis Mornay; the king was lodged inside of the castle and not in the spacious buildings which had been ample for the accommodation of Henry the Fourth, as well as of Marie de' Medici and of the present monarch himself on the occasion of previous visits;[1] the Protestant governor and his family were virtually turned out of house and home. His costly furniture, the interesting gallery of paintings with the long list of portraits chiefly of the men who, in a period of heroic strife, distinguished themselves for their advocacy of truth and high principle,[2] the precious library, with the still more precious stores of manuscripts, the fruit of a correspondence coextensive with the civilized world—all these were left, for the most part, at the discretion of a brutal soldiery, to be destroyed or dispersed beyond the hope of recovery.[3] When Duplessis Mornay remonstrated with dignity and frankness against the violation of sacred pledges, he was met with a significant hint that the present was in reality the luckiest moment of his life.[4] The hint took specific form in the tempting offer of a reward of one hundred thousand crowns, in addition to the payment of the large sums of money that were owed to him, and of the baton of a marshal of France.[1] The acceptance of the bribe would have relieved Louis the Thirteenth and the constable of a world of perplexity. They would then appear to have taken possession of Saumur by virtue of a private understanding with its Huguenot guardian. The veteran counsellor and follower of Henry the Great would seem to have betrayed his post and bartered for personal advantages one of the cities of refuge entrusted to him for safe-keeping.[2] By the defection and consequent loss of credit of so eminent a man, the Huguenots would have suffered a moral defeat in comparison with which any one of the numerous losses of towns and strongholds, that were soon to ensue, would have seemed of paltry account. Unfortunately for Louis the Thirteenth, now, as ever, Duplessis Mornay proved himself unselfish and incorruptible, a man whom flattery could not deceive nor gold buy. The proffer was at once rejected.[3]

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[1] Vie de Duplessis Mornay, 599. Bernard (i. 211) admits that Henry IV. was accustomed to lodge in the town, when he passed by Saumur, "because the castle is on the height of the mountain, and on a site of sufficiently painful access."

[2] The selection of pictures in Duplessis Mornay's collection well illustrates the quaint remark ascribed to Urbain Chevreau: "My taste leads me to want the portraits that bear me company in my study to have the countenances of friends, for it is not pleasant for me to be eyed askance even in paintings." See a delightful article by Benjamin Fillon, of which the Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme françois (xxviii. 473 seq.) gives a summary.

[3] Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Prot. franç., x. 17 seq.

[4] "Dites luy, que se sera la plus heureuse heure de sa vie," were the words

Duplessis Mornay rejects the offer of a pecuniary reward.

The king's own historiographer informs us that a meeting of the royal council was held in which the grave question was discussed, how Saumur might be retained by his majesty without giving the Huguenots reason for asserting that they had been robbed of one of their cities, and that the old adage that no faith need be kept with heretics was once more exemplified. And he tells us that "the king himself,

The royal council's deliberation.

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with which his nephew received from the constable an appointment for Duplessis Mornay to meet him to arrange terms. The Duke of Luynes was one of those who believe that every man has his price.

[1] Vie de Duplessis Mornay, 603.

[2] Both Bernard, in his history, and Cardinal Richelieu, in his memoirs, deny in almost identical words that Saumur was actually a Huguenot city of refuge. It had originally been placed in the hands of Duplessis Mornay by Henry the Fourth, when as yet simple King of Navarre, and its tenure had from that time to this remained unchanged. This was a mere quibble. Every list of the number of soldiers to constitute the garrisons of the hostage cities, and of the sums of money to be drawn from the royal treasury for their support, comprised a provision for Saumur. Indeed, Saumur, as I have shown, had much the largest garrison and called for a greater sum of money than any other place. See Anquez, Hist. des Assemblées politiques, 162, 163.

[3] Mémoire de co qui s'est passé au changement fait par le Roy à Saumur, le 17 May, 1621, in Mémoires de Duplessis Mornay, iv. 654.

as he was a prince of a prompt intelligence and ingenious in his expedients, discovered the means that were necessary." This was to place in temporary command of the place the Count of Sault, son of Créqui and grandson of Lesdiguières, a young nobleman who, like his grandfather, still made profession of the Protestant faith which both were soon to renounce! This was the device which Louis, who affected, above all other epithets, the title of *The Just*, prided himself upon suggesting, for the purpose of robbing the Protestants of a city which was theirs, while appearing to leave it in their hands. The garrison which the pseudo-Protestant was to command consisted of an hundred picked men of the guards—it is almost needless to say, all stanch Roman Catholics.[1]

The lackeys make havoc of Duplessis Mornay's library.

It was a marvellous triumph of the king's ingenuity thus to have possessed himself of the Protestant stronghold; the servants and low hangers-on of the court contrived to make it the occasion also for a signal victory of the church over error. In rummaging the castle, the night before the king's departure, a guard chanced to discover in one of the rooms a large number of copies in fine bindings of Duplessis Mornay's famous book, "The Mystery of Iniquity," with its equally famous frontispiece representing the fall of the Papal Tower of Babel. The motley crowd of attendants and others, "the vilest and most miserable men to be found," needed no better opportunity for the display of their zeal, and all the books upon which they could lay hands, including the greater part of the collected stores of learning treasured on the shelves of the library, were carried down to the court-yard and there burned in a bonfire amid the wild glee of the spectators. The volumes that escaped the flames were torn to pieces and scattered about the streets, where, in the extravagant language of a contemporary chronicler, nothing was seen but books and papers.[2]

Meanwhile the king put off Duplessis Mornay with renewed promises. As Louis left Saumur, the constable and Lesdiguières gave him documents in which they pledged his majesty, and at Thouars, on his southward journey, the king himself duly signed a formal engagement, in which, although he asserted that, for certain matters which he thought might thereby be facilitated, he wished to be accommodated with the city and its castle, he promised to restore them within three months from the seventeenth day of May, or earlier should the matter referred to have been arranged. Furthermore, he gave "his royal word" to the effect that, notwithstanding the fact that the term for which the Reformed held their cities of security would expire in three years or thereabouts, he would continue the office of which Duplessis Mornay was possessed to him for his natural life, and in case of his death, would confer it upon his son-in-law, M. de Villarnoul.[1]

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[1] Bernard, Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 215, 216. Gramond, Hist. Galliæ ab excessu Henrici IV., 380.

[2] Bernard, i. 216. Extract from the Journal of Louvet, clerk of the presidial court of Angers, in Bulletin de la Soc. de l'histoire du Prot. franç., x. 18, 19.

Louis makes new engagements and breaks them.

Not one of these and other engagements, so plentifully supported by the oaths and asseverations of the king's chief advisers, did Louis the Thirteenth ever make even a pretence of fulfilling. When the set time passed and the promised restitution was deferred, Duplessis Mornay wrote to solicit it. Thereupon the king repeated, with an appeal to heaven to testify to his sincerity, his purpose to effect it in due season. "A little patience," he assured the brave soldier whose old age he was making doubly burdensome, "a little patience will secure you this blessing, and you shall receive other blessings also from me in accommodating yourself to what I am forced to do. . . . God knows what is my intention, to whom I commend you."[2] When nearly a year had elapsed, he again wrote: "I pledge my word anew, with all the scrupulous exactness you could desire therein."[3] And so the matter dragged along, the grand old Huguenot bemoaning less his own personal loss and the indignity done to his long and meritorious services, than the indelible stigma which his sovereign was affixing to his own fair name. "I do not doubt," he wrote to Lesdiguières from the quiet retreat of La Forêt-sur-Sèvre, "that if Father Arnoux's word be taken, he will find in the affair something out of which to make a case of conscience. Yet know I well, also, that I have to do with a great king who makes a singular profession of justice, and who, if he do me the honor to listen to himself or to take council of all good Frenchmen whom he has near him, will not consent thus to afflict my old age. Saumur is of little account to me, sir; but his majesty's word given for the restitution of Saumur ought to be dear to him."[1]

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[1] The *brevet*, dated at Thouars, May 17, 1621, signed by Louis XIII. and countersigned by the secretary of state Antoine Potier, Sieur de Seaux, is given in full in the Vie de Duplessis Mornay, 609-611, and in the "Mémoire de ce qui s'est passé au changement fait par le Roy à Saumur," in the Mémoires, iv. 660, 661.

[2] Louis XIII. to Duplessis Mornay, from the camp before Montauban, September 18, 1621, Mémoires de D. M., iv. 693.

[3] The same to the same, April 17, 1622, ibid., iv. 776.

Duplessis Mornay might have spared himself the trouble of many letters and much solicitude for the honor of his master. That master had no care for his own. Out of his own mouth let him be judged. "Monsieur Duplessis," he had at one time written, "you are right in saying that your re-establishment in my town and castle of Saumur concerns as much my service as your private interests, and still more right in not calling it in question and in relying upon my word. For you will see the performance in its season. And as I have great occasion to be content with you, you will also have every reason to be satisfied with me. . . . You must believe me that these are matters which I have always before my eyes, and that I shall not forget to seize the proper time to bring them to pass."[2] Yet when two years of delays and shuffling had elapsed, Louis coolly informed Duplessis that he had made up his mind to change the existing arrangement, remove Count de Sault, take Saumur *into his own hands, and send an ensign of a company of his own guards to take charge of it!*[3] That was the end of the matter. Less than six months later the broken-hearted old patriot died. The request which he had forwarded, some time before, to his son-in-law Villarnoul to present to the king in case

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[1] "Saumur, Monsieur, m'est peu de chose; mais la parole de Sa Majesté donnée pour la restitution de Saumur, luy doit estre chére." Duplessis Mornay to Lesdiguières, November 10, 1621, Mémoires, iv. 701, 702.

[2] Louis XIII. to Duplessis Mornay, July 29, 1621, Mémoires, iv. 686, and Vie de D. M., 624, etc.

[3] Louis XIII. to Duplessis Mornay, May 20, 1623, Mémoires, iv. 881, etc.

Death of Duplessis Mornay, November 11, 1623.

of a positive refusal to restore Saumur—that he be permitted to leave the kingdom with his entire family, taking with him the bones of his kindred, that they might not be exposed to the insults of an ungrateful people[1]—was never pressed, and Duplessis died on his native soil.[2] Otherwise the pathetic words of the epitaph which he had composed for himself were appropriate and expressive of the truth: "Here lies one who at the age of three score and thirteen years, after having employed forty-six of them without reproach in the service of two great kings, was constrained, for having done his duty, to seek a burial-place outside of his fatherland. Judge, reader, and deplore, be it his misfortune or the malice of the age."[3] Among the burdens he had found most difficult to bear was the censure of some of his fellow-Protestants, who found fault with the guilelessness of his character that led him to trust a perfidious court. Alluding to the experience of the aged governor of Navarrenx a year earlier, one such wrote from La Rochelle: "Monsieur Duplessis refused to be wise at Monsieur de Salles's expense. Consequently he has received like treatment; he is in despair about it."[4] But honorable men, then as now, acquitted him of all blame, and believed that in him France lost the very choicest flower of its nobility. As for Louis the Thirteenth, the verdict of history must stand for all time, that the seizure of Saumur was effected "not by a ruse of war, but by an act unworthy of a king, still less of a gentleman."[5]

Meantime the political assembly of La Rochelle held on its

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[1] The petition sent to Villarnoul is dated February 14, 1622. See Mémoires, iv. 744.

[2] At his manor of La Forêt-sur-Sèvre, November 11, 1623. A few days before he had consented (now that all hope of the recovery of Saumur was lost) to receive from the king a sum of one hundred thousand livres to cover the losses he had sustained. As the *écu*, or crown, was at this period reckoned to be worth three *livres* or *francs*, the damages allowed him amounted to only one-third part of the bribe which had been previously offered to induce him to acquiesce in the seizure of a Protestant hostage city. See the Vie de D. M., 702 seq.

[3] Mémoires, ubi supra.

[4] Du Fraixe to La Force, May 21, 1621, Mémoires du Duc de la Force (documents), ii. 519.

[5] The words are those of a French historian of our own times, Léonce Anquez, Histoire des Assemblées politiques, 438.

Articles of the assembly of La Rochelle.

course with fearlessness and resolute purpose. It had some weeks since given to the world the declaration of the objects it had in view, in the form of articles to be presented to the king by the two deputies-general at court. The articles were seven in number, and it is worth while to examine them individually. The first was a request to be relieved of the necessity of speaking of themselves as belonging to the *Pretended* Reformed Religion, a designation to which they objected both as contrary to the freedom of their consciences and to an answer given to the first article of the petition of the assembly of Loudun. The second and the seventh articles called for the restoration of the civil and religious institutions of Béarn to the state in which they were in 1616, and for the withdrawal of the troops now quartered in that region. The third article pointed to the unfulfilled promises given to previous convocations respecting places of security in the province of Dauphiny. The fourth sought the erasure of the humiliating conditions with which the Parliament of Paris had seen fit to admit the Protestant counsellors to their seats. The fifth pressed a prompt and favorable answer, such as had been promised, to the demands of the last assembly. The sixth urged better and more trustworthy provision for the payment of the salaries of pastors and of wages of the garrisons of the hostage cities, often greatly in arrears.[1]

And now, a day or two before Louis by his flagitious breach of faith rendered himself master of Saumur, the assembly formally adopted a military organization for the conduct of the struggle into which it saw, or thought it saw, itself unavoidably hurried.

Necessity of a new military organization.

The situation of affairs had completely changed since the sixteenth century. From the first abortive uprising of La Renaudie, in the reign of Francis the Second, until the moment when Henry of Navarre ascended the throne of France, the Huguenots had always claimed as their head a prince of the blood, who during a great part of the time was also the heir presumptive of the crown. Their struggle consequently wore in their own eyes, if not in the eyes of all men, the appearance of a war waged not against the royal authority, but, rather, in its defence, by that kinsman of the monarch who was most concerned in preventing the stability of the crown from being imperilled by the injudicious conduct of the present occupant of the throne, blinded by his own passions or misled by the suggestions of interested advisers. Whether the alliance of the Reformed churches with a political power thus forced upon them was an advantage rather than an injury, may well be doubted. It certainly entangled the Huguenots in contests that were neither of their own seeking nor carried on in their interests. The "Guerre des Amoureux" was a signal example of the kind. It also well illustrated the difficulty experienced in persuading the churches and their most intelligent and thoughtful members to take part in needless quarrels. Now, however, there was no longer a prince of the house of Bourbon under whose authority the Huguenots might act. The present king, author of the oppression of which they complained, was the degenerate son of their old "protector"—as papal in sentiment as the Florentine mother from whom he seemed to have derived all his intellectual and moral qualities, and as completely under the influence of Spain as his celebrated father had always been antagonistic to the policy of Philip the Second. The character of the representative of the younger branch of Bourbon, the Prince of Condé, to whom alone the Huguenots could have looked for leadership, was as untrustworthy as his pedigree was suspicious. He possessed the steadfastness of purpose neither of his grandfather nor of his reputed father. Moreover, he was in religion a Roman Catholic, who never desired the alliance of the Protestants save to further designs of his own, and who openly repudiated it the moment his ends were accomplished.

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[1] Articles dressés en l'Assemblée général de la Rochelle et envoyés . . . à MM. de Favas et Chalas, deputés des Églises Réformées de France et Souveraineté de Béarn, pour être présentés par eux aux Roi. They were sent with letters dated March 18, 1621. Mémoires du Duc de la Force, ii. 505, 506.

In default of leaders that might be regarded as in some sense natural protectors, the Protestants, if fight they must, were clearly compelled to select generals of their own, and whatever measures of organization were necessary to render their conduct effective found their justification in this very circumstance.

The extraordinary document drawn up by the assembly of La Rochelle on the tenth of May, 1621, divided up the kingdom, or at least that part of the kingdom which contained the mass of the Protestant population, into eight districts, very unequal in territorial extent, and placed them under the special care of as many of the great nobles professing the Protestant faith. To the Duke of Bouillon, first marshal of France, were assigned the provinces of Normandy, Isle de France, Berry, Anjou, Maine, Perche, and Touraine; to M. de Soubise, Brittany and Poitou; to M. de la Trémouille, Saintonge and Angoumois; to the Duke of la Force, Lower Guyenne; to his son the Marquis of la Force, Béarn; to the Duke of Rohan, Upper Languedoc and Upper Guyenne; to M. de Châtillon, Lower Languedoc, the Cévennes, Gévaudan, and Vivarais; to the Duke of Lesdiguières, Dauphiny, Provence, and Burgundy. The city of La Rochelle was by a previous arrangement made independent of all these departments and recognized no head but its mayor. The general command was intrusted to the Duke of Bouillon, with authority to assume supreme control in whatever province he might happen to be present. The "councils" already existing in each province were continued. The commander-in-chief was authorized to appoint most of his subordinate officers, with certain named exceptions where the appointment was reserved for the assembly itself, and was to be assisted by a council of the principal lords of his army, with whom three deputies chosen by the assembly were to sit and vote. A similar council was given to each of the other generals in his own province, and the three deputies of the assembly who were admitted to its deliberations were to be changed four times a year. Detailed provision was made for the conduct of hostilities, the assembly retaining for itself such important functions as the right to elect governors in case of vacancy in places now held by the Protestants, and to agree to a truce or conclude treaties of peace. Several articles respected the morals and religion of the officers and private soldiers. Both officers and private soldiers were exhorted to "such Christian and discreet deportment in their actions, that God might be honored thereby." Pastors were to be provided for the troops, whether cavalry or infantry, to preach and offer prayers on the accustomed days; and all chiefs, captains, and soldiers were to be subject to the order of evangelical discipline practised by the

The plan adopted May 10, 1621.

churches of the realm. Blasphemy, being the most common of vices among soldiers, was strictly forbidden. The private soldier was to be fined for a first offence the small silver coin known as a *teston*, the officer a crown. For a second offence the penalty was doubled. The incorrigible offender was to be dismissed from the service. Plundering peasants of their cattle, or men and women of their clothing, was forbidden on pain of death; the freedom of trade was guaranteed even in the camp, special immunities were promised to millers in the towns. They were enjoined to continue their occupation without fear of molestation from soldiers quartered upon them.

The most essential articles were those in which the assembly ordered that all the royal revenues throughout France should be seized, in order to defray the great expenses incident to the maintenance of armed forces and for other public ends. These funds, as well as the income of benefices and other ecclesiastical property, were to be received and administered by officers appointed for the purpose by the assembly.

Such were some of the notable prescriptions of this important document, facetiously styled by the Roman Catholics "the fundamental laws of the Republic of the Pretended Reformed."[1] Excepting the department of justice, which was doubtless regarded as sufficiently provided for by the "chambres mi-parties," of royal institution, there was no part of the service of the state with which it did not deal more or less closely. Had the plan thus projected been as fully executed as was contemplated by those that drew it up, there would scarcely have been any part of France, with the exception of that central portion consisting of Nivernais, Bourbonnais, Auvergne, Lyonnais, Marche, and Limousin—an extensive region scarcely affected by Protestantism at any period of its history—where the conflict of authority between the Huguenot forces and those of the king would not have made itself known in vigorous and decisive warfare.

As it was, however, the results fell far short of the expectations of those who devised the scheme. Of the eight leaders selected by the assembly, Rohan and Soubise alone threw themselves with their whole soul into the movement. The

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[1] Anquez, Histoire des Assemblées politiques, 348.

Of the eight generals elected, only Rohan and Soubise serve with zeal.

Duke of Bouillon was, as has already been stated, too much broken with age and chronic gout to accept the dangerous office of commander-in-chief, and declined even to assume the direction of the department committed to his charge. Lesdiguières, so far from leading the Huguenots of the south and east against the king, openly repudiated the cause with which he had been identified for little short of half a century, and gave his undivided support to the royal side. Châtillon did not, indeed, decline the honor conferred upon him, but discharged his duties in a manner so negligent and half-hearted, if not positively treacherous, that not many months elapsed before a resort was necessary to the extreme measure of deposing him from his command. As Béarn was completely in the power of the enemy, the Marquis of la Force found little or nothing there to do for the Protestant assembly. If his father the duke was more serviceable, it was rather outside of the department assigned to him than within it, and as an auxiliary rather than as a leader. La Trémouille, who aspired to act as mediator rather than frankly to embark in the perilous undertaking in which the more ardent of his fellow-believers had engaged, disappointed the hopes that had been conceived of him.

The Huguenot seal.

But, in fact, the dissensions and divisions that reigned in the assembly had alienated from it the support of the great mass of the Protestant population, and the statement is virtually correct that of the Huguenots scarcely more than an eighth part took any share in the struggle.[1] The assembly might issue its manifestoes, might give plausible arguments for a general uprising, might send out its commissions authenticated by the new seal which it had adopted, with the motto PRO CHRISTO ET REGE—FOR CHRIST AND THE KING.[2] It was unsuccessful in persuading a people to join the movement, in whom an exaggerated conception of the royal prerogative had, as we have seen, for many years been constantly taking deeper root, a conception fostered, to no small extent, by the extravagant professions of obedience and homage which fell from the lips even of the ministers of religion in their pulpit discourses.

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[1] Benoist, ii. 355.

[2] The seal represents a female winged figure erect, holding in the left hand an open book (the Bible), resting the right arm upon a cross, and treading underfoot a prostrate form. The whole signifies the victory of true Religion over Death and the Grave. It is an emblematic representation often found on the title-pages of Huguenot Bibles and Psalm-books. There has been some doubt expressed as to the device that surrounded the figure. The Mercure françois (viii. 338) and Gramond (page 341) say it was *Pro Christo et Rege*, but Gramond adds that some read *Pro Christo et Grege* ("for Christ and his Flock"). Benoist (ii.

Submission of many cities.

This the issue soon made manifest. From Saumur Louis advanced to Thouars, to Parthenay, to Niort. Place after place opened its gates at his approach. Governors of cities vied with one another in their eagerness to accept a pecuniary reward for the surrender of the trusts committed to them. The stalwart integrity of Duplessis Mornay found few imitators during the present war among the noblemen who had offices readily convertible into current funds or distinctions. The first delay that the king met with, and the only notable opposition he encountered, was from Soubise, who threw himself into Saint Jean d'Angely, determined to stand a siege if necessary. Meantime, Louis had, at Niort, published a new proclamation, warning all the Protestants of the kingdom against any recognition of the assembly of La Rochelle and its military organization. The city of La Rochelle, the seat of the uprising, and the town of Saint Jean d'Angely, which was known to be preparing to resist the king's arms, as well as all other places that might follow their examples, were declared to have forfeited their municipal privileges, the gift of previous monarchs. All Protestants of whatever station were commanded to repair at once to the nearest royal judge, and make an explicit declaration of their loyalty to the crown and of their repudiation of the assembly and of all other unlawful gatherings.[1]

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356) asserts that the latter is the true reading, and accounts for the other reading by supposing the first letter of the word *Grege* to have been imperfectly cut and to have made an indistinct impression upon the wax. He is mistaken, however, as is proved by a discovery of a wax imprint of the original seal, which is reproduced in the Bulletin de la Société de l'hist. du Prot. franç., iv. 472.

[1] Déclaration du Roy, par laquelle tous les habitans et autres personnes qui sont de present és villes de la Rochelle et S. Jean d'Angely, et tous qui les favoriseront, sont declarez criminels de leze-majesté, etc. Niort, May 27, 1621. Benoist, Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. (documents) 56–58.

The siege of Saint Jean d'Angely lasted three weeks. Attacked vigorously, the brave little place defended itself resolutely. But the struggle was unequal, and the inhabitants, short of provisions and having seen themselves compelled, through the giving out of their lead, to melt up whatever vessels of pewter or of silver they had, in order to provide themselves with balls for their fire-arms, succumbed to the perils of the situation and agreed to surrender their battered walls.[1] The king granted them terms, not, as he said, by way of treaty, but in answer to the very humble supplication of his subjects that dwelt there. Soubise and his associates were received not ungraciously by his majesty, and promised, on bended knee, never again to bear arms against the king. The king promised protection of life and property to all classes of persons. Neither promise was kept over well. Soubise soon found some specious pretext for regarding himself as absolved from his engagement, and for renewing war against the king; and the inhabitants of the town, and especially the Protestants, suffered not a little from pillage.[2]

Siege and fall of Saint Jean d'Angely.

After the fall of Saint Jean d'Angely, there was little or no resistance. The whole fabric of the assembly's plans seemed to fall of itself. The king's advance resembled a triumphal progress. Pons, Castillon, Sainte Foy, Bergerac, Tournon, Monflanquin, Tonneins, and other places almost to the gates of Montauban, opened their gates without a blow, and at the first summons. Clairac alone, trusting in its

The king's triumphant advance.

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[1] June 23, 1621. See Laugel, Le Duc de Rohan, 110.

[2] Benoist, ii. 369. Bernard and Gramond give very full accounts of the siege of Saint Jean d'Angely, and comment upon the circumstance that the capitulation of the town took place upon the day consecrated to its patron saint, whose hand they see in the fortunate issue. Both mention the death of Cardinal Guise from a fever contracted in his over-zealous exertions in arms at the storming of one of the suburbs. While Gramond condemns the prelate not only for the contempt he showed for the purple of his holy office by drawing the sword and shedding blood, but for the luxurious life with which he had spent at court his immense revenues, and dwells upon the grief and repentance of his last hours, Bernard excuses the inconsistency of the cardinal's action by the remark that there are plenty of instances in which men wearing a like dignity have borne arms justly and usefully. Bernard makes light of the injury done to the Protestant temple, limiting it to the destruction of a few benches and a few books of devotion.

good fortifications and ample garrison, instituted a resistance that threatened to be stubborn, but surrendered in less than a fortnight.[1] There were places quite out of the course of the king's line of march that sent to give in their submission, and Rohan mentions it as a "prodigious" circumstance that the deputy-general Favas, who was at the time in the assembly at La Rochelle, and who, more than any other, was the true author of the war, ordered his son to surrender Casteljaloux and Castets, two of the Protestant hostage cities, situated twelve or fifteen leagues from the route by which Louis the Thirteenth was to pass.[2] With this general submission, the jealousy of the nobles had perhaps as much to do as their cupidity. Pardaillan had been unwilling to recognize La Force as general and induced a score of towns to submit.[3] Meanwhile Béarn, the prime occasion of the entire commotion since La Force's expulsion by Épernon, sent to court to assure the king of its loyalty and instructed its representatives in the assembly to leave La Rochelle. "Thus it is," exclaimed Duplessis Mornay, "that those who begin the dance are the first to break it up."[4] The star of Louis the Thirteenth was in the ascendant, and nothing seemed capable of withstanding the fortune of his victorious arms.

The approval of the pope came to reinforce his efforts and to spur him on in his prosperous course.[5] In the brief which Gregory the Fifteenth despatched to the French king in the first year of his pontificate, that sagacious pontiff, ignoring the attempts made by Louis to clear his enterprise so far as possible of any appearance of a war waged against Protestantism, chose, on the contrary, to regard it chiefly as a pious undertaking for the overthrow of heresy. He viewed it as a manifestation of the counsel of God, by whom kings rule, that Louis had engaged in so great and arduous an undertaking just at the entrance of youth, and that the dangers and difficulties that had deterred others only kindled the more the invincible courage of his soul. He urged him, while enjoying the renown he had gained, to follow on after the Lord who was battling for him, to the end that, as he now appeared to be the thunderbolt and buckler of Israel, so he might shortly be held to be the praise of Israel and the glory of the whole earth. The pontiff's chief hope for the king's continued success in the future lay in the fact that Louis had come to a comprehension of the truth, that the only foundations on which kingdoms rest is the orthodox faith; for unless the Lord guard the city, no sovereignty will ever enjoy secure repose. "How faithfully will those men fight in defence of the king's throne who have cast out the saints from their temples, and have striven to expel them from heaven and from the number of the blessed; who with impious cruelty condemn the institutions of our ancestors, the customs of kings, the decrees of pontiffs, the ceremonies of priests? God, the King of kings, has reserved it for that glorious youth of yours to restrain and to extinguish these sources of disturbance to the Christian commonwealth, of disgraces to France. Think that now all Europe, hanging in suspense at the issue of your battles, is awaiting to see how quickly, under your leadership, the onset of safest war shall navigate the ocean, to the end that what is at present an asylum of heretical soldiers and their bulwark of defence may be displayed for the entire memory of posterity as the most glorious monument of your victories." In such grandiloquent terms did Gregory encourage Louis to undertake the siege of La Rochelle, adding that a prince acting in behalf of religion would have as fellow-combatants the saints themselves whose dignity was vindicated, and that in these waters he would certainly find his helper to be God, under whose feet the waves once became hard as dry land, for whose hosts the water was divided asunder and, becoming like unto a wall, furnished them a way of approach.

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[1] The Mercure françois gives a great number of contemporary accounts of the capture of these places, and sometimes plans or bird's eye views of their fortifications, occupying a good part of vol vii. Some of the views, as, for instance, of Saint Jean d'Angely and Monheurt, are of interest.

[2] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 189.

[3] Benoist, ii. 372.

[4] Duplessis Mornay to Chalas, May 31, 1621, apud Anquez, Hist. des Assemblées politiques, 355.

[5] It has frequently been remarked that a strange fatality appears to attend the pontifical blessing or the gift of the Golden Rose. I do not know whether the historiographer Bernard has this in mind, when, immediately after his reference to Gregory XV.'s brief, he makes this observation: "Indeed until then his majesty had seen Fortune only wear her best and most smiling countenance; the siege of Montauban somewhat changed this gentle aspect and put a stop to the uninterrupted course of his prosperity." Hist. du Roy Louis XIII., i. 269.

Brief of Gregory XV. to the king of France.

"Then shall we be led to the most certain hope," exclaimed the pontiff in conclusion, "that when your kingdom shall have been well ordered and impiety have been subdued, you will some time be able by French victories to join the Orient and the Occident, emulating the glory of your ancestors who revered the exhortations of the pontiffs not otherwise than as the commands of God. To this does the most saintly LOUIS encourage you, whose name you bear and whose actions you imitate; to this the authors of your race, who laid the firm foundation of your royal house by Apostolic authority in the advancement of religion. Follow, dearly beloved son, honor of the globe, the heavenly commands; pour out your anger upon the nations that have not known the Lord, that you may procure everlasting treasures of mercy for your majesty, upon whom, by Apostolic authority, we most lovingly pronounce a blessing."[1]

Henry of Rohan's resolution.

The belief of the pope that nothing short of the destruction of the Huguenots was contemplated by the king and his advisers was shared by the Duke of Rohan. Slow and reluctant as he had been to take up arms, Rohan now threw himself with all the ardor of self-devotion into a contest which seemed to him to be for life or death. His previous hesitation arose from the hope that the undeniable grievances under which the Protestants labored could be settled peaceably, and that the final resort to extreme measures needed clearer justification. His present resolution sprang from his observation of the treatment meted out to the places that fell into the king's hands. When, one after another, the hostage cities of the Huguenots were appropriated with the evident purpose of never restoring them to those to whom they had been conceded by solemn edicts; when the disobedience of La Rochelle and of the assembly in session there was made the pretext for depriving of their securities those Huguenots that had taken no part with either, and indeed had repudiated their decisions; when in this respect no discrimination was made between towns that resisted and towns that voluntarily admitted the king—then the war that at first appeared to be uncalled for became a war of self-preservation, and the later occurrences transmuted minor acts of injustice that might have been passed over with little notice into significant tokens of a settled plan of persecution. And thus it was that Henry of Rohan, at first half-hearted and averse to a resort to the sword, was suddenly transformed into an enthusiastic leader, the very soul of the enterprise. Thus it was that he was seen to deserve, as no other deserved it, the appointment of commander-in-chief, which, on the declinature of the Duke of Bouillon, the assembly of La Rochelle conferred upon him. Of the considerations that had effected this change and of the high and determined purposes with which Henry of Rohan was animated, we have a glimpse in a letter which he wrote to Constable Luynes, whose marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Montbazon had made him a connection of the house of Rohan, and who had despatched a letter to the Huguenot general denouncing him as a man without honor or natural affection.

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[1] The historiographer Bernard gives a synopsis, Hist. du Roy Louis XIII., i. 269; but the full text of the brief may be read in the original Latin in Gramond, Hist. Galliæ ab excessu Henrici IV., 439–441. The president of the parliament of Toulouse, who wrote this part of his history, as he tells us (p. 408), in 1642, makes at this point some judicious observations. The pope was not alone in regarding the war as aimed at the very existence of Protestantism in France. Other foreign princes surmised the same thing, and chafed at their inability to render assistance. But on account of the civil war raging in Germany, the king had nothing to fear from the princes who would naturally favor the Huguenots. Their head, the Elector Palatine Frederick, had lost not only Bohemia but the Palatinate itself. James I. of Great Britain, immersed in his books, cared little for military affairs. On the other hand the Spaniard was so short-sighted that he failed to perceive that nothing else could reasonably be predicted than that Louis would set about the foreign contest, as soon as the domestic strife was ended by the subjugation of the Calvinistic sect. The ruin of the Huguenots was a menace to Spanish prosperity.

His letter to the Duke of Luynes.

"I do not believe," replied Rohan, "that those who know me well accuse me of this, nor that I have ever done an action that should induce men to believe that I am such. You tell me that I leave my brother to settle my quarrel, while I withdraw from the strife. But be pleased to consider the matter carefully, and you will find that the quarrel is not mine, but that of three or four hundred thousand souls who are persecuted for their religion's sake. For as to Saint Jean [d'Angely], if I were purely and simply its governor, or it were a city belonging to me, I should deserve every kind of punishment did I not tear down a part of the wall, in case the gates were not found broad enough to admit the king. But you know better than I, sir, that this city was given as a security to the members of the [Reformed] religion, and that I am but the guardian. How can I in good conscience, with the example before me of ten or twelve places of like kind which, after having opened their gates, have been retained, act in similar fashion? Would to God that you would consent to consider these matters attentively! As to the danger with which my brother is threatened, I hope that God will shield him from the perils of war, and that the king will never be advised to begin either with him or with anyone else to practise severity unheard of and unexampled in this kingdom, a severity to which resort has scarcely ever been made among Christian princes but they have been the worse for it. For in the matter of religion, the most violent measures, instead of producing terror, beget desperation. I know that you term our defence a rebellion; but the despoiling of their offices and governments even of those that did not side with the assembly, and the disarming of the Protestants in Normandy, testify sufficiently that it is not against the assembly nor against La Rochelle alone that ill will is cherished, but against all who profess our religion. I beg you, sir, to remember that the city of Saint Jean is the worst of fifty cities that must be taken, the one after the other, and that it were better to employ the lives of so many men, and the munitions and money of France, in making our king formidable to foreign nations, than use them to destroy his subjects and ruin his kingdom. And do not judge what the issue will be by a glimpse of the start. '*Car ce qui rit au commencement, cuit souvent à la fin.*' For myself, you know in your conscience whether I tried to procure peace. I want no other witness than you. I long for peace more passionately than ever, and I offer to do the very thing which it seems that you invite me to do. Let the king grant peace to all his subjects, and, if he so desire, I am ready to withdraw from his kingdom for so long a period as he may prescribe. I say this to show that in what regards only myself personally, I breathe nothing but entire obedience."[1]

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[1] Letter of the Duke of Rohan to Constable Luynes, Tonneins, June, 1621. MS. Nat. Lib. Printed in Anquez, Un nouveau Chapitre de l'hist. politique

Thus determined either to conquer nobly or to die gloriously in a cause to which he had devoted his life and his fortunes, Henry of Rohan had left his brother Benjamin of Soubise to hold Saint Jean d'Angely as long as possible against the enemy, and had himself hastened southward to put everything in readiness against the time when that bulwark should have fallen. Disappointed in his hopes by the treachery of mercenary nobles, who sold their trusts or played the coward at the king's approach, and finding that in all Lower Guyenne, the "department" assigned to La Force, there was not one place that held out, the duke strained every nerve to meet the coming flood in his own province of Upper Guyenne and Upper Languedoc, thus left unprotected and alone. It was evident that the great shock of arms must occur in the neighborhood of the city of Montauban. To the work of providing for the present and the future needs of that stronghold of Protestantism in the south of France he gave himself with untiring assiduity. And now for the first time had Rohan the opportunity to display that clear comprehension of the exigencies of the situation, combined with rare energy and extraordinary fertility of imagination, that stamped him as a military leader of conspicuous merit. His first thought was for the defences of the city. These he undertook to strengthen by means of new works. His second was for the troops that were to man the fortifications. The soldiers brought by François de Béthune, Count of Orval, younger son of the Duke of Sully—faithful to the Huguenot cause and constant in his profession of the Reformed faith, while his elder brother, Maximilian, Marquis of Rosny, had proved recreant to both—was formed

He provides for the defence of Montauban.

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des Réformés de France, App., 350–352. Referring to an expression similar to that contained in the last two sentences given above, occurring in a letter of Rohan to the Duke of Sully, written from Milhau, August 27, 1621, Auguste Laugel observes that "we see here appear for the first time that idea of voluntary exile, of the sacrifice of his person for his party, which thenceforth did not leave Rohan's mind and which he was later to put into execution; a thought well worthy of his generous soul, that gives him a place by himself in a world consumed by ambitions high or mean. Rohan already dreamed of becoming an expiatory victim and of purchasing, by his renunciation of his fatherland, the right for his coreligionists to live in peace and under the royal protection." We here find Rohan making the same disinterested offer at least two months earlier.

into ten companies; the inhabitants of Montauban into thirty more. When everything had been put in order, to enable the place to sustain a prolonged siege, Rohan placed Orval in command. He himself issued forth to encourage the downcast, to procure assistance from every available quarter. He took his course first to Castres, thence to Lower Languedoc and the Cévennes. Before his return, the Duke of la Force with two of his sons, who had hitherto been of little service to the Huguenot cause, threw himself into Montauban, and assumed the direction of affairs.[1] To his experienced generalship, and to the wise forethought and resolution of Dupuy, the first consul of the city, Rohan generously ascribes a great part of the honor of having preserved a place of which impartial history has nevertheless inscribed Rohan himself as the principal deliverer.[2]

Rich as was the region in the midst of which Montauban was situated — the richest, some said, in France; proud of the strength of its position, which had enabled it to stand three sieges in the civil wars of the sixteenth century; lately enlarged by the extension of its walls to the "new town" on the same side of the river Tarn, and by the addition of the settlement on the left bank founded by Henry the Fourth, to which in his honor the name of *Ville Bourbon* had been given;[3] with fourteen great bastions and a deep moat, and with crescent-shaped outworks at the most vulnerable points, it was yet a daring undertaking for Montauban to oppose itself to the united armies of a king flushed with unbroken success. But to threats and entreaties alike the brave townsmen were deaf. And when the Duke of Sully, coming by royal permission, accompanied by a number of persons who assumed to be deputies of all the surrounding towns, entreated them to avert the destruction which would be their inevitable doom unless they followed the example of submission set to them by all the places through which the king had journeyed, the answer they made to the old friend, whom they scarcely recognized in the new part he was playing, was short and decisive. "We shall have respect to the Union and Association of the Reformed Churches, and to the promise that we have given not to treat separately. We cannot negotiate except in conjunction with the entire body and with the consent of the Duke of Rohan."[1]

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[1] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, 189, 191; Mémoires du Duc de la Force, ii. 133–160. The Count of Orval was La Force's son-in-law. Subsequently, with Orval's help, La Force secured to the Protestants Figéac and Capdenac, the latter a hostage city which the Duke of Sully was at the time treating with the king to surrender. Sully was, as may be imagined, greatly annoyed at his son, but the latter replied to his complaints and threats, that he owed more respect to God and to his conscience than to father or mother. Ibid., ii. 161, etc.

[2] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 198.

[3] Bernard, i. 271.

The citizens turn a deaf ear to Sully's solicitations.

Of the long and disastrous siege that ensued there is no need that I should speak in detail. The attack was vigorous and well sustained. At no point was it more vigorous than on the quarter of Ville Bourbon where the Duke of Mayenne was in command, and sought to distinguish himself not less by the boldness than the incessancy of his attacks. The death of this valiant warrior, who was shot in the head while explaining to his cousin of Guise his designs for further movements, was regarded with some justice as the most severe loss sustained by the royalists. The son of the famous chieftain of the League, he had been repeatedly urged by his father to avoid the dissensions which the latter bemoaned, yet had he taken a part in nearly every one of the civil disturbances that had afflicted France during the present reign.[2] None the less was the grief at his decease almost universal throughout France. Preachers likened him to another Judas Maccabæus, and uttered over him David's lament at the death of Abner.[3] On receipt of the mournful intelligence, the populace of Paris, not quite weaned from the League and its principles, avenged itself for the slaughter of a prince of so beloved a stock, by seditiously attacking the innocent Protestant worshippers on their return from divine worship, and then proceeded to Charenton itself, where the costly temple of the Huguenots was con-

The Duke of Mayenne is killed.

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[1] Bernard, i. 273, 274. Le Vassor is in doubt whether this action, which does no credit to the old Huguenot captain, was the result of Sully's desire to clear himself in the king's eyes of all responsibility for his son's actions, or proceeded from a mistaken conviction that Montauban would not be able to stand out against the forces brought against it. Histoire du règne de Louis XIII., iv. 248.

[2] Bernard, i. 281.

[3] Gramond, 492.

signed to the flames, pulpit, benches, and all, while the shops of the book-venders of Protestant literature and other houses connected with the sacred edifice were eagerly plundered. The connection between the unoffending devotees of the Reformed faith in the north and the destruction of the life of the popular prince of the Lorraine family in the distant south could not be made out very exactly; but in some way or other the adherents of what was still persistently styled by its enemies "the new religion" were held by the common people to be the authors of every disaster occurring on French soil. The pestilence was regarded as a punishment sent from heaven for their offences. It was they that occasioned the prevailing dearth. The conflagrations, somewhat more frequent than usual at this time, were traced to their more direct agency. It was currently reported that the piles supporting the bridge over the Seine which fell a prey to the devouring flames were found to be smeared with some unctuous or slimy substance, presumably with the intent of facilitating the combustion. Intelligent men might scout the idea as absurd,[1] but there was no charge too absurd to be laid by the rabble to the account of those for whom, in lack of a more opprobrious name, the new and singular designation of *Parpaillots* began about this time to be applied. For ridicule demands necessarily novelty of expression. The word *Huguenots* had now been in use close upon three-quarters of a century. Through having been constantly applied to some of the best citizens of the country, not to speak of a king whom, especially now that he was dead, all delighted to honor, the appellation had itself become to some extent an honorable one, and was even accepted by a goodly part of the population as a badge of distinction. Not so as yet with the new-fangled nickname, the use of which the government soon undertook to suppress by means of penalties as severe as had ever been pronounced, and occasionally inflicted, for the injurious employment of the words "Christaudins," "Lutherans," or "Huguenots."[2]

The Parisians avenge his death by burning the "temple" of Charenton.

The Huguenots opprobriously called "Parpaillots."

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[1] Gramond, 494; Bernard, i. 281, 282.

[2] Louis XIII. at his entry into Montpellier is said to have ordered, or permitted,

Of the origin of the new name of opprobrium little more was certainly known than that, in the language of the region, the word *parpaillot* was a dialectic form for the more correct *papillon*, and signified a "butterfly" or "moth." Some suggested that it was applied to the Protestants in arms against their king, because these were as surely fated to destruction as the moths that are attracted to a candle and fall a prey to the flames which they court. But the Toulouse president, although he mentions the derivation, regards it as too subtle and refined for the intelligence of the vulgar. He prefers to regard the designation as having arisen from the light color of the linen clothing which the besieged wore by preference, and in which they were readily descried from a distance, as they flitted hither and thither.[1] The Huguenots, the royal historiographer notices, retaliated savagely by nicknaming the Roman Catholics *Ravaillacs*, after the murderer of Henry the Fourth.[2]

Death of Daniel Chamier.

On the other hand, the most notable loss of the besieged was of Daniel Chamier, one of the pastors of Montauban; who, despite his profession, was justly credited by his enemies with being one of the mainstays of the Huguenot party. A scholar of prodigious learning, a theologian who, as we have seen, had written in his *Panstratia Catholica* perhaps the ablest and most complete work touching the dispute with the Church of Rome,[3] a professor holding high rank at Montauban, and sought for in vain by the Académie of Saumur, an eloquent preacher, a public controversialist who had crossed swords with Father Cotton and his fellow Jesuit Gaul-

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one of his soldiers to be hung for having called the citizens *parpaillots*. Anquez, Un nouveau Chapitre, 41. The use of the word had already created a serious outbreak in Lyons, on St. Michael's day and the following Sunday. See "L'esmotion qui se fit à Lyon sur le mot de Parpaillau," in Mercure françois, viii. 827–829. The riot is said to have arisen from a Protestant striking a boy who had applied the nickname to his son. In the ensuing commotion, the *canaille* not only plundered the houses of the Protestants, burning their furniture before their eyes, but planned to set fire to the "temple." In the end the Protestants of Lyons were disarmed, on the ground that it was not reasonable that they should fare better in a Roman Catholic city than Roman Catholics in towns held by the Protestants.

[1] Gramond, 432; Bernard, i. 264, 265; Benoist, ii. 401.

[2] Bernard, ubi supra.

[3] Haag, La France protestante, iii. 1035.

tier and had not been put to the worst, a clergyman whose merits had been twice publicly recognized by the Reformed Churches when the National Synod of Gap (in 1603), and again that of Privas (in 1612), elected him for moderator,[1] "the great Chamier," as he came to be familiarly designated, in contradistinction to his less famous kinsman, did not take refuge in scholastic or ecclesiastical pursuits from the onerous burdens of the life of a patriotic Frenchman in troublous times. More than once he was deputed to court. He did not shrink from entering the political assemblies the history of which constitutes so interesting a page in the chronicles of the times. He was vice-president of the famous assembly of Saumur where Duplessis Mornay presided. Clear sighted, stanch in the assertion of his views, inflexible in his decisions, and perfectly incorruptible at a time when many men could be bought by offers of money or preferment, he was as heartily loved and trusted by his friends as hated and feared by his adversaries. Nor does the circumstance tend to lower him in our estimation that both the Parliament of Toulouse and the Chamber of the Edict at Castres had, a few months since, made diligent efforts to arrest him. Their zeal may serve as a measure of the royal estimate of his importance to the Huguenot cause.[2]

It was on a Sunday afternoon (the seventeenth of October), as he was praying and encouraging the garrison to a successful resistance of the furious attack made upon the walls under the very eyes of the king, that Chamier met with unexpected but not unwelcome death. And it was noted by the curious as a singular circumstance that the ball that struck him in the chest and then fell spent at his side, bore upon it the initial of his name. "He was walking on the bulwark Paillas," writes his quaint biographer Quick, "when the messenger of death saluted him. That messenger, the cannon-ball, was marked with the letter C, a letter superscribed and directed unto Monsr. Chamier. He must read it and receive it, and no one else."[3] The death of the great Protestant was as sincerely mourned by the inhabitants of the city to whose preservation he had greatly contributed, as it was celebrated with unseemly glee by the would-be wits of the other party throughout France.[1] He had died almost with the words of assured victory upon his lips. Preaching in his turn, the day before, in the "temple" before an audience of terrified worshippers, to the deafening sound of the incessant discharges of the king's artillery, he chose for his text the words of the ancient prophet to king Hezekiah respecting the boastful Sennacherib. Likening his beloved Montauban to Jerusalem, again and again, in the course of an address which is said to have been of a peculiarly moving character,[2] he exclaimed as with prophetic certainty: "No, no, he shall not come into this city, he shall not come into this city; but by the way that he came by the same shall he return, and shall not come into this city, saith the Lord. For I will defend this city to save it for my own name's sake." The prediction was verified, and in a manner not altogether unlike the strange melting away of the army of the Assyrian king.

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[1] Pierre Merlin in the sixteenth and Michel Berauld in the seventeenth century were the only other persons honored by a second election to that high office.

[2] The fact was unknown until accidentally discovered by M. Charles Read, who publishes the writs in his "Daniel Chamier," 387.

[3] Daniel Chamier's Icon by John Quick, minister of the Gospel in London, is

The help of Rohan was not inconsiderable. That active nobleman had carried out his plans in almost every particular. He sent to the Cévennes to obtain troops, and finding his own presence to be necessary, himself went in quest of them. Making light of the jealousy of Châtillon, who, after inviting him to an interview, apparently changed

Rohan's activity.

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one of a series of seventy biographies of the most celebrated Protestant professors pastors, etc., of England and France, composed by the well-known author of the "Synodicon," under the title of "Icones sacræ gallicanæ et anglicanæ." M. Charles Read has printed this account of Chamier's life with a French translation in his "Daniel Chamier. Journal de son voyage à la cour de Henri IV. en 1607 et sa biographie" (Paris, 1858), 75–200.

[1] In default of anything better suited to their purpose, the obesity of the Montauban pastor and professor was made a special object of merriment. In one poem of doggerel verse that obtained a wide circulation, Death is represented as unable, on account of Chamier's corpulence, to cut his life short with his sickle and as consequently compelled to resort to the cannon-ball. Mercure françois, viii. 605.

[2] Quick's Icon, ubi supra, 184. So too Gramond, who only mistakes the day: "Postquam eademmet die concione in templo *pathetice* habita, de regiis loquens, finierat in hæc ipsa verba, quæ distincta ter voce repetierat, *Non ingredientur.*" Hist. Gall. ab excessu Henrici IV., 502.

his mind and forbade Rohan to enter the "department" assigned to him, he succeeded after some difficulty in raising four thousand troops of the brave mountaineers and their neighbors of the plains on the south. With these, and with one thousand men paid from his own private purse, he started westward. But he took the precaution of having his conduct approved by a political assembly of representatives of five adjoining provinces—Lower Languedoc, Cévennes, Vivarais, Upper Languedoc, and Dauphiny—lest after his departure the disaffected Châtillon should avenge himself by recalling the forces under Rohan's command. A portion of these met with an unlooked-for disaster, through the ill-timed impetuosity of one of the Duke's lieutenants, and Rohan not only lost a number of his soldiers in an unfortunate engagement but was deprived of the services of almost the whole of the friendly nobles of the district of Albigeois and Lauragais, who were forced to surrender their arms and to pledge themselves not to bear arms for six months. Most of his troops fared better. A thousand or twelve hundred men undertook the hazardous enterprise of throwing themselves into Montauban. Beaufort was their leader. Although so unfortunate himself as to be captured, he had the satisfaction of knowing that seven hundred of his men got in safely to strengthen the hands of La Force and Orval. It was a marvel that an auxiliary force composed exclusively of foot soldiers, after traversing eighteen leagues of territory almost every foot of which was hostile, and after fording two considerable rivers, the Tarn and the Aveyron, should have threaded its way between two royal armies lying in wait for its destruction.[1]

What the Constable of Luynes could not accomplish by force of arms, he tried to compass by bribery, In an interview which he sought with Rohan, shortly before the abandonment of the siege,[2] he plied him with every argument which might have persuaded a weak and selfish man after his own pattern. If Rohan would only relinquish the thought of a general peace, to which Louis the Thirteenth, he assured him, would never consent, there were no personal advantages he might not obtain. Professing warm interest in the duke as his own ally by marriage, Luynes offered him everything he might wish to ask for the benefit of Castres and other places in his "department." For the Huguenot leader himself it was "*la carte blanche*," he had but to name his price. This was about what he said; this mingled with certain phrases to show how little Rohan could count upon help either from within or without the kingdom. "Whatever aid the Prince of Condé, may promise," he said, "I shall always be able to seduce him from you with a piece of money." He significantly hinted that though he, the constable, had thus far succeeded with some difficulty in preventing the confiscation of Rohan's property and governments, he would no longer have the ability to ward off the disastrous blow, and complete ruin must be the reward of continued obstinacy.

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[1] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 190–194. The duke rather understates than exaggerates the distance.

[2] "Sub finem mensis Octobris, desperata Montalbani expugnatione." Gramond, 502.

Constable Luynes strives in vain to seduce him.

In reply to all which, Rohan firmly, though courteously, declined to avail himself of benefits to be purchased by a sacrifice of the general interests of the Huguenots. Their ruin was not so near as Luynes imagined. The wars against the Protestants, he reminded him, had generally begun with great disadvantages incurred by them, but the restlessness of the French mind, the discontent of those who aspired to the government but were excluded from power, and the assistance of foreigners, had set them on their feet again. "You have gathered in the full harvest that promises mingled with threats could secure for you. What remains of the Huguenot party is fighting for a religion in which it believes. For myself I have contemplated in imagination the loss of my possessions and offices. If you have delayed the realization on account of our alliance, I am obliged to you. But I am quite ready to suffer since that is resolved upon; for this I have solemnly promised, and this does my conscience command me, to listen to nothing short of a general peace."[1]

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[1] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 195–198. I am not aware that any one has called attention to the fact that we have another and somewhat fuller report of this conference between Luynes and Rohan in Gramond, Hist. Gall. ab excessu

Pestilence invades the camp of the besiegers.

Meantime a more terrible enemy than the besieged Huguenots had met the royal army encamped about the walls of Montauban, and its summons to abandon the siege could neither be refused nor adjourned. For weeks the loss of the king's troops by disease had become more and more alarming, and death made no distinctions between rich and poor. In the form of a pestilence such as is wont to be engendered by the fatigues and hardships of war among those who breathe the contaminated air of contracted and uncleanly quarters, the new malady daily carried off a rich tribute of victims. The excessive heat of the summer, to which the soldiers from northern France were unaccustomed, the very abundance of the autumnal fruits, of which they ate imprudently or inordinately, contributed to the fatal result. The whole military force succumbed to the mightier hand of the infliction of heaven. According to one account, eight thousand men, according to another, twenty thousand of the common soldiers and one thousand of the nobles, are said to have died.[1] The sick were carried in crowds to Toulouse. That friendly city paid a dear price for its hospitality. The hospitals being far too small to contain the new-comers, they were distributed among the private dwellings and scattered the germs of pestilence far and wide. Ten thousand of the citizens died in consequence that autumn, as the judge of the Toulouse parliament tells us, who

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Henrici IV., 502–505. What lends special interest to it is that the historian states that he had it from the lips of the Huguenot leader himself: "Referam dicta utrinque, *qualia ab ipsomet Rohanæo accepi.*" The differences in phraseology and even in shades of thought deserve notice. There is, for example, nothing corresponding to this in the French of the Mémoires: "Ex quo reformatorum suscepi defensionem, credidi fore me causæ martyrem, quæ ut justa est, ita sine perfidia abdicari nequit."

[1] "Le roi avoit perdu plus de huit mille hommes de son armée." Le Vassor, iv. 270. "Feralis Montalbani obsidio cui accingor: non alias expeditio tristior, si cæsorum numerum e vulgo, viginti hominum millia: si prosapiam et stemma spectas periere ferro, aut peste, mille nobiles." Gramond, ubi supra, 470. Luynes himself, in an interesting letter to the Prince of Condé, dated October 31st, recently published by the Duc d'Aumale from the archives of Chantilly, speaks of an army of forty-five thousand men reduced to five or six thousand, and represents two-thirds of those that remained as faithless, the other third as prostrate from fatigue and cold, and most of the time without food. Histoire des Princes de Condé, iii. 159–160.

made the computation from an official census.[1] In the royal camp, both church and state were represented among the illustrious dead. The archbishop of Sens, primate of France, and three of his episcopal colleagues who had like him come to witness a signal defeat of the heretics—the bishops of Carcassonne, Marseilles, and Valence—all members of the council of state, met the same end as Pontchartrain and Potier de Seaux, secretaries of state, and Pierre Matthieu, royal historiographer, whose works have not been without their value to students of the reign of Henry the Fourth.[2]

A Carmelite monk brought to bless the royal camp.

Against so remorseless a foe it was impossible to contend, especially when the demoralized troops were daily forsaking their standards and there seemed to be a rivalry among those that remained who should be the first to violate his oath and desert.[3] To no purpose had the services been called in of the Spanish barefoot friar of the Carmelite Order, Dominique de Jesus Maria by name. The monk, after obtaining at home a reputation for extraordinary sanctity, had been invited to Rome by the pope, had visited the emperor at Rome, had accompanied the Duke of Bavaria in his Bohemian campaign, and was credited not only with foretelling, but with having by his prayers and exhortations been the actual cause of the victorious issue of the battle of Prague. Perhaps the emperor believed it; for he is said to have sent a crown of gold and pearls to the church of the monk's order in Rome. At Paris the friar was almost worshipped, and while enlightened Roman Catholics could not suppress their scorn and disgust, the people pressed about him to obtain his blessing and deemed themselves happy if they could surreptitiously cut off a fragment of his robe or his scapulary to keep as relics. At the royal camp he was well received by Louis, who gladly heard mass sung by him, and he distributed a great number of rosaries and of the *Agnus Dei* to the nobles and others who were present. When a grandee ventured to suggest that he might very well repeat his predictions and inform his Majesty what would be the issue of the siege, we are told by a bystander that he cautiously refrained from satisfying the curiosity of his interlocutor. But he was not so wise a little later, it would appear; for in answer to Constable Luynes's appeal for help, he plainly gave out that the inhabitants of Montauban would surrender as soon as four hundred discharges of cannon had been fired upon the town. At the king's command Marshal Bassompierre hastened to try the experiment. Montauban, however, was no Jericho, and the friar Dominique de Jesus Maria was no Joshua. The crowds that looked to see all the bastions of the rebels crumble into dust and their forces melt away were doomed to disappointment.[1]

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[1] "Unde tanta in oppidanos pestis ex contactu et aeris pestilentia, ut sub finem ejus Autumni ex censu publico compertum habeam desiderata municipum decem millia." Gramond, ubi supra, 507, 508.

[2] Bernard, Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., 290. This author was appointed, as he himself informs us, to the place left vacant at Matthieu's death. "Le Roy ayant sçeu son decez, et ayant eu agréable que je luy succedasse dans sa fonction, me commanda d'avoir soin de l'Histoire, et me fit pourvoir de sa charge."

[3] The language is Gramond's, p. 508.

The siege abandoned.

The king broke up his camp before Montauban about the middle of November. He had wasted almost three months in the attempt to take it.[2] There is a pleasing story that the besieged gained their first certain intimation that Louis was about to withdraw his forces, from one night hearing a Huguenot soldier in the royal camp play upon his flute the familiar air of the Protestant battle psalm (the sixty-eighth)—"Que Dieu se montre seulement."[3]

If anything could have induced Louis the Thirteenth to prosecute his undertaking to the bitter end, it would have been the exhortations of his spiritual advisers. The Assembly of the Roman Catholic Clergy of the kingdom met in Paris in June, and transferred its sessions first to Poitiers and then to Bordeaux. A month before the end of the siege of Montauban (on the eighteenth of October), the bishop of Rennes, accompanied by the cardinals of Retz and La Valette and by many other prelates, presented himself before the king in his camp, in order to make to his Majesty, in the assembly's behalf, the very liberal offer of a million livres. His oration on this occasion was earnest and passionate. The speaker expressed in clear and unmistakable language the feelings of the clergy toward the Huguenots and the royal edicts given for their protection. In view of the importance of his utterances as bearing upon the history of the Revocation of these edicts, I am constrained to accord to a discussion of the address of the bishop of Rennes a much larger space than I should otherwise deem necessary or appropriate.

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[1] My authority is Roman Catholic—Bernard, Hist. du Roy Louis XIII., i. 282, 283. See also Le Vassor. iv. 254; Benoist, ii. 379, etc.

[2] According to the Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, 191, 198, the siege lasted from August 21st to November 18th; but the dates given by different authors vary considerably. Von Polenz, v. 229, states them as August 17th and November 11th.

[3] I find the anecdote in Benoist alone (ii. 377), but I have found him so uniformly conscientious and well informed, that I do not hesitate to accept upon his sole authority a story the narration of which Von Polenz somewhat cavalierly ascribes to that author's fondness for the romantic. Geschichte des französischen Calvinismus, v. 228.

Address of the bishop of Rennes.

In flattering terms the prelate instituted a comparison between Louis the Thirteenth and good king Josiah, but contrasted the two sovereigns to the decided advantage of the former. Unlike the Jewish monarch, Louis had not waited until the twelfth year of his reign to begin the pious work of crushing irreligion and revolution, twin sisters that generally go hand in hand. Hence he augured that, having in six months reestablished the true worship of God in Béarn, from which it had been banished for half a century, the French king would find a single year sufficient time in which to compel all the remnants of presumption and hardened pride to bow before his invincible courage. It were to be desired that the end might be compassed by other and gentler means, but there are chronic and malignant maladies upon which oil and mild medicines have no effect. Forgiveness would be out of place in the treatment of men who had committed the horrible outrages of which he took care to give a harrowing catalogue.[1] At this point the bishop went through the farce with which the world has by this time become only too familiar, of repudiating any responsibility for the resort to arms, while, at the same time, strenuously advocating that resort. "It is not, sire, that we ask for war; on the contrary, we desire peace. The God whom we serve and proclaim every day to your people is a God of peace, not of dissension. . . . But to have a good peace, it must sometimes be cemented by war."

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[1] Of course every insult or outrage done to a place or an object sacred in the eyes of a devout Roman Catholic was attributed to the hated Protestant, and the excesses of any miscreant or body of miscreants, inflamed with wine or with the passion of wanton destructiveness, were magnified into religious offences. Many, if not most, of the instances given are not above suspicion in respect to authenticity.

After dwelling upon the king's "miraculous" successes, the orator reached the main injunction of his speech. Let Louis make God's cause his own, and complete what has been so well begun, making against irreligion and revolt but one and the same contest. If the Israelites has pursued the Canaanites into the mountains instead of remaining content with the possession of the plains, they would have secured the whole of the promised land. If king Joash had smitten the ground with his arrow repeatedly, and not stopped with three times, then Syria would have been wholly subdued. Now, in an undertaking in which his Majesty daily exposed his life, it would be indecorous for the church not to do her part. For this reason it was that the speaker had been charged by the deputies of the Clergy of France to make the proffer of one million of gold, "which," said he, "we devote to the perfecting of that masterpiece by you so gloriously commenced, and particularly *to the siege of La Rochelle*, in order that, as that city has been the beginning of the rebellion, she may also be its end." In this connection, there were two points upon which the bishop of Rennes insisted as prominent in the petition of his brethren. The first had reference to the maintenance of the clergy's rights to its lands. Let the king suffer no exercises of "the *pretended* religion"— so he affected to style Protestantism—upon any of them. The other called for an entire revolution in the methods hitherto pursued in the treatment of the Huguenots. "May it please you, Sire, not to lay this tempest by the same means that have been employed in the past. And, indeed, when the rights of heaven are set over against those of the earth, when human fears, considerations, and appearances are weighed in the scales with celestial power and assistance, when one measures the honor of God by a comparison with one's own rest or private advantage, everything built thereupon is as uncertain as its foundation, which is the world. *Every Edict that divides the Faith also divides*

He advocates a repeal of the edicts in favor of the Protestants.

kingdoms. This is the peace that is no peace, but only retains the name. . . . Not that we would turn away your majesty's clemency from individual persons who repent and have recourse to your goodness. But all the advantages thus far conceded to them in the edicts of pacification, have only made them more obstinate in their error against God and their rebellion against you." What then? Shall the king undertake to eradicate the errors of the Huguenots by force? Oh no, the clergy "recognize the liberty naturally graven in man's spirit," they are aware "that what is introduced into it by force scarcely ever lasts long, and is of even less merit in respect to the Faith, for this faith ought to be free and to enter in gently, by divine inspiration, by patience, by exhortations and every sort of good examples." And, in truth, it is by this "*gentle constraint*," the orator adds, "that we hope to see heresy flee the bounds of your kingdom."

Unhappily the honeyed assurances of the love and kindliness of the clergy were rarely anything else than the prelude to warlike and sanguinary injunctions; as the voice which gave over the heretic to the secular arm with the prayer that the latter do nothing tending to the victim's bodily hurt was the same that would have pronounced sentence of excommunication upon any judge so ill advised as to construe the request with ordinary literalness. It is not strange, therefore, that the orator immediately proceeded to tell the king that, knowing the root of the evil, Louis was in duty bound to cut it off. As the rebels had proved their unworthiness and made use of the cities of security—granted to them not by *edict* but by a simple *patent*, and for a term of years that had already expired—for the purpose of indulging in disobedient courses and in every sort of severity against ecclesiastics, he ought to demolish those cities. As Israel was prospered in razing the strongholds of the Canaanites, as, in France itself, Philip Augustus and Saint Louis were prospered in the attempt to destroy the cities of the heretical Albigenses, so would the present monarch soon see the accomplishment of his designs. And this not only with regard to haughty Montauban, whose resistance would only draw down upon it a greater ruin and afford greater glory to the king, but with regard to all other rebel

Their cities of security should be taken away.

cities and, particularly, La Rochelle. Upon La Rochelle the bishop next poured out the vials of his vituperative eloquence, as the centre from which every line of rebellion ran to the circumference, as a city that had grown simply by the misfortunes of others, as the sink of error and vice, a city full of blasphemy and ingratitude toward God and toward the king who had loaded it with benefits, a place therefore that justly deserved not merely to be deprived of its privileges, but even to be stripped of the very name of city and reduced to a village. Here too the prelate had salutary historical examples to point to. "The means by which the Emperor Constantius," said he, "got the better of the idolatrous gentiles was that he compelled them to dwell in places not enclosed by walls, whence they came to be known as *pagani;* and without any farther harsh treatment, as soon as the worship of false gods ceased in the cities, the Roman Empire straightway became wholly Christian."[1]

La Rochelle to be reduced to a village.

The pomp with which Louis was received in Toulouse was but a poor compensation for the tears of chagrin which he is reported to have shed at quitting the camp before Montauban. Kings had of late rarely come this way. The last royal entry was that of Charles the Ninth on his expedition to Bayonne, and before that no monarch had been welcomed since Charles the Seventh.[2] In the circumstances some extravagance of loyalty might have been expected, but the adulatory lines adorning the seven triumphal arches under which he was to pass, each bearing the name of one of the "seven planets," and each dedicated to one of his majesty's supposed virtues, were calculated to turn his head, if any praise could accomplish such a result. Let it suffice to say, that the prince whom the bishop of Rennes in his recent address had exalted above Alexander the Great in prowess, inasmuch as it was not his *years*, as with the latter, but his *days* that were counted by his victories, was here represented again and again

Royal entry into Toulouse.

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[1] The "remonstrance" of Pierre Cornulier, bishop of Rennes, may be read in the Recueil des Actes, Titres et Mémoires concernant les affaires du Clergé de France (Paris, 1673), v. part 2, 286–296. Also, in the Mercure françois, viii. 118–142.

[2] Bernard, Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 291.

as the peerless miracle of kings, the king whose exploits made him the equal of the gods.[1]

Only one siege of note occupied Louis on his northward journey, the siege of the small but well-fortified Monheurt, and Monheurt, although stubbornly defended, was at last forced to submit. Its capture had less effect upon general history than the single death of the Constable of Luynes, who fell a prey to the all-devouring pestilence shortly before the surrender. Ignoble as had been the origin of this strange child of fortune, small as were his intellectual abilities, and unworthy as were the means by which he had elevated himself to the highest place below the throne, it had yet been his lot to open the road, which it was reserved for Cardinal Richelieu so soon to tread, of humbling the pride of the great nobles and breaking down the political power of the Huguenots as a party.[2] It was a part of Luynes's good fortune that he died before losing the external marks of royal favor. Thus was a prince, who had already become tired of his assumption, freed of the possible necessity of devising means to rid himself of Luynes similar to those that had been employed in the case of the Marshal of Ancre.[3] The Huguenots were not sorry to learn that one of his last exercises of the inordinate power he possessed had been quietly, and much to that worthy's surprise, to remove the king's confessor, Father Arnoux, hitherto supposed to be well-nigh omnipotent at court and known to be one of the bitterest enemies of Protestantism.[4]

Death of Constable Luynes.

It was just after the new year that Louis returned to the capital which he had left seven or eight months before. The pomp with which he had been received in Toulouse was quite eclipsed by the ovation extended to him by his good city of Paris. Amidst the loud *Te Deums* and the praise lavishly poured out in honor of a conqueror who was said to have reduced his rebel subjects to the farthest extremities of his kingdom, Montauban and the losses of the army before the walls of Montauban were quite forgotten. And now the true time for concluding an honorable pacification had come. The advocates of peace made their voices heard even in the royal council. The queen mother was opposed to the prosecution of a war in which she had nothing to gain, Chancellor Sillery, Marshal Créqui, and Bassompierre seconded her representations. The veteran minister President Jeannin was outspoken in his advocacy of a timely and wholesome settlement with the Huguenots.[1] In more than one dispassionate paper, he weighed in the balance the arguments advanced on either side, and showed how much the reasons for concluding peace preponderated. A professed Protestant could scarcely have set forth more strongly than did this wily statesman, of unimpeachable Catholicity, the grievances which must infallibly drive even such peaceably disposed Huguenots as had hitherto avoided the strife to take an active part in it. "Since these have now discovered," said Jeannin, "that the obedient have been as badly treated as those who took up arms; since they have heard that the first and principal members of the council"—here he clearly pointed out the Prince of Condé and his supporters—"have been loudly publishing that the king intends no longer to tolerate any other worship than that of the Catholic religion which he professes, and that the preachers fill their sermons with these sentiments, endeavoring to persuade the people that all advice of a different tenor is profane and impious, there can be no doubt that the Huguenots have changed their minds, and that henceforth they will regard the present contest as a true war in defence of religion, a war that will involve all alike in the same danger, unless they be strong enough to ward it off by force of arms."[2] Further on, touching upon the history of the past, President Jeannin all but conceded in

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[1] The Mercure françois, vol. vii., devotes more than thirty pages to this magnificent reception, and gives the inscriptions at full length. See especially pages 899, 902, 921.

[2] See Von Polenz, v. 232. On his rise to power see Bernard, i. 300.

[3] On this point see Le Vassor, iv. 195 seq.

[4] Bernard gives a long and interesting account of the dialogue between Luynes and Arnoux, when the latter was summarily dismissed. Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 292–294.

President Jeannin an advocate of peace.

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[1] Le Vassor, iv. 356.

[2] Paper entitled "S'il est plus expédient de faire paix avec ceux de la réligion prétendue réformée que de continuer la guerre." In Œuvres mêlées du Président Jeannin. Petitot, Coll. des Mémoires de France, xvi. 78, 79; Michaud et Poujoulat ed., 692, 693.

so many words that it was not the fault of the Huguenots that they had, for more than a half-century, seemed to form an *imperium in imperio.* The very hostage cities which afforded their enemies a ground for an accusation of a lack of patriotism and of insubordination, he showed to have been rendered a necessity because of the faithlessness of those who sought the destruction of the Calvinists. He recalled the disgraceful story of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day with its countless innocent victims, and the siege laid immediately afterward to the city of La Rochelle, fruitlessly attacked because bravely and obstinately defended. The consequence was, he added, "that we were obliged again to grant them peace, and to increase the number and the term of occupation of the cities *which had been left in their guard to secure them against our perfidy and treachery.*"[1] In another memoir addressed to Louis himself, Jeannin gave fresh utterance to his reprobation of the policy pursued for the past sixty years, with its dreary alternation of needless war and "insidious peace," during which "whenever the lion's skin did not suffice to inflict damage upon the Huguenots, resort was had to the fox's skin," but during which also "violence, cunning and deceit," so far from reaching their object, always led in the end to treaties of pacification that only increased the strength of the Protestants. He appealed to the memory of others who, like himself, had frequently heard Henry the Fourth declare that, when head of the Huguenot party, there was nothing that he so much feared, because there was nothing that so weakened his faction, as a lasting peace religiously observed.[2]

A vindication of the Huguenots.

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[1] "Qu'on fut contraint de leur accorder derechef la paix, et d'accroître le nombre et le temps des villes qui leur avoient été laissées en garde, pour les assurer contre notre perfidie et déloyauté." Ibid., Petitot ed., xvi. 82, Michaud et Poujoulat ed., 694. It is singular that the historian Von Polenz, after stating briefly the fact that Benoist cites this important memoir of President Jeannin, should add the remark that he has himself found the document quoted nowhere else ("Ich bemerke hier nur, diese Schrift sonst nirgends angeführt gefunden zu haben"). Geschichte des französischen Calvinismus, v. 236. Le Vassor's history, which Von Polenz had in his hands and of which he made great use, contains extended passages taken from President Jeannin's paper. Histoire du règne de Louis XIII., iv. 349-357.

[2] "Écrit fait par M. le président Jeannin, environ le mois de février 1622, lors

It will, I think, be conceded by every fair reader that the historian of the Edict of Nantes, Élie Benoist, is quite justified in his assertion that President Jeannin's paper is one of the most authoritative documents that can be produced in justification of the Protestants, and that it effectually disposes of the excuses, based upon the pretended rebellion of the Protestants, which were made for the attempt to exterminate them.[1]

There was much, both in the internal affairs of the Huguenots and in matters abroad, to corroborate the assertions of the prudent counsellor of Louis the Thirteenth, and it is quite immaterial to us whether, in the expression of his opinion, he was influenced rather by considerations of policy than of justice, and was more afraid of the too complete success of the French mission to Germany which he had himself recommended, than of the disasters which the continuance of war with the Huguenots might entail.[2] The Huguenots were by no means crushed. The Rochellese and restless Soubise had shown what they could do at sea, and how inadequate the king's maritime forces were to check them. A fleet of twenty-five vessels sent out by La Rochelle had for months ruled the Bay of Biscay and seized many of the enemy's ships. The island of Oleron was captured by them, and since Soubise (apparently not so much oblivious of the obligation he assumed at the capitulation of Saint Jean d'Angely, as regarding himself absolved from his promise not to bear arms against the king by the latter's frequent breaches of faith) had made himself master of Royan, at the mouth of the Gironde, the power of the Protestants along the shores of the ocean was rather growing than diminishing.[3] To this must be added the circumstance that many of the king's conquests of the year before proved very

Soubise takes Royan.

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du retour du Roi en cette ville, contenant ses raisons pour faire la paix." Ibid., Petitot ed., xvi. 116, 117 ; Michaud et Poujoulat ed., 704.

[1] Benoist, ii. 386.

[2] "Le vieux Jeannin, effrayé du succès trop complet de l'ambassade française en Allemagne, qu'il avait, naguère, vivement conseillée, fut fidèle à la politique de bascule qu'il avait longtemps pratiquée d'accord avec Villeroi, et présenta au roi un mémoire pour appuyer l'opinion de Marie de Médicis." Henri Martin, Histoire de France, xii. 434.

[3] Bernard, Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 290, 338 ; Laugel, Le duc de Rohan, 131.

worthless. If his attack had resembled a fierce blast, at whose advent everything bows without resistance; it was also true that as the prostrated grasses rise again when the storm has passed, many of the Protestant places resumed their former allegiance to the Huguenot party before the king's back had long been turned upon the south. Some towns that had been sold to the king by their mercenary governors came back almost of themselves. La Force recovered Sainte Foy and other places in the same region; and further to the south, Tonneins and Clairac by their defection showed that the monarch might have to do over again a great part of what he had so prided himself upon accomplishing the year before.[1]

The Huguenots recover many of their lost towns.

Abroad, if the unwillingness of James the First to aid subjects engaged in a struggle with their king, seemed to preclude the hope of effective help from the crown of Great Britain, the sympathy of the people was so undisguised as to constrain even the government, or the state church, to order collections in behalf of the Huguenots. Such a collection was made throughout Scotland in the winter of 1622. It was a circumstance worthy of notice that the poor were as zealous as the rich, for "the servant maids and boys" brought in of their scanty means about one-eighth part of all that was raised. Nor is it surprising that the sturdy Presbyterians who scouted the authority of James's bishops, and refused to conform to the hated articles of Perth, far surpassed the rest in their liberality toward the adherents of a church similar in faith and discipline to their own.[2] In the southern kingdom the beneficence of the people took the form of a collection, ordered (in September, 1621) by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the request of the privy council, for the benefit of the refugees from

Collections in Great Britain in their behalf.

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[1] Benoist, ii. 388.

[2] "About this time there was a collection through the countrie for the Kirk of France. It began in Edinburgh upon the twelf, and endit upon the twentie-sixt of Februar [1622]. The Nonconformitanes exceedit all others verie farre in their liberalitie. The servants maids and boyes were not behind for their part, for they contributed foure thousand merks. The summe of the whole amounted to threttie or threttie-five thousand merks. The ministers were forced to confesse that the Nonconformitanes were the honestest men in their flocks." David Calderwood, History of the Kirk of Scotland, vii. 543.

Dieppe and other places in Normandy, to whom not only had the inhabitants of Dover extended a hearty welcome, but had thrown open St. Mary's church for the two ministers who accompanied them to preach twice on Sunday, before and after the charitable rector, and once on Thursday.[1]

Louis again takes the field.

Untrustworthiness of Châtillon.

Rohan and Lesdiguières had for some time been endeavoring to settle upon a practicable basis of pacification. It was the desire of President Jeannin and the other friends of peace to detain Louis at Paris until the arrival of the envoys whom they shortly expected with the results of the negotiations of the dukes. Greatly to their disappointment, those that were in favor of pushing war to the bitter end—the sanguinary Prince of Condé, Cardinal Retz, Count Schomberg, and others—induced the king to slip out of the back door of the Louvre, on Palm Sunday, quietly and almost stealthily. Without waiting for the queen mother, Louis posted to Orleans and thence to Nantes and southward to Guyenne, that he might complete the work of the preceding year.[2] It is needless to rehearse in detail the successive stages in his campaign. Again Henry of Rohan was the central figure in the opposition to the royal plans, the solitary heroic man whose determination and energy enabled him to hold his own in the midst of adverse circumstances and almost to compensate for the weakness and treachery of some and for the dissensions and divisions of others. Châtillon, having proved utterly worthless, and indeed a positive injury to the Protestant cause, had been deposed from his generalship of the "department" of Lower Languedoc and the Cévennes, not a day too soon, in the autumn of the preceding year.[3]

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[1] Strangers at Dover, by G. H. Overend, a monograph full of rare and valuable information, published in the Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, iii. 129 seq. The Commons were at this time much exercised over the failure of the king to maintain his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine.

[2] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 213; Le Vassor, iv. 356, 379.

[3] The "désauthorisation" of Châtillon was issued by the assembly of the "circle" of Lower Languedoc, November 20, 1621. The document declares him to have forfeited all charges and dignities that he has held in the name of the churches, including the post of governor of Montpellier, and assigns sufficient reasons. Mercure françois, vii. 686–693. Of course Châtillon replied, but his

Even the members of the political assembly that discarded him did not know at the time, as we now know from a letter of Louis himself, that his majesty, when he started on his original expedition for the reduction of the Huguenots, had received satisfactory assurances that he would encounter no obstacles in any place to which Châtillon's influence extended.[1] La Force had done much better, and indeed had been, as we have seen, the intrepid defender of Montauban. But when, in his second campaign, Louis the Thirteenth reached Sainte Foy, the duke, tired of the contest, perhaps, I ought rather to say, perceiving that the right moment had arrived for making the most advantageous terms for himself, surrendered the place without consulting either the assembly at La Rochelle or any of his comrades in arms. It is true that the king received him very graciously and that Count Schomberg exclaimed, "Sire, your nobles are all covered with tinsel, but Monsieur de la Force is covered with honor." The world will hardly believe him, and will recall the fact that his surrender of one of the Huguenot hostage cities to the king secured him not only a large pecuniary compensation for the offices which he had once held, together with the post of governor of Sainte Foy and Monflanquin which he betrayed, but the baton of a marshal of France.[2] As Châtillon was rewarded in the same way, the present war had this singularity to distinguish it from every other war on record, that, during the course of a campaign undertaken to crush the Protestants, two Protestants were raised to one of the highest military dignities which the crown could confer.[3] "If by their conduct," proudly remarks Henry of Rohan, "each of them has gained the baton of a marshal of

The Duke de la Force accepts terms.

"Apology" contains little more than bitter and unreasonable invective. Ibid., viii. 86–114.

[1] "Je m'acheminai en Languedoc, assuré de la fidélité du sieur de Châtillon et des lieux où son crédit s'étend." Louis XIII. to the Duke of Nevers, November 7, 1621. MSS. Nat. Lib. Printed in Laugel, Le duc de Rohan, 123.

[2] The duke probably makes the best defence of himself possible under the circumstances in his Mémoires, ii. 200 et seq. See Mercure françois, viii. 619–624.

[3] "Cela faisoit, avec la marquis de la Force, deux réformés faits maréchaux dans une campagne entreprise contre eux." Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, 266.

France, and by mine I have lost my governments, I am not envious of their good fortune. I admit that they are more prudent than I am."[1]

The town of Négrepelisse taken.

The contest was marked not so much by feats of prowess as by deeds of savage cruelty. Négrepelisse was a small town on the Aveyron, a few miles distant from Montauban. The beauty of its situation in the midst of a district rich in fields of grain and vineyards claims the admiration of the royal historiographer, not less than the symmetry of the streets laid out as by rule, and the neatness of the buildings. At one end stood the castle belonging to the Duke of Bouillon, its feudal lord; at the other the stately "temple" of the Huguenots, constructed with the benches for the worshippers rising like the seats of an amphitheatre about the well-proportioned pulpit of the minister.[2] The town had been surrendered to the king in his last campaign, and on leaving Guyenne and Languedoc he had placed in the castle a body of four hundred soldiers. A little later (in December, 1621), a party of Protestants from Montauban in open day attacked and took Négrepelisse, which was but negligently guarded, killing a great part of the garrison, but sparing the lives of those who submitted.[3] To reduce a town so poorly fortified was no difficult task for Louis when he returned to the south, but the question was, what disposition he should make of the inhabitants. It is gratifying to read that in the council held in the rude cabin where the king lay ill of a violent cold, the Cardinal of Retz entered a plea for gentleness and humanity. Great kings, he urged, should resemble majestic rivers dispensing help and nourishment far and wide, and not violent torrents bearing damage and disaster whithersoever they go. In nothing

Cardinal Retz pleads for humanity.

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[1] Discours sur les raisons de la paix faite devant Montpellier (Petitot ed.), page 234.

[2] Bernard, i. 376.

[3] Charles Garrisson, in his monograph entitled "Une erreur historique: les deux massacres de Négrepelisse en 1621 et 1622," in the Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., xliii. (1894) 113–121, proves that the story of a *nocturnal surprise* and *massacre* by the Protestants, December 14, 1621, which served as a pretext for the historical massacre by the king's army during the next summer (June 10 and 11, 1622), was untrue. The contemporary manuscript references which he quotes are conclusive.

Condé advocates exemplary severity.

do they more closely resemble the divine grandeur than in the benignity with which their hands dispense benefits among all that are subject to them. But the Prince of Condé was anxious that Louis should not follow salutary counsels, and pressed him to make of such obstinate rebels as the people of Négrepelisse an example of condign punishment. The king had just been hearing mass said at his bedside. The prince took up the breviary that lay by him, and turning to the lesson of the day—it was the ninth of June, and the lesson included the fifteenth chapter of the first book of Samuel—read from it the injunction of the Lord given by the mouth of Samuel to King Saul to destroy utterly the Amalekites, and the punishment incurred by Saul because of his disobedience. Louis, we are informed, while apparently approving the suggestions of the Prince of Condé, resolved to temper justice with mercy, on the ground that the things written occurred in a time of rigor and not of grace.[1]

Brutality of the troops.

Wherein that mercy consisted, it was difficult in the sequel to perceive. For when the town's slight defences had been sufficiently battered, a general assault was ordered, and in the wild scene of confusion that ensued, the worst passions of the soldiery found play in acts such as history would gladly consign to oblivion. The sword spared neither age nor sex, save as lust reserved victims for a worse fate than death. Such of the unfortunate citizens as had found a temporary refuge in the castle fared scarcely better than the rest. When, being unable to defend themselves further, they asked and were denied terms of capitulation, and were compelled to surrender at the discretion of their assailants, those were perhaps not the most unhappy that were hanged as having been found a second time in arms against the king. Yet in the midst of the shameless display of the vilest passions to which man can give the rein, there were also some signal instances of virtuous integrity and of pity to the weak and defenceless. The brave Pontis has left us a touching picture of the pains that he took to deliver a young girl, the daughter of the minister of the place, who threw herself at his feet and implored his aid. Claude de

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[1] Bernard's account is graphic. Hist. du Roy Louis XIII., i. 378, 379.

Lorraine, Duke of Chevreuse, is said to have exhibited on this occasion a magnanimity of which there were not wanting examples in the previous history of his house, source though it had been of countless disasters to France. His purse was opened liberally to purchase immunity from violence for such unfortunates as he found in the hands of the troops. Roger, one of the first gentlemen of the king's bedchamber, was able to rescue a larger number, for seeing a band of about forty of the feebler sex whom brutal soldiers were leading off, he was so moved with compassion that hastening to the spot he redeemed them all, paying to their captors as much as each asked, to one one pistole, to others two or three pistoles. Louis, it is alleged, had issued strict orders that the honor of captive women should be respected. I should be glad to be able to record that he put forth any of his royal exertions to secure the observance of his mandate.[1] Négrepelisse was consigned to the flames.

The frightful story of the massacre of the inhabitants is relieved by one incident of a lighter character. I have already noticed,[2] that the Huguenots of this region with rough pleasantry avenged themselves upon their neighbors for coining for them the new and opprobrious nickname of *Parpaillots*, by calling the latter after the murderer of Henry the Fourth. It would seem that the Protestant children, from hearing the name so freely employed, regarded it as the true designation of the Roman Catholics. At least, the story is told that, when the sword was sparing neither women nor their offspring at Négrepelisse, a company of fifteen children, trembling for their lives, disarmed the anger of the soldiers, elsewhere so merciless, by falling upon their knees before them and crying out: "We will not be *Parpaillots* any more: we will be *Ravaillacs!*" The words, although not constituting a confession of faith in the forms, was accepted as a binding promise to live "after a Catholic fashion," and the lives of the suppliants were spared.[3]

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[1] Bernard, ubi supra, i. 380, 381. Gramond (whose account is meagre), 538. Le Vassor, iv. 416, 417. Benoist, ii. 389. Mercure françois, viii. 637. Memoires de Bassompierre (Michaud and Ponjoulat edition), 207. Mémoires de Pontis (same ed.), 492. Mémoires du cardinal de Richelieu, 365. Bazin, Histoire de France sous Louis XIII., ii. 193.

[2] Above, p. 203.

[3] Mercure françois, viii. 220.

Saint Anthonin.

The fate of the town of Saint Anthonin, which next fell, was little more tolerable. Among the ten or twelve who were sent to the gallows, when the place surrendered at the mercy of the king, was the Huguenot minister.[1]

German mercenaries.

Louis now pursued his way with little or no further opposition to Toulouse, and thence to Carcassonne, Narbonne, and Beziers. Finally he encamped before the walls of Montpellier. Meanwhile he had had double good fortune on the side of Germany. The Huguenots had at one time good reason to expect such help as more than once came to them from beyond the Rhine; for Ernest, natural son of the Count of Mansfeld, and the Protestant bishop of Halberstadt, of the House of Brunswick, with a considerable army of horse and foot, had broken into Lorraine with the view of an incursion into Champagne and a possible approach to the neighborhood of the French capital itself. But the Duke of Nevers had the tact and good fortune to divert these dangerous visitors from France to the Netherlands. On the other hand, Louis received a substantial reinforcement of three thousand German soldiers, who were brought down the Rhine to serve under his banner in Languedoc.[2]

Although in the negotiation into which Lesdiguières had entered with the king's full approval, the very terms were agreed upon which became the basis of the subsequent treaty of pacification,[3] Louis appeared to be in no mood for making any concessions. In the west the affairs of the Protestants were not promising. Soubise having lost in a single day all the fruits of his earlier success, and Royan having been retaken by the king's forces, the Huguenot nobleman betook himself to England. There he did not indeed succeed in inducing James the

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[1] Mercure françois, viii. 649. Bernard, i. 381-388, gives a very full account. The minister, of course, figures as "a turbulent and seditious man;" but the circumstance that he was a Protestant minister and, especially, a monk who had thrown aside the cowl, had more to do with his execution than his so-called sedition.

[2] Mercure françois, viii. 708-773; Bernard, i. 392-395; Le Vassor, iv. 441 seq.

[3] See the documents in Dom Vaissète, Histoire du Languedoc, v. 365-372, and especially the "Avis donné au roi par M. le connétable d'Esdiguières sur le fait de la paix," dated August 17, 1622.

Fort Louis near La Rochelle.

First to assist the French Protestants, but obtained sufficient help from the people to fit out a fleet of ten or twelve vessels intended for the relief of La Rochelle. This armament was completely destroyed by a storm before leaving harbor. An army of ten or eleven regiments of infantry and ten squadrons of cavalry, amounting in all to nearly ten thousand men, under the command of the Count of Soissons, had been detailed to commence the siege of La Rochelle. No signal success had indeed as yet accompanied their arms, but a work destined to become famous had been begun. The foundations of Fort Louis were laid near La Rochelle at a spot commanding the long channel that forms the approach to that city, and convenient for the protection of a stockade which, in accordance with the plans of the engineer Pompée Targon, it was proposed to construct in order to prevent the entrance of ships.[1]

Siege of Montpellier.

It is needless to describe at length the siege of Montpellier, which, if not so fiercely pressed, or so stubbornly resisted, as that of Montauban in the previous year, was scarcely more fortunate for the assailants. The valor of the inhabitants was not inferior to that of the Montalbanese, and the name of Améric, the wise and energetic first consul of Montpellier, is deserving of a fame quite equal to that of Dupuy, the first consul of Montauban. He it was, who, wisely cooperating with the Duke of Rohan and with Calonges, whom the duke had placed as his lieutenant to command the forces in the city, fully supplied the place in advance with provisions and arms. And his was the stout heart that directed the erection upon the public square of two gallows bearing the ominous inscription, "Here will be hanged the bearers of evil tidings and the *escarlambats!*" By the latter designation, a term peculiar to Languedoc, were not obscurely pointed out such professed Protestants as might prove recreant to the cause of their religion.[2] Before long the unsatisfactory progress made by his arms induced the king to order the troops that had for a month been besieging Briatexte to join him, and that brave little town was delivered from an enemy which it had held at bay at great odds.[1] A month later the king consented to a general peace. On the nineteenth of October, 1622, he affixed his signature to the Declaration which gave it the force of law.

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[1] See Bernard, i. 399.

[2] On the siege of Montpellier, besides the Mémoires of Rohan, and the histories of Gramond, Bernard, etc., see particularly the monograph of P. Corbière on Améric referred to below, as well as that writer's valuable Histoire de l'Église réformée de Montpellier (Montpellier, 1861), chapter xiii.

Treaty of pacification—Montpellier, October 19, 1622.

This document, commonly known as the Treaty of Montpellier, was more favorable to the Huguenots than the great losses they had sustained during the two campaigns through which they had passed might have led one to expect. Again was the Edict of Nantes confirmed, with all its dependent legislation. The exercise of the Protestant religion was restored in all places where it had previously existed. The courts of justice were re-established, with the exception of the Chamber of the Edict of Guyenne, which the king announced his intention of removing to such place as it might hereafter please him to designate. All the *new* fortifications erected by the Huguenots in their towns and castles were to be torn down[2] and hostages of the leading citizens were to be given to this end. The *old* works were allowed to subsist. This permission extended to all towns that should open their gates to the king within a fortnight. The holding of any form of political assemblies, "circles," or "councils," without the king's express permission, was strictly forbidden on the pains of treason; but the religious gatherings, such as consistories, colloquies, and synods for the transaction of purely ecclesiastical business were recognized and permitted. There was the ordinary provision for an amnesty and the restoration of all dignities, offices, and property forfeited by reason of the war. These were the chief points of the public document.[3] According to the pernicious usage of the times, some grants intended to be more or less secret, and therefore affording almost of necessity matter for future doubt and contention, were added in the form of special patents. These documents were circulated by the press in France at the time in a very divergent form,[1] and to the present day it has been difficult to ascertain exactly what they contained.

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[1] The siege of Briatexte is told very simply but impressively in a contemporary account entitled, "Relation de ce qui se passa durant le siége de Briatexte, etc.," printed in the Bulletin of the French Protestant Historical Society, xxvii. (1878) 108–113.

[2] One of the patents to which reference will be made later, preserved the entire fortifications of La Rochelle and Montauban, and one-half of those of Nismes, Uzès, and Milhau. Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, 20.

[3] Déclaration du roy, sur la paix qu'il a donnée à ses sujets de la Religion prétendue Reformée, confirmant les précedents Édits de Pacification. Donnée au Camp de Montpellier, le 19 Octobre, 1622. Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de

It is certain, however, that even Cardinal Richelieu, than whom no other statesman might have been expected to be better informed, has in his Mémoires blundered respecting no less important a point than the Huguenot cities of refuge. Not only does he make the king's Declaration—which says not a word upon the subject—diminish the number of these safeguards of the Protestants, but he asserts that the provision ran "that La Rochelle and Montauban alone should remain cities of security, there being no others either of security, or hostage cities, or 'of marriage.'"[2] In point of fact, the general patent, of even date with the formal Declaration, contained the following clauses pointing to a retention of all the cities of refuge which the Huguenots had not lost in the course of the vicissitudes of war: "His majesty moreover grants to them, that the places that remain in their hands from among those contained in the list of the late king, signed and agreed upon at Rennes, on the fourteenth of May, 1598, shall continue there for three years, dating from this day, to serve for them as a retreat, in case of oppression contrary to the will of his majesty, of which places a special list shall be drawn up; it not being his intention that the other places which he has reduced or restored to his power,[3] or which have continued obedient to him, should be or be claimed to be places of security."[4] Rarely had a higher

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Nantes, ii. (documents) 60–63. Gramond gives a summary, 571–573, as do the Mémoires de Rohan, i. 231, 232. See, also, Bernard, i. 419.

[1] "Quant aux articles particuliers accordez audit sieur Duc de Rohan, il s'en est veu d'imprimez de divers façons." Mercure françois, viii. 845. The Mercure's own summary is evidently both faulty and incomplete.

[2] Mémoires du cardinal de Richelieu, 268.

[3] "Qu'elle a réduites ou remises en son pouvoir." Under this last description was, of course, comprehended Saumur, out of which Duplessis Mornay had been cheated by Louis himself.

[4] Anquez, Histoire des Assemblées politiques, 442.

premium been placed upon stalwart resistance to the king's commands; rarely has swifter punishment been meted out to men who through cowardice betray the cause of their conscientious convictions.[1]

The cities of refuge.

Contrary, therefore, to the representations that have been current, the Huguenots retained, by the treaty of Montpellier nearly one-half of their cities of refuge—they lost about eighty of the number—not, indeed, under the name of "places of security," but as "a retreat in case of oppression contrary to his majesty's will." But the tenure of the places previously held as pledges of the king's plighted word, was made uncertain because dependent upon the monarch's good pleasure.[2] In this mutation was not involved, as it was supposed by some,[3] the withdrawal of the support of the garrisons of the places left in Huguenot hands, nor of the grant for the support of the Protestant ministry.[4]

Terms granted to Montpellier.

Equally contradictory are the representations respecting the particular treatment pledged to the city of Montpellier. While President Gramond, a historian generally well informed and conscientious in his statements, declares that it was distinctly provided that one-half of the consuls of the place should hereafter be Roman Catholics and one-half Protestants, whereas heretofore they had all been Protestants,[5] Benoist and other historians of the Reformed faith are equally positive in the assertion that, beyond the demolition of the fortifications, the king promised that no change should be made in the existing order of things.[6] This is not the first occasion I have had to refer to the scrupulous exactness of the author of the History of the Edict of Nantes, and I shall have many other opportunities in future to point out statements of his that have been called in question, but have been proved to be correct by the discovery of documentary evidence. The king's patent, still preserved, is found to order "that hereafter there shall be neither governor nor garrison in Montpellier, nor shall a citadel be built; but," it adds, "his majesty wishes and intends that the guard of the city shall remain in the hands of the consuls, and there shall no innovation be made except for the razing of the fortifications, according to the instructions that will be given to the commissioners deputed for this purpose."[1]

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[1] See Duplessis Mornay to Villarnoul, January 4, 1623. Ibid., ubi supra.

[2] "Gratuita concessione permissum, ut urbes quas in hanc diem possederant Sectarii, mutato possessionis nomine retinerent; transiitque in titulum *precariæ concessionis* titulus urbium quas matrimonii, securitatis, quas fidei datæ obsides appellabant." Gramond, Hist. Gall. ab excessu Henrici IV., 573.

[3] "Pensiones pastoribus, militi in urbibus Sectariis stationario, nec non et præfectis pendi de fisco solitæ penitus abrogantur." Ibid., 573, 574.

[4] Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, 21. M. Anquez himself formerly believed otherwise. See his earlier work, Histoire des Assemblées politiques, 442.

[5] Gramond, 573.

[6] Benoist, ii. 408.

Of the other provisions of the king's letters patent, that which was destined to be fraught with most important results promised the demolition of all the works which his armies had erected in the neighborhood of La Rochelle, looking to the reduction of the Protestant stronghold upon the shores of the Ocean.[2] For the relief of the leaders who in their eagerness for success had deeply involved themselves in debt, considerable sums of money were given or promised. Two hundred thousand livres were to be paid to Rohan in ready money, and six hundred thousand livres more were promised upon the security of the revenues of the duchy of Valois, in order to indemnify him for the loss of the governments of the province of Poitou and the city of Saint Jean d'Angely. His brother Soubise was to receive the same pension as before the war. Calonges, the brave defender of Montpellier, was to be rewarded with six thousand livres. Rohan was to be governor of the cities of Nismes and Uzès.[3]

Both sides were sick of war. The siege of Montpellier had indeed afforded a rare opportunity for the display of the valor and self-devotion of the Protestants—women giving themselves to the labors and dangers incident to their situation as cheerfully as their brothers and husbands, donning the military cap, laying hold of the sword, and forming themselves into a regiment under the command of Madame de Bonneterre, whom they elected *capitainesse*.[1]

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[1] See the text of the patent in P. Corbière's monograph, "Améric d'Estienne d'Améric, premier consul de la ville de Montpellier, pendant le siége de 1622," based on inedited documents, in the Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. franç., xii. 219. Most of the special patents are in the National Library of Paris. See Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, 22.

[2] Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, 20.

[3] Gramond, 573; Anquez, Histoire des Assemblées politiques, 389.

But the same siege had also exhibited the dissensions of the men who should have been united in the common defence. Rohan declared, in view of the embarrassments under which he labored and the great reserves upon which the king could call, that were the investment of Montpellier protracted the salvation of the city was impossible without a miracle from heaven.[2] On the other hand, Cardinal Richelieu informs us that disorder reigned supreme in the royal army, that discontent was universal, and that there was an extraordinary prevalence of disease—things that deeply touched the king and led him the more readily to listen to propositions of peace.[3] As to the poor people of southern France, they vented their disgust at the long continuance of a war in imprecations upon the heads of those whom, according to the party and religion to which they belonged, they held to be its guilty authors. Some of the poetical diatribes aimed at the Huguenots are not destitute of a certain vigor and pungency.[4]

Unpopularity of the war.

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[1] Anne Rulman's First Narrative, in Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, 13.

[2] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 230.

[3] Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, 268.

[4] Of this character is the piece entitled "La prière du Gascon," in which the refrain of each of the first twenty-one stanzas is in the form of an ecclesiastical response in the dialect of Gascony—"*Au diable soit lou huguenaux!*" Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France, i. 167–169. The peril incurred by Montauban is alluded to. Montpellier's famous medical school will not save her; the king's *surgeons* will be more than a match for her physicians.

Si elle a de bons medecins,
Nous avons des chirurgiens
Pour tirer du sang de leurs peaux.
R. Au diable soit lou houguenaux!

The designs of Mausefert (Mansfeld) have been discovered and will be foiled. La Rochelle will not escape.

Les Rochellois seront punis
Comme nos plus grands ennemis;
On leur donnera les fronteaux.
R. Au diable soit lou houguenaux!

Ils voudront fuir par la mer,
Mais on les fera abismer

Avec leurs chaloupes et basteaux.
R. Au diable soit lou houguenaux !

Monsieur le conte de Soissons,
Se vengeant de leurs trahisons,
Les envoyera *ad infernos.*
R. Au diable soit lou houguenaux !

For a few, the least obstinate, the prayer goes up that they may be converted, but perdition is the goal the rest should reach.

Convertissez-en quelques uns
De ceux qui sont moins importuns ;
Jettez le reste *ad infernos.*
R. Au diable soit lou houguenaux !

CHAPTER V

THE CITADEL OF MONTPELLIER, FORT LOUIS AND THE SECOND HUGUENOT WAR

THE restoration of peace to France was a source of universal rejoicing. Even beyond the British Channel the friends of the Huguenots raised their voices in gratitude to heaven that a war at one time threatening the entire destruction of Protestantism in a neighboring land, had come to no more disastrous a conclusion. The particular supporters of the crown would have been glad to magnify the share of King James in hastening this consummation, although that prudent monarch had contributed only cheap advice and showed no disposition to help subjects in arms against their lawful sovereign. And the Bishop of Saint Andrews holding a diocesan synod at Edinburgh, it was ordained, the Scotch historian Calderwood informs us, that "in all the kirks of the diocie there sall be publict thanksgiving of God upon the twenty-second of November, for the peace concludit betweene the King of France and the Protestants; speciallie for that God had made our king an happie instrument to bring it to passe." "But," adds the writer, somewhat sceptical of the precise value of his Britannic majesty's intercession, "it was commonlie talked, that the King of France was driven to peace through necessitie, having spent much money, and lost manie noblemen and gentlemen in the warre."[1]

Thanksgiving in Scotland for the French peace.

From the struggle of the past eighteen months the Duke of Rohan alone had come out with glory. Reluctant as he had been to enter upon a war, and conscientiously as he had striven to avert the resort to so desperate a remedy for the cure of the political malady, it was his untiring persistence and the clearness of his military insight that prevented an early and overwhelming calamity. Especially had his sagacity in discovering and turning to immediate account the advantage which the Huguenots possessed in the command of the Cévennes Mountains, inhabited by a sturdy race of men, inured to toil and hardship, and equally serviceable in attack and in defence, been fully justified by the event.[1] The popularity of his address, and the manifest earnestness and disinterestedness of his character, had accomplished all, perhaps, that it was in the range of possibility to accomplish for the reconciliation of discordant elements and the unification of a party rent asunder by internal dissensions.

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[1] David Calderwood, History of the Kirk of Scotland, vii. 565.

End of the assembly of La Rochelle.

It was otherwise with the assembly that sat at La Rochelle, and concluded its existence on the nineteenth of November, after a session of one year, ten months and eighteen days.[2] Instead of winning favor and gaining strength during this long period, the assembly had steadily declined in influence, and, what with disputes between its own members, quarrels with the very municipality upon whose consent it depended for a home, and desertion of outside allies, had lost so much ground as scarcely to count for anything in the final settlement. Originally proud and defiant in its bearing, in the end it accepted with eagerness the peace which Rohan and Montpellier concluded; and it ratified without a murmur the selection made by the duke (for this time only, and not to serve as a precedent) of the six candidates from whom Louis chose Montmartin of the *Noblesse* and Manialdof the *Tiers État* to be the deputies general of the churches.[3] Meantime its membership had dwindled down until there were only some thirty persons in attendance to vote an adjournment.[4]

An interval of a little more than two years of comparative quiet ensued. The insincerity soon exhibited by the court in its professions, and some positive infractions of the edict of pacification, sowed the seeds of future discord. So early as in the engrossing of that document itself, the government showed that it had not forgotten its old habit of overreaching. Three considerable alterations were made in the text of the law by the order, or with the connivance of Herbaut, Secretary of State, before it was forwarded to the parliaments for registration; and Rohan regarded these changes as so material that he hesitated for a day or two whether he should let them pass unchallenged.[1] The administration cannot, it is true, be made responsible either for the over-preciseness of the Parliament of Paris, which, in registering, would not let pass any words that seemed to imply that the Protestants could have "*ecclesiastical* affairs," or for the ill-concealed hostility of the sister court at Bordeaux, which would have it understood that it verified the edict without any approval of another religion than the Catholic.[2] But the government must certainly be held to account for the trickery of subordinate officers which it either instigated or abetted.

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[1] See Laugel, Le Duc de Rohan, 152, 153.

[2] Anquez, Hist. des Assemblées politiques, 390.

[3] Ibid., 389. [4] Ibid., 390.

The citadel of Montpellier.

The stipulations in favor of the Protestant city of Montpellier were explicit. There was to be no change made in respect to it, save as to the destruction of the walls. There was to be neither garrison nor governor. No citadel was to be erected. Not one of these provisions was honorably executed. The first was boldly violated, when it was required that the citizens proceed to the election of a body of consuls of whom the one half must be Roman Catholics. To secure the acquiescence of the citizens in the abrogation of the second, stratagem was used. The edict provided that, pending the demolition of the defensive works of the cities, hostages should be given by the inhabitants to insure against revolt or disobedience. The citizens of Montpellier expected that at most two or three hostages would be called for; their surprise was great when the king required them to deliver into his hands a very great number, and these men of the highest standing and men who had been most prominent in the recent struggle. Fearful for the lives of the persons selected, the influential families to which they belonged and their friends were not slow in begging his majesty to release the city from the necessity of furnishing hostages, and to send them a garrison instead. Louis graciously consented, and introduced into Montpellier the regiments of Normandy and Picardy, under the command of Valençay, a "*mestre de camp.*"[1] When Montpellier had thus been induced to accept both garrison and governor, it would yet have seemed difficult, if not impossible, to persuade the city to petition that, in the lieu of the former, the king would be pleased to order the erection of one of those hateful instruments of oppression, a citadel, that should keep them in perpetual fear;—especially as, with all the delays that might be interposed, the work of tearing down the walls must sooner or later be ended, and the time must ultimately arrive for the garrison and its commander to depart. Indeed, the proper time for the evacuation had long since passed. Rohan had again and again called upon Louis to fulfil his engagements, first when the court was at Montpellier itself, and subsequently at different stages of the homeward journey. Louis had actually written at the duke's suggestion an order to Valençay to withdraw so soon as two-thirds of the circuit of the walls of Montpellier should be levelled to the ground and he should hear that the similar work at Nismes, Castres, and Milhau was in a good state of forwardness.[2] Yet in less than eight months from the date of the king's letter, Valençay by his shrewdness and tact accomplished his extraordinary purpose, and brought the people to a decision of which the royal historiographer records, with evident surprise and satisfaction, that a parallel instance could scarcely be found anywhere in the records of popular resolutions.[3] Such of the inhabitants as were Roman Catholics were more than willing to have a fortress and a permanent garrison domiciled within it. Bernard is probably not mistaken in saying that the adherents of the Roman Church dreaded the removal of the two regiments and hated the very idea of a renewed supremacy of the Huguenots. Happily for Valençay, a part of the latter were more open to persuasion than could have been anticipated. They were weary of the annoyance and the expense of entertaining, each in his own house, the officers and soldiers of the royal army, insolent and dangerous guests at best, who had already been there too long, and against whose violence their wives and daughters were not safe.[1] When the right moment came, Valençay called an extraordinary meeting of the city council, and offered to relieve the citizens of the soldiers quartered upon them, if the members would consent to the erection of a citadel for the accommodation of the garrison. He baited his proposal with several tempting morsels—such as that the office of first consul should be alternately held by members of the two religions, that the Protestants should obtain by reprisal the value of their confiscated property, that the debts contracted by the city during the late hostilities should be borne by the entire diocese of Montpellier, and that the salaries promised to the Protestant ministers should be paid with regularity. Few of the Protestants had been notified of the important purpose for which the meeting was to be held, and the attendance was consequently small; there were but twenty-six burgesses assembled in all. Some were absent, so it was said, not from indifference, but from apprehension of danger. It was in vain that a few sensible men stood out, and protested against the new timidity of those who had not long ago so stoutly defended their city against the king himself. If earnestness approaching true eloquence could have awakened from their delusion men whom the hope of securing immediate material advantage had made willing to fall in with Valençay's plan, then the address of Saint Esprit Audiffret might have effected this end. For he set forth, in forcible words full of native fire, the almost inconceivable folly of a town which, to rid itself of the present annoyance of the officers and soldiers of a regiment

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[1] Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, 48, 49.

[2] Benoist, ii. 408, and documents, 63, seq. Mercure françois, ix. 436.

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[1] Bernard, Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 423, 424.

[2] See Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, 46, 47, and the King's letter to Valençay, Lyons, December 18, 1622, in the Appendix, 356.

[3] "Ce fut une résolution de peuple qui n'en avoit guères de semblable pour luy estre mise en parallèle." Bernard, i. 458.

Trickery of the governor.

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[1] "Or, depuis que les regiments de Picardie et de Normandie avaient été reçus dans Montpellier, on ne pouvait, de l'aveu de l'évêque de cette ville, être assuré de la vertu des femmes et des filles." Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, 93. The growing license of the soldiers is referred to by Gramond, who records without contradiction the complaints made by the citizens to the king. They alleged the violence of the soldiers of the garrison, with whom just and unjust measures were regarded as indifferent; they said "ferro ad jugulum adacto virgines ad stuprum cogi, matronas adulterio pollui." Hist. Galliæ ab excessu Henrici IV., 590.

quartered upon it, possibly for a brief time, should consent to the permanent establishment of an armed force in a fortress commanding it for all time—as though, said he, in order to draw a thorn from the foot one should be desirous of sending an arrow into one's own heart. So in the fable had the frogs petitioned for a king.[1] But the majority, swayed by fear of opposing the governor, or by the desire to please him, accepted his wily suggestions, greatly to the disgust of all their coreligionists elsewhere. It may well be believed that Valençay was not slow in communicating tidings of his good fortune to the court, nor the court dilatory in sending orders for the instant commencement of the projected citadel and for the most vigorous prosecution and completion of the work before the inhabitants might have time to repent of their bargain. Despite the protest of Maniald, the deputy-general, and the remonstrances of several towns in Languedoc, the citadel which was to insure permanently the predominance of the Roman Catholic party was nearly completed by the close of the ensuing year (1624). Valençay's trick robbed French Protestantism for all time of one of its three principal bulwarks in the south. The suicidal petition of the Protestant city of Montpellier, very humbly supplicating the king, notwithstanding, his promise of the contrary, to have a fortress built at one of the corners of the town, has fortunately come down to us. It merits to be preserved for all time as one of the rarest curiosities of Huguenot history. Nor is it undeserving of notice that, as if conscious of their own pusillanimity and the betrayal of the common interests, its authors inserted in the document a proviso that their action should not serve as a precedent as against the other churches of the kingdom, and uttered a timid suggestion that his majesty might, if it were his good pleasure, make compensation to those churches, whenever any suitable occasion offered, for the voluntary surrender on the part of Montpellier of the privilege accorded to it by the king's patent.[2]

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[1] Laugel, in his excellent biography, Le Duc de Rohan, 159–163, has reproduced the remarkable address of Audiffret almost entire.

[2] "Sa Majesté peut, si c'est son bon plaisir, compenser cette faculté avec ses bienfaits aux autres églises du royaume, lorsque les occasions s'en offriront

It was a cleverly executed trick, for the success of which, properly speaking, the whole body of the Huguenots was not responsible, but which may serve the purpose of exhibiting with sufficient clearness the insincerity and finesse with which they were continually treated. It is needless to multiply examples. In dealing with the Protestants the old policy of suspicion and duplicity was kept up. Now for the first time a royal declaration was issued (Fontainebleau, the seventeenth of April, 1623), providing that no ecclesiastical gathering of the Reformed should be held composed of other members than ministers and elders, and none at which there should not be present a royal commissioner belonging to that communion. The avowed purpose of the law was that the commissioner might see and report to the king whether any matters other than those permitted were introduced for consideration.[1] A long list of grievances under twenty-two articles presented to the king by the new deputies-general, Montmartin and Maniald, was answered article by article, after the old fashion, sometimes with a curt refusal, more frequently with an evasive reply, scarcely ever with a frank concession. It would, for example, have been the dictate of ordinary justice to grant the request made by the Protestants residing in the capital, for an appropriation of money to rebuild their "temple" at Charenton, burned by the Parisian mob in its anger at hearing of the death of the Duke of Mayenne, during the siege of Montauban. For whatever their brethren elsewhere might have done, the Huguenots of Paris had certainly obeyed his majesty's orders to the letter and by their loyalty merited his promised protection. They received for all answer to their petition the marginal note appended to their request: "His majesty commits to the care and diligence of the petitioners the rebuild-

Royal commissioners.

The temple of Charenton.

. . . Auxquels [articles secrets, déclarations et brevets] ils n'entendent préjudicier en autre chose, ni que la présente délibération puisse être tirée à conséquence contre les autres églises de ce royaume." The document is in the MSS. of the National Library, and the most essential portion is printed by Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, Appendix, 358. See ibid., 91–94, Bernard, Hist. du Roi Louis XIII., i. 457, 458, and Benoist, Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 426, 427.

[1] Text in Mercure françois, ix. 462–64; Benoist, ii. (documents); 73, 74.

ing of the temple to which reference is made." It was so of the rest.[1]

Of infractions of the treaty of peace the name was legion. In the endeavor to prevent, or to put an end to these infractions, the Duke of Rohan did not forget the part of leader of his oppressed coreligionists which had rather been forced upon him by the stress of circumstances, than assumed by his voluntary act. Thus it was that, in February, 1623, he visited Montpellier in order to prevent the consummation of Valençay's audacious scheme of compelling the citizens to elect a body of consuls half of whom should belong to each communion. Valençay, hearing that Rohan had been invited to come, forbade him to enter Montpellier; he even went so far as to order the duke's arrest when no notice was taken of the prohibition. Valençay was, indeed, soon commanded to release his noble prisoner, but meantime he had effected his unlawful purpose.[2]

Rohan's letters on the infractions of the peace.

The letters which Henry of Rohan wrote to Louis the Thirteenth remonstrating upon the course of affairs are among the best that emanated from his truly virile pen, and show that he could wield that instrument in as masterly a manner as the sword. In one letter in particular—no unfavorable example of his skill in the epistolary art—he dwelt chiefly upon the re-establishment of the "chambre mi-partie" of Castres, upon the demolition of the Fort Louis at the gates of La Rochelle, and upon the withdrawal of the garrison from Montpellier. And he begged Louis, at the start, to pardon him if, instead of resorting to the style of a servile flatterer, he adopted a style taught him by the frankness of a faithful servant. "I assure myself," said he, "that you will not regard it as a disagreeable thing to be prayed, to be solicited, to be pressed, even to be challenged to the observance of the peace which you were pleased to grant us." Frankly and touchingly did he set forth the despair which the prospect of seeing the tribunal erected for their protection removed to the inimical town of L'Isle, was engendering in the minds of the Protestants of Languedoc. They saw in this transfer the loss of all security for life or property. "All conditions in life are tolerable to men, however scanty the resources may be, if only they be secure. But nature teaches man to protect his life and his property by all sorts of lawful means. The acts of injustice experienced, since the peace, at Toulouse and in all your Catholic seats of justice of this province, have been so frequent that but for the hope of the re-establishment of the chamber, the people would not have waited so long to throw themselves at your feet and beg you to make provision for their safety. This they now do, and I am confident that your majesty will grant their request, by giving them justice in a place where they can demand it."[1]

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[1] The text of the "cahier-général" of the Protestants and of the replies given thereto by the king in council, March 4, 1623, are in the Mercure françois, ix. 449, 461, and in Benoist, ii. (documents) 64–72.

[2] "Recit des causes de la detention du Duc de Rohan dans Montpellier," a contemporary account, in the Mercure françois, ix. 432 seq. Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 245.

Louis's discourteous reply.

And how did Louis the Thirteenth reply to these noble remonstrances of a kinsman in whose veins coursed as much of the blood royal of France as ran in his own veins—a kinsman whose utterances were as similar in tone to those of Henry the Fourth as those of Henry's son were in the strain of those of his Italian mother. In an epistle betraying in every line the annoyance he felt, he plainly informed the Duke of Rohan that he would have none of his officious meddling in the matter of the observance of his pledged word. "Albeit I am willing to believe that your devotion to my service gives you the liberty to set forth to me what you claim should be done in this matter, yet I desire you to know that I am so religiously determined to maintain the things which I have promised, and so open to hear the complaints of my subjects, that I am better pleased to hear the remonstrances that may be made by means of their petitions or by their living voice, than through any other medium." Yet, although he did not regard himself as called upon to answer the duke's letter, Louis condescended to tell him that he had already sent out commissioners throughout the provinces to see to the execution of the peace, and that, at the urgent request of the judges of the

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[1] Letter of Rohan to Louis XIII., June 8, 1623. MSS. National Library. Printed in Auquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, Appendix, 359–361.

"chambre mi-partie," he had appointed its next sessions to be held in Beziers, a large town of convenient access, with a Protestant population and with Protestant worship. He even volunteered the information that having learned that the Duke of Guise, in command of some vessels despatched to the Levant, had touched at the Isle de Ré (near which he was driven by stress of the weather) because he had heard of some movements injurious to his royal master's service, his majesty had immediately sent to warn the duke not to employ his troops in any undertaking of a revolutionary character, and indeed had bidden him to return at once. But the refrain of the entire letter, to which the writer returned, was that the king had no need of such frequent reminders, and that the direct representations of the Protestant deputies-general had a more agreeable sound to the royal ear.[1]

All this was very plausible; but unfortunately the king's promises were as negligently observed as his open commands were boldly disobeyed. It was one thing to hear that an order had been issued by Louis the Thirteenth—whether it referred to the fort that threatened La Rochelle's safety or the removal of the troops from Montpellier or from wretched Négrepelisse—and quite another to have good ground for confidence that the thing ordered would be done. Of the relief of the last-named place the Duchess of Bouillon wrote at one time to her sister: "Word has indeed come to us from Paris that the king has commanded it, but men are not prompt in rendering obedience to the king, when that obedience turns to the advantage of those of the Protestant religion." [2]

Royal orders disobeyed.

The most signal illustration of this characteristic feature of the reign of which I write, was in connection with the offensive work near La Rochelle to which the name *Fort Louis* had been given in honor of the reigning monarch. Not much over half a mile from the walls of the city, and but a few hundred feet from the northwestern shore of the bay lead-

Fort Louis.

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[1] "Letter du roi au duc de Rohan pour lui défendre son entremise sur l'execution de l'édit de paix." Saint Germain en Laye, July 13, 1623. Vaissète, Histoire du Languedoc, v. (preuves) 372 seq.

[2] The Duchess of Bouillon to the Duchess of La Trémouille, Sedan, March 6, 1623. Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. franç., xxiii. (1874) 355.

ing up to the entrance of the inner port, was an eminence which the engineer of the Count of Soissons, Pompée Targon, pointed out to him as the best place for the erection of a fort intended to annoy the besieged. Here, accordingly, a few months before the conclusion of peace, the foundations of a quadrangle had been laid, with bastions projecting from the four corners. At first the attention of the Rochellese was diverted by a ruse to another spot, and the builders saw with satisfaction the waste of many a cannon-shot upon the place where a feint of activity had been made. Subsequently discovering their mistake, the Rochellese attacked the rising work, and, in a sortie, overturned what had been laboriously reared. But in the ensuing months this damage was repaired, and substantial progress was again made. When the Count of Soissons, receiving orders from the king to publish the peace concluded before Montpellier, dismissed the rest of his army, he left the regiment of Champagne with its full complement of twenty companies and fully provisioned, as a garrison of the incipient fort, and appointed the "mestre de camp," or colonel, Pierre Arnauld, to take charge of it. No better selection could have been made. Pierre Arnauld, better known as *Arnauld du Fort*, by which designation he has passed into history, although he assumed the profession of arms late in life, was a soldier by temperament and by natural endowment. He was sagacious, patient, energetic, inflexible in the pursuit of his object. He treated his troops with a firmness not unmingled with benignity, and by personal magnetism of character succeeded in bringing them to submit to a discipline almost as systematic and rigorous as the discipline of the Roman legions of antiquity, after the model of which he desired to form them. He at once set himself to the completion of what Targon had well begun. He had been about a month in command, when the Rochellese made their appearance with an order from the king for the destruction of the work upon which he was engaged. It seems to have been the letter which Louis wrote from Lyons, when urgently pressed by the Duke of Rohan and the deputies of La Rochelle to fulfil his engagements.[1] The terms could scarcely have been more

Arnauld du Fort.

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[1] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 244.

explicit. The king, satisfied that the Rochellese had undertaken to perform their duty under the treaty, professed himself resolved to discharge his own obligations, by effecting the demolition of the forts erected in the neighborhood of their city, and, in particular, the fort lying nearest to their walls. He commanded Arnauld, within eight days after the new Huguenot fortifications on the islands of Oleron and Ré should have been levelled with the ground, to begin the destruction of the forts in question. Arnauld was to prosecute the work of destruction with the utmost diligence until it should be completed.[1]

Unfortunately, the document which the Rochellese handed to Arnauld was not the original, but a transcript of the king's letter. The officer received it with a smile and answered their request with a jest. "This *copy*," he said, "is a sufficient warrant for the razing of the *copy* of the fort, not of the place itself."[2] The crestfallen delegates were compelled to retire without accomplishing their purpose, while Arnauld applied himself with unabated vigor to his self-appointed task. It cannot be affirmed with positiveness that what the Duke of Rohan asserts is true, namely, that Louis wrote Arnauld another letter of the same date with that of which a transcript had just been submitted to him by the Rochellese, and that in this second despatch his majesty gave him secret instructions to disregard the commands contained in the first. But all the circumstances of the case point to this supposition; neither Gramond, president of the Parliament of Toulouse, nor the loyal historian of La Rochelle, denounces as false and calumnious, or even rejects as improbable, a report so injurious to the French monarch's honor.[3]

A week later the Rochellese again presented themselves, this time bringing with them the original of the king's letter. Arnauld on reading it declared himself altogether disposed to obey its injunctions, but said that he must have a good and valid discharge, and for this he must communicate with the court. Pending the settlement of this matter, it was not hard for him to start a host of new difficulties, and meantime he kept his troops busily at work, night and day, and without intermission on Sundays and feast-days. The walls, which were but low when he entered them and scarcely furnished shelter for the occupants, grew apace. The indignant Rochellese getting little satisfaction either from him or at court, took matters into their own hands. A storm fortuitously put them in possession of a vessel laden, we are told, with two thousand great stakes for a palisade which Arnauld contemplated erecting. The Rochellese declined to give them over to him, alleging that it was no part of their duty to permit the further strengthening of a work that subsisted despite the king's orders. But Arnauld soon brought them to terms; for, reckless of consequences, or relying upon the secret instructions of the king for immunity from punishment, he boldly sent out parties of soldiers who seized a great herd of cattle belonging to the citizens, and took a number of prisoners of note whom he refused to release until the restoration of the cargo had been effected. Nor did the Rochellese fare better with their just complaints when the commissioners arrived for the execution of the peace in Poitou and Saintonge. The commissioners sent to a province were always, as we shall see, two in number, a Roman Catholic of prominence and sagacity and a Protestant not infrequently of inferior rank and little force, selected because of his easy-going and docile character, the choice being generally left to his colleague.[1] From such envoys the court could depend upon obtaining the kind of information that it desired. In the present instance the king had announced his intention to defer action respecting Fort Louis until the commissioners should have made their report.[2] When called upon by these functionaries to justify himself, Arnauld answered the Huguenot complaints with the pertness and effrontery of the bully who knows that he has no retribution to fear. He affected to understand that the two chief grievances alleged were that he kept his soldiers perpetually at work even on feast-days, and that he had called upon the neighboring parishes to assist him. The latter allegation he denied *in toto;* the former he met by maintaining that he was merely training the troops under his command as he would do were he in Paris itself, and he laughed at such a complaint in the mouths of men who do not rest even on the anniversary of Christ's birth, unless it happen to fall upon a Sunday. As for himself, he pretended that he had reared no works but such as were needful to shield his troops from the cannon—twenty-two in number—that frowned upon them from the walls of La Rochelle. He dwelt upon the care he had taken to prevent his soldiers from harming even the cattle of the Rochellese, and asserted that it was not the damage they did, but the sole fact that they were there, that aroused the animosity of the citizens. Why then, he insolently asked, did they not hasten to satisfy the king and accomplish the peace, in order that the king might be able to expedite the razing of the fort and forward to him his necessary discharge? Of course the Rochellese wanted the destruction of that which diminished the means at their disposal for plunging France anew into confusion, while they themselves had not returned the ships of Nevers, nor fully re-established the Roman Catholic religion within their walls, nor ceased from daily marching to their work to the beat of the drum and with flags flying, nor taken down the trophies displayed in the town-hall, in the shape of flags captured from the enemy, nor removed from the top of the walls the ghastly heads of men executed because of their fidelity to their monarch, but were receiving and expecting to receive powder and cannon from the Netherlands and were daily laying in store wheat and provisions of all kinds.[1]

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[1] Louis XIII., to Pierre Arnauld, Lyons, December 18, 1622. MSS. National Library of Paris. Printed in Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, Appendix, 358, 359, where the date is erroneously given as 1623.

[2] Mercure françois, ix. 438.

[3] "Mais ledit Arnaud en reçut une autre de même date, qui lui ordonnoit de n'en rien faire." Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 244. "Arnauld n'exécuta pas les ordres du prince, soit qu'il eût reçu des ordres secrets de la part de ses ministres, soit qu'il fût persuadé que les intérêts de l'état exigeoient que le fort subsistât." Ancère, Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle, ii. 193. "Arnaldus procrastinare, verbis obscuris et inflexis illudere oppidanis, *incertum sponte, an jussus.*" Gramond, Hist. Gall. ab excessu Henrici IV., 590.

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[1] Benoist, ii. 432.

[2] Answer made March 4, 1623, to the fourth article of the petition presented to Louis XIII. Ibid. ii. (doc.) 66.

While Arnauld thus boldly worked on, regardless of the king's published commands and the promises the king had made, and incited by the prospect of the baton of a marshal of France as the ultimate reward of his apparent disobedience, there was little to encourage the Huguenots to look for fair treatment at the hands of Louis the Thirteenth. When Arnauld, succumbing to disease, the direct result of his exposure and incessant labors, fell sick and died (September, 1624), their hopes revived for a moment. The relief was short-lived. Jean de Saint-Bonnet, better known by his territorial designation as Sieur de Toiras, succeeded to the post left vacant by Arnauld, and Louis the Thirteenth who, to use a contemporary historian's words, had up to that day given doubtful answers, now distinctly announced his determination that Fort Louis should stand.[1]

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[1] See the full account in the Mercure françois, ix. 438, 439, and briefer accounts in Bernard, i. 456, and Gramond, 590. See also Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, 95 seq.

The Protestants were not believed. And yet they spoke the truth respecting both Fort Louis and Montpellier when, by the lips of their deputy-general, they said to Louis the Thirteenth: "For a single fort which your majesty shall tear down, you will build more than a hundred thousand forts in the hearts of your subjects. For one garrison of mercenaries that you disband, you will find entire legions, and armies of volunteers to serve against the enemies of your state."[2]

National synod of Charenton (September, 1623).

Even in their religious convocations the Protestants felt the effects of the jealousy of the government. The twenty-fourth of their national synods, meeting at Charenton, in the month of September, 1623, was the first to experience the galling restraint imposed by the king's recent declaration, through the presence of a royal commissioner.[3] It was true that Auguste Galland was not only a Protestant, but a man of broad literary and antiquarian acquirements, whose character and reputation entitled him to respect. But inasmuch as he was there for the express purpose of watching that the synod did not transcend its powers and treat of any matters that were not purely ecclesiastical, his very presence was an insult to the body upon whose deliberations he was thrust. Nor was this the only point which gave offence to the Protestants. The government soon took occasion to signify the king's objection to the employment of any but native-born Frenchmen as pastors in the Protestant churches, as well as the king's disapproval of action taken by the preceding national synod, held at Alais, in pursuance of which a declaration was required of all members of provincial synods to the effect that they received and approved the canons of the Synod of Dort, held in a foreign country. If his majesty protected the Reformed religion, he wanted it well understood that he did not intend to be the patron of a new and strange creed. The point was easily and satisfactorily met by the Synod of Charenton, which, while removing from the formula any reference to the conclusions adopted at Dort, reaffirmed the views of the famous synod relating to election and the connected doctrines at great length and in language that could by no possibility be construed as favoring the tenets of Arminius. As regards the other matter, when it had been explained to the king that if all persons of foreign birth should be deprived of their pastoral charges, a very great number of the churches must of necessity remain destitute of spiritual leaders, he expressed himself content that the rule should apply to the future alone, and that the present incumbents should not be disturbed. It is not unworthy of notice, that, during the course of the sessions, Louis recognized the necessity of future "political assemblies" of the Protestants, to be held with royal approval, by sending to the synod a letter strictly forbidding that any ministers, save the pastors of the city where they were held, should sit as members.[1]

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[1] Gramond, 591; Bernard, i. 457; Mercure françois, x. 784; Arcère, Hist. de la ville de la Rochelle, ii. 200; Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, 101: "Ils envoyèrent les uns et les autres vers le Roi; et enfin le courage d'Arnauld prévalut de la foiblesse des ministres, qui de prime abord lui avoient mandé qu'il fît démolir cette place." Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 273.

[2] Harangue du sieur Manialď, l'un des Deputez généraux des Églises Reformées de France. S. Germain en Laye, September 14, 1623. Mercure françois, ix. 692.

[3] Above page 239.

Meantime the political power in France had at last fallen into the hands of a statesman who was to hold it for the rest of his natural life, that is, to within about five months of the close of

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[1] Louis XIII. to the Commissioner, St. Germain en Laye, September 25, 1623. Aymon, Tous les Synodes, ii. 270. This collection contains the full account of the meeting, which lasted from September 1 to October 1, pages 233–324.

"The reign of Cardinal Richelieu."

the reign of the present monarch. The contemptible Marshal d'Ancre and the upstart Constable of Luynes were succeeded, at a very brief interval, by a favorite far abler than either, from whom the last nineteen years of Louis the Thirteenth have humorously, but not inaptly, been styled "the Reign of Cardinal Richelieu." Luynes, as we have seen, died just after the unfortunate issue of the siege of Montauban, for which public opinion held him chiefly answerable, happy in this, at least, that by his decease he forestalled the dire results of his waning favor with a fickle sovereign. This was in the month of December, 1621. In September of the ensuing year, while with the king's army in the camp before Montpellier, Richelieu, until now merely Bishop of Luçon, received notice that the cardinal's hat had been conferred upon him by Pope Urban the Eighth. In April, 1624, he was called to the royal council—if we may believe his own assertions, not only contrary to his desire, but in spite of vigorous protests, based upon the slenderness of his health and upon other considerations[1]—and entered upon the course that speedily led to the complete control of the government. It does not belong to this history to describe the intrigues, so well characterized in the Memoirs of Rohan, by which the Marquis of La Vieuville supplanted Chancellor Sillery, by whom he had been advanced to the Superintendence of the Finances; nor the artifices by which, in turn, La Vieuville was not only disgraced but thrown into prison, to give place to Cardinal Richelieu. "So faithfully," quietly observes Rohan, "do all these favorites serve one another."[2] Meantime the changes in the policy and tendencies of the courts of western Europe were as sudden and difficult to follow as the changes of a kaleidoscope. The adventurous Prince of Wales, having passed through France in disguise, had crossed the Pyrenees before Louis had heard of his advent, and unexpectedly presented himself at the court of Madrid, in company with the Duke of Buckingham, as a suitor for the hand of the Infanta. His welcome was a warm one, and when, after a prolonged stay, he returned to England, the preliminaries of his marriage with the Spanish princess were fully settled, and little remained but to secure the dispensation which, in view of the extraordinary concessions offered by James the First, Rome was not unwilling to grant.[1] And yet barely was Prince Charles back upon his native island, when his own ardor and that of his father sensibly cooled. It was not many months, before to the Spanish alliance succeeded a matrimonial arrangement according to which Henrietta, the daughter of Henry the Fourth and sister of Louis the Thirteenth, was to become the bride of the future unfortunate king of England. The change indicated a reversal of the political affinities of France, which, from looking on with indifference, under Sillery and Puisieux, while Spain was strengthening itself by a new connection across the British Channel, had begun under La Vieuville to cast about for means of adding to the resources of the states that were opposed to the overgrown power of the Hapsburgs. While a member of the council under La Vieuville, Cardinal Richelieu had strongly supported the policy advocated by his chief, and after his own accession to the post of leading statesman, he followed out and developed the plans that had but partially been put into execution. How far the grand projects to which he devoted his subsequent exertions had as yet been matured in his mind is perhaps uncertain; but that he very soon conceived the idea of the threefold mission of his life we cannot doubt. A clergyman to whom ecclesiastical matters were of little concern in comparison with affairs of state, a cardinal and a prince of the Roman Church who subordinated the interests of that organization to the interests of the country over which he was placed, he had linked his own ambitious designs to schemes for making France a power of the first magnitude in Europe, and for compassing this end by rendering the royal authority in the first instance supreme in France. Thus it was that his line of conduct inevitably led to a close alliance between the monarchy of the very Christian King and the Protestant princes of the German Empire, as well as with the United Netherlands not only Protestant in religion but republican in form of government; while it placed him in opposition to the

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[1] Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 286.

[2] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 249–251.

His great projects.

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[1] Ranke, History of the Popes, 300, 301.

pope and the most strongly Roman Catholic nations of Europe. But, at the same time, it brought him at home into a direct conflict with the great feudatories whose insubordination weakened the king's hands, tending to make a successful foreign war impossible, and with the Huguenots, whose formidable political and military organization conflicted with his conception of national unity by presenting the appearance of an *imperium in imperio*. It is only with the latter conflict that we have here to do.

Renewal of war—January, 1625.

Open hostilities, which had been rather suspended than terminated by the Treaty of Montpellier, were resumed, after an interval of a little over two years, in the month of January, 1625. The war has been ascribed to the ill-regulated ambition of the Duke of Rohan and the inconsiderate restlessness of his brother Benjamin de Soubise. It was due primarily to neither.

If, as the great Athenian orator seems to imply, those may with propriety be said to be the objects of offensive warfare against whom the means necessary for a successful assault have long been in process of preparation, then certainly the Huguenots must not be regarded as having begun hostilities; unless, indeed, it be in the sense that he may be styled the originator of strife who places himself in the attitude of repelling unauthorized aggression. The cause of the second Huguenot war under the reign of Louis the Thirteenth was simply, as the Duke of Rohan puts it, the infraction of the preceding peace at every point.[1] So defiant a disregard of obligation argued a settled purpose to deal treacherously with the Huguenots. The king's flatterers might call him Louis *the Just*, and the monarch might complacently appropriate the ill-earned epithet; but he who had cheated De Salles out of the possession of Navarrenx, he who had tricked Duplessis Mornay out of the town and castle of Saumur, he who upheld Valençay in his knavish artifices for introducing a garrison, and erecting a citadel, and altering the consulate at Montpellier, he who while ostentatiously ordering by letter the destruction of Fort Louis, to which his word was pledged, encouraged the officer in charge underhand to proceed with its erection, might be esteemed an honorable man among savages with whom craft passes current for the highest of manly virtues, but can scarcely be regarded as deserving to be accorded that title at the hands of civilized men.

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[1] Apologie du Duc de Rohan sur les derniers troubles. Mémoires, i. 447.

Rohan averse to a recourse to the sword.

The Duke of Rohan asserts—and there is no reason to question his veracity—that, at the time the war broke out, his domestic affairs bound him only to the continuation of peace; his persecutions had ceased with the loss of favor of Chancellor Sillery and M. de Puisieux, and good security had been given him for the payment of the sums promised to him as a compensation for the loss of his governments of Poitou and Saint Jean d'Angely. While his personal interests thus pointed to quiet and repose, the Rochellese had recourse to him in relation to the naval equipments in progress at Blavet, which were known to be intended for the further prosecution of the blockade and reduction of their city. His brother, the impetuous Soubise, came to see him and submitted the daring project which will next receive our attention, undertaking to execute it at his own expense and at the risk of his life, with the sole condition that, if successful, Rohan should assist him, if he failed, Rohan should disclaim all responsibility. "I scarcely know any one of my censors," subsequently wrote the duke, "that would have consented to take such a risk. The perfidy of some of the Protestants rendered it very perilous, and was the cause that it was but half successful."[1]

Blavet.

Upon the southern side of the peninsula of Brittany, the river Blavet empties into an estuary and port of the same name, one of the largest and most convenient of French harbors, and particularly well adapted to serve either as a starting-point for expeditions directed toward the Bay of Biscay and Spain, or as a base of attack from that quarter. It was here that, in 1590, Philip the Second landed an army of five thousand troops, who, with the help of the Duke of Mercœur, took Hennebon, at the head of the harbor, described by Froissart, as in his time "the strongest town, without comparison, in all Brittany." The Spanish king reluctantly evacuated Blavet, after a possession of eight years, in accordance with the treaty of Vervins. The narrow outlet was provided with a small fort, erected upon a tongue of land projecting farthest toward the sea, by Francis, Duke of Burgundy, second of the name, and this fulfilled the double purpose of a light-house for mariners and a defence of the harbor. The now important dockyards of Lorient, whose site is a few miles up the estuary at the mouth of the river Scorff, were not yet in existence; for it was not until about forty years after the date of the events that I am describing that the "Compagnie des Indes Orientales" selected the spot as the place of departure for its wide-spread commercial ventures, and gave to it the name of "the Port of the East"—"Le port de l'Orient."[1]

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[1] Mémoires, i. 447, ubi supra.

Soubise attempts to seize the royal fleet.

The plan of Soubise aimed at nothing less than seizing by a bold move the vessels that had for months been in course of preparation for an expedition against La Rochelle, and leading them off in triumph to the Huguenot city. Having with great secrecy equipped five small ships the young Rohan started from the Isle de Ré, early in January, 1625, having with him the meagre force of three hundred soldiers and one hundred sailors to man his craft. Unfortunately the treachery of one Noailles, in whom he reposed entire confidence, prematurely disclosed the object of his movement to the court and made the execution more difficult. In spite of this, however, Soubise persisted in his plan. He boldly sailed into the port of Blavet and attacked the vessels, beginning with the largest, *La Vierge*, carrying eighty guns. Boarding it, sword in hand, at the head of his men, he secured possession of this ship first, and afterwards of all the rest. He was less successful in his attempt to master the fort at the entrance of the harbor, into which by the traitor's advice a reinforcement of men had been thrown. Meantime the governor of the province, the Duke of Vendôme, natural son of Henry the Fourth, had taken vigorous steps to shut up and capture the venturesome Soubise in the port of Blavet—the king's flatterers began about this time to call it the *Port Louis*, a name which the fort and the adjacent settlement have retained until this day—and for this purpose had gathered a force of two hundred of the Breton gentry and two thousand common soldiers. By way of preparation he had suspended a great iron chain and a cable of the thickness of a man's thigh across the narrow entrance. This entrance was, moreover, commanded by the guns, fifteen or sixteen in number, of the neighboring fort.[1]

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[1] Bernard. Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 461; The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre, ii. 273, 421; Froissart, i. chap. 67. The grant of territory in this part of Brittany, including the site of Lorient, was made to the company in 1666. See Martin, Histoire de France, xiv. 660.

The Huguenot leaders and cities disclaim responsibility.

No one that heard of Soubise's bold measure and of the plight in which he now was, doubted for a moment that he was lost beyond hope of salvation.[2] Hence, with a haste that amounted to precipitation, the Huguenot leaders vied with one another in disclaiming all responsibility for Soubise's actions. On the twenty-fifth of January, or just eight days after the surprise of Blavet, the two deputies-general at Paris, Montmartin and Maniald, handed in an exculpatory paper. They claimed to act in the name of the churches of the entire kingdom, and by advice of Marshals La Force and Châtillon and of the consistory of the church of Paris, as well as in accordance with the express instructions of the city of Montauban, in disavowing all Protestants that by arms or otherwise should disturb the tranquillity of the realm. The noblemen above mentioned and La Trémouille also wrote for themselves. Nismes, Uzès, some places in the Cévennes, and La Rochelle itself, signified, in one way or another, their disapprobation.[3]

It had been better had they waited a little longer. The

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[1] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 252 ; Bernard, i. 463. The figures of these two authorities are irreconcilable, the former giving Soubise, as in the text, but three hundred fighting men, the latter, four or five times that number. Mercure françois, x. 849, 850. Compare Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, 123 seq.; Martin, Histoire de France, xii. 475.

[2] Benoist, ii. 433.

[3] "Desadveu et protestation des deputez généraux des Églises pretendues réformées de France contre ceux de leur dite Religion qui par armes ou autrement voudroient troubler la tranquillité publique." Paris, January 21, 1625. Mercure françois, x. 858–860. The same collection contains, x. 860, 861, a letter of the Protestant inhabitants of Uzès, and the king's declaration against Soubise and his adherents, of Paris, January 25, x. 861–68, refers to assurances received from the dukes of La Trémouille, La Force, and Châtillon, the deputies-general and the Protestants of Charenton, La Rochelle, etc.

Duke of Soubise was not lost after all. When he had been for three weeks imprisoned in the port of Blavet, exposed to the fusillade of the troops on shore and to the artillery of the fort—the ship *La Vierge* on a single day receiving over one hundred and twenty shot—the wind, which had blown steadily from the south or west, suddenly veered and became favorable. At once Soubise despatched a few boats, manned by brave soldiers, who, under a heavy fire from two thousand muskets, went courageously to work and in a few minutes broke or cut both cable and chain by the heavy blows of the axes which they wielded. The way thus opened, Soubise sailed out, and with such singular good fortune that he led fifteen or sixteen vessels safe to the Isle de Ré, having lost but two, which were stranded before getting to sea.[1]

Soubise's escape.

The success of Soubise was robbed of the greater part of the advantage it might have conferred upon the scheme of his brother, by the inconsiderate precipitancy with which the Huguenots had pressed forward to disclaim all connection with it. To Cardinal Richelieu, on the other hand, with the prosecution of whose plans of opposition to the House of Hapsburg, in the Valteline, the outbreak came as an ill-timed and unwelcome interference, its author stood in the light of a marplot whose mad antic he could never forgive. Even when at a later time composing his "Memoirs," with as much calmness of spirit and absence of passion as so rancorous and unforgiving a writer may be supposed to have been able to command, the prelate styled Soubise's achievement infamous, and compared Soubise himself, setting the kingdom on fire at the moment when the king was busy in the defence of his allies, to the ignoble Herostratus who applied the torch to the Ephesian temple of Diana while that goddess was absent forwarding the birth of Alexander the Great.[2] It is not strange, therefore, that in a letter indited while the grievance was yet fresh, he stigmatized the Huguenot revolt as one that was stirred up by the devil and other personages of no greater worth.[3]

Cardinal Richelieu indignant.

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[1] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 253 ; Mercure françois, x. 854–58.

[2] Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu (liv. xvi), i. 326 (Edit. Mich. et Pouj.).

[3] Cardinal Richelieu to Marquemont, January 27, 1625, *apud* Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, 125.

The war of a little over a year's duration whose outbreak was precipitated by Soubise's enterprise upon Blavet, unlike both the war which preceded and that which followed it, was marked by no single events of striking interest, by no great engagements by land or sea, by no sieges worthy of riveting general attention, such as the sieges of Montauban and Montpellier, on the one hand, or those of La Rochelle and Sainte-Affrique, on the other. Yet war in some of its most repulsive features was never more real and more terrible. The conflict of large bodies of armed men, arrayed against each other in deadly strife, may be attended with more immediate loss of human lives, but it does not necessarily entail a greater amount of human misery than follows in the path of the predatory bands of marauders sent out purposely to lay waste whole districts of country, to destroy the huts and cabins of a peaceful peasantry intent only upon the pursuits of an honest industry, and as averse to warfare as it is for the most part indifferent to the objects for which the conflict is waged. The sufferings of the poor toilers in the fields of Languedoc and Guyenne during the twelve months of the second Huguenot war reached almost the extreme point of human endurance, and "*Jacques Bonhomme*," as he viewed the smouldering remains of his modest home, the wanton dissipation of the little store of savings laid up for the time of sickness or old age, his empty barn and his ruined crops, must frequently have wondered, while from a distance he watched the rough bands of "*gastadours*," pushing forward to repeat their devilish work elsewhere, what the religion might be that claimed to be of God and yet was professed by such advocates.[1]

The sufferings of "Jacques Bonhomme."

The Huguenots entered the present short and uneventful conflict with little spirit or hope of materially advancing their cause. Whatever justification may be found in the bad faith of the court for the ill-advised undertaking of Soubise, its imprudence was manifest. Rohan, having involved himself in the contest as a result of his brother's persuasion, soon found that he had before him no insignificant task when he tried to persuade the Protestants of the south to re-

Division among the southern Huguenots.

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[1] See Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, 168 169, 178, 179.

sume arms. Disinclination to a resort to the arbitrament of the sword was general, almost universal. The middle classes, especially the thrifty burgesses of the Protestant cities, assumed an attitude of decided opposition. They stoutly refused to listen to the emissaries of the duke. The city of Castres, his own customary residence, at first declined to admit them at all.[1]

The Montauban pastors.

Nor were the Protestant ministers, the usual guides of public sentiment, at all favorable to a resort to hostilities. Montauban, then as now a theological centre of Protestant France, presented an unedifying spectacle of division and discord. Four of its pastors—Cameron, Charles, Ollier, and Delon—strongly dissuaded the church from supporting the standard of revolt. Pierre Béraud alone favored it. The former in their sermons maintained that there was an absence of persecution, the only cause that could have justified a resistance to the king. The supreme dominion of God remained unassailed, freedom of conscience was permitted throughout the whole kingdom, and not a single persecuted or afflicted church, groaning beneath the cross, had implored their succor. But if pacific counsels could boast a decided majority among the pastors of Montauban, the populace was all for war. Its violence unfortunately did not confine itself even to simple threats, but vented itself in open acts of outrage. The learned and virtuous Cameron was set upon and so roughly handled by the miscreants with whom his views were unpopular, that, although he escaped immediate death, through the devotion of a heroic widow of his flock, he did not long survive the effects of his maltreatment.[2]

Despite difficulties, however, the resolution of Rohan, whom no rebuffs disheartened, enabled him to make substantial progress. Anxious as was the court to convey the impression that the struggle had no religious significance, the duke was no less determined to convince the people that he was, above all else, the champion of Protestantism. It was for this purpose that he did not disdain, if the report be true, to resort to means which his enemies represented as artifices to ensnare the imagination of the ignorant. Whenever he entered a town, so the story ran, he had a large copy of the Sacred Scriptures carried conspicuously before him, much as it was customary for the leader of a crusading army to be preceded by an ecclesiastic bearing aloft a large cross of gold, to attract the notice and kindle the devotion of the vulgar. He made long prayers in public, and these he uttered in a tone calculated to move the hearers. He travelled from city to city accompanied by several ministers. And he made it his practice to alight first at the door of the principal Protestant church, refusing to talk on any secular or political matters until he had worshipped God on bended knee.[1]

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[1] Benoist, ii. 472.

[2] “Histoire véritable de tout ce qui s'est fait et passé dans la ville de Montauban, durant et depuis les derniers mouvemens jusqu' à présent,” in Nicholas, Histoire de l'ancienne académie protestante de Montauban (1598–1659), 160–163.

The strange journeyings of the Duchess of Rohan.

In his wife, a daughter of the Duke of Sully, Rohan had an assistant scarcely less untiring than he was himself. In her hurried journeys to Nismes, to Uzès and elsewhere, undertaken in the hope, often a vain one, of enlisting the help of the Protestant citizens for her husband's enterprise, she rested neither by day nor by night. Clad in deep mourning because of the recent death of her sister-in-law, she travelled in a state that was as singular as it was startling. Her carriage, draped in black, was drawn by eight black horses and escorted by retainers clothed in sombre garments and carrying lighted torches to show the way. The peasants, unaccustomed to such displays of grief, were terrified at the sight.[2]

After all, only a small portion of the Protestant cities could be induced to espouse the side of Rohan and Soubise. Strange to say, it was not found altogether an easy matter to secure the adhesion of La Rochelle itself, the very city in whose defence Soubise had taken the venturesome step that brought on the war. We have seen that the municipal officers at first took the pains to send an envoy to the capital to "disavow" the attempt upon the fleet in the harbor of Blavet. But the lower class of the population soon showed its sympathy with the young Huguenot leader, and a riot was imminent when the council of burgesses repaired to the town-hall and compelled the reluctant officers to declare in his favor.[1] Even then in the solemn treaty of union into which the city entered with Rohan and Soubise, the jealous city stipulated with great care that none of her privileges should be infringed. It was expressly provided that Soubise should exercise no military authority either in La Rochelle itself or on the Isle de Ré; while, in case of siege, not a lieutenant of Soubise, but the mayor of the city was to act as supreme head, determining the movements of the troops, granting commissions in accordance with which the booty and the prisoners should be distributed, and allotting their quarters to the soldiers.[2]

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[1] Le Vassor, v. 187; Benoist, ii. 445. The former justly regards these affectations as unworthy of one whom he himself does not hesitate to regard as both truly religious and a veritable hero.

[2] Mercure françois, xi. 207.

Treaty of union between La Rochelle and Rohan.

The adventurous character of Soubise had not allowed him to remain quiet after the bold action with which the war commenced. When Épernon laid waste the neighborhood of Montauban with fire and sword, and Thémines undertook to emulate his example by ravaging the environs of Castres, the younger Rohan planned and skilfully executed an enterprise against the fertile territory of Médoc, between the Garonne and Dordogne, which served a double purpose, in striking terror into the hearts of the inhabitants of Bordeaux and in making a powerful diversion in favor of the distressed Protestant cities. Hastening back to the vicinity of La Rochelle, he found a fleet of the king reinforced by the accession of a number of Dutch vessels. For the obligation of treaty engagements had seemed to compel the Netherlands to come to the support of the very Christian king. By the compact signed at Compiègne, in the previous year, the States had bound themselves to furnish twenty vessels to the French monarch whenever he should be attacked; and, despite the remonstrances of the Duke of Rohan, they responded effectively, if somewhat reluctantly, to the summons of Cardinal Richelieu that they should fulfil their promise.[3] "I shall never believe," the Huguenots had written, on the twenty-eighth of April, 1625, "that your lordships will aid or consent to the ruin of the churches of France, and that you will not rather consider that, as is evident, the artifice by which they wish to bring these two fleets into collision is more pernicious not alone to the adherents of our religion, but also to France and to the purpose of the matters that you have undertaken, than if it had been drawn from Rome or Madrid. For in whichever direction victory may turn, it will be a battle gained by the Spaniard without the loss of a single man, it will be the ruin of the Italian campaign, for which the naval forces are necessary, it will be the dissipation of all the plans of the league."[1]

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[1] See Laugel, 180.

[2] See the text of the document, May 17, 1625, printed from the MSS. of the National Library, in Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, App. 367–370.

[3] While calling for the vessels, France, under threats of otherwise withholding the money promised to the league, insisted upon replacing the Dutch captains with Frenchmen. It was Richelieu that urged this arrangement, and, in

Rohan's appeal to the States of Holland.

More resolute in their Protestant views, if not more enlightened than the Dutch, the English sailors refused pointblank to help to overwhelm the Huguenots. James the First, too, had agreed, when entering into alliance with Louis, to aid him by the loan of ships. His son, Charles the Second, who had just succeeded to the throne, recognized and carried out the deceased monarch's engagements, sending Louis "the *Vanguard*, a principal ship of the royal navy, with seven merchant ships of great burden and strength." The vessels were ostensibly to be employed against the republic of Genoa, but no sooner was the *Vanguard* in the harbor of Dieppe, than officers and crew were fully convinced that they were in reality to be used in the reduction of La Rochelle. The indignant sailors, being determined not to be

The English sailors refuse to fight against the Huguenots.

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the end, not only carried his point, but secured that there should be one hundred Frenchmen upon each vessel. Thus, also, with the eight English ships. According to the cardinal, Chevalier Saint Julien, in a subsequent engagement, compelled a reluctant Dutch captain to attack a ship of the enemy by putting a sword to his throat. After the victory over Soubise, both the English and the Dutch, rather displeased than gratified at their success, tried their best to recover their vessels, but were prevented by the same means by which their help had been obtained despite their unwillingness. Their importunity would be inconceivable, remarks Richelieu, did we not know that the English parliament imputed the succor given to the king of France as a crime to the Earl of Buckingham, a circumstance that made him the more eager to get back the ships. Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 331, 332.

[1] Rohan to the States of Holland, April 28, 1625. Nat. Library of France, in Largel, Le Duc de Rohan, 188.

accomplices in the ruin of their brethren in the faith, declared "that they would rather be hanged at home than surrender the ship or be slaves to the French and fight against their own religion." They flew to the anchor, which they raised, their captain, Pennington, making no opposition, and sailed back to England. New orders received from Buckingham, lord admiral, induced Pennington with his little fleet to return to Dieppe. A rumor which was purposely spread, that peace had been concluded between the French king and the Huguenots, is said to have furthered the duke's design. When the sailors found out that they had been deceived, the merchantmen undertook to leave the harbor, but most of them desisted from their attempt when a shot was fired by the *Vanguard*. Sir Ferdinando Gorges alone, in command of one of the vessels, held on his way and returned to the Downs. But, with a single exception, all the officers and crews of the remaining ships declined to remain with the French, despite the tempting offers that were made them, and instantly abandoned the service. The exception was of a gunner, who was afterward killed while loading a cannon at the siege of La Rochelle. "The care which historians have taken to record this frivolous event," observes Hume, "proves with what pleasure the news was received by the nation."[1]

Conflict between Soubise and the Dutch fleet.

The story of the Dutch fleet was not destitute of incident. Upon its arrival the Rochellese sent a deputation consisting of two ministers and as many merchants. These explained to the officers that, in rendering the French king assistance in an attempt to crush his Protestant subjects, the Netherlands were pulling down with one hand what they had long been endeavoring to build up with the other. To destroy in France a religion in defence of which the patriots of Holland had battled at home for long years against their Spanish oppressors, was an inconsistency that could be reconciled neither with their conscientious convictions nor with a due regard to their reputation among men. The efforts of the Rochellese were so far successful that, notwithstanding the opposition of the French officers whom he had with him in his vessels, the Dutch admiral consented to a truce while he should hold communication with the court and find out whether the negotiations that were known to have been in progress there between the government and the Protestant deputies, had resulted in peace or in definite war. Meantime hostages were exchanged. Thus far all accounts substantially agree. Not so from this point on. It has been commonly reported that, taking advantage of the security into which the enemy had been lulled, Soubise dishonorably violated the truce by making an attack upon and burning the flag-ship of the unsuspicious admiral. Bayle, no unfriendly critic, is compelled reluctantly to write regarding the accusation: "I have seen no author yet that makes a solid answer to those who say that the Duke of Soubise broke his word to the Dutch admiral." I cannot, however, assent to the sentiment expressed by the great author of the "Historical and Critical Dictionary," when, after a brief reference to a vindication of the conduct of the dashing young Huguenot, a figure more than usually attractive in the warfare of the seventeenth century, he observes: "This is something, but I could wish a better discussion and a more exact verification."[1]

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[1] Rushworth, Historical Collections (London, 1721), i. 174–176. See, also, Hume, History of England, chapter 50.

The fact is, that, although later historians, following in this the lead of the Cardinal of Richelieu, always bitter and unforgiving where the Duke of Rohan and his brother are concerned, have not hesitated to stigmatize Soubise's action as a breach of faith, the salaried historiographer of Louis the Thirteenth, as Le Vassor has already pointed out, supplies us with the means of refuting their assertion. For when Bernard admits that before the duke sallied out with his fire-ships to compass the destruction of as many of the Dutch vessels as he could reach, the hostages had been restored on either side, he virtually concedes that the truce was at an end, whatever claim he may advance that an understanding existed that the suspension of hostilities should still continue.[2] Nor is the argument of Le

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[1] Bayle, Dictionnaire, s.v. Benjamin de Rohan, Duc de Soubise.

[2] "Lors que les gens de la flotte de la Rochelle et le sieur de Soubize, ayans acheve ce qu'ils avoient envie de faire pendant la suspension, envoyerent de-

Vassor of little weight, based upon the reticence of the king or his ministers; for when writing to the assembly of the clergy of France, respecting Soubise's subsequent disaster, that by his flight the Huguenot leader had made it evident "that not one of the elements can be favorable to him who violates the oath of loyalty which subjects owe to their king," Louis would scarcely have failed to add, if such had been the fact: "nor to him who breaks his promises solemnly given and confirmed by the interchange of hostages."[1]

However this may be, the advent of Soubise and his fire-ships struck consternation in the enemy, who did not succeed in getting out of his way before he had set in a flame and altogether consumed the great vessel of the Dutch admiral himself. Four or five other vessels fell into the hands of the Huguenot, including that of the Vice Admiral of Zealand, and more than fifteen hundred men were killed. But if the victory of Soubise was great, still greater was the reverse which he sustained two months later (September, 1625), when his fleet, commanded by the brave Rochellese admiral Jean Guiton, encountered the Duke of Montmorency in the neighborhood of the Isle de Ré. The royal squadron was far superior in numbers and had received an important accession in the seven English vessels, now manned by new crews serving under new officers. Three days the struggle lasted, and there was no lack of courage and determination on either side. But everything went against the Huguenots. Here the great ship *La Vierge*, taken by them at Blavet, came to a tragic, but glorious end. Of its defenders all had forsaken the ship but five men, intrepid souls, under Durant, an intrepid leader, who,

Soubise is defeated by the Duke of Montmorency.

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mander leurs ostages, cét Admiral ne fit point de difficulté de les rendre, sous cette condition neantmoins que la suspension ne finiroit point encore, aucuns advis n'ayans pû estre aportez de la Cour, comme il n'en avoit point receu. . . . Aussi incontinent après la reddition des ostages, l'on veid que l'armée des ennemis ne taschoit plus qu'à surprendre celle du Roy, ce qui fut cause que deslors l'on commença d'envoyer des vaisseaux à la garde." Bernard, Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., i. 483, 484. It can scarcely be imagined that the Dutch admiral or his advisers could have been so simple as not to know that with the return of hostages all the obligations of an armistice which they were given to secure terminated *ipso facto*.

[1] Le Vassor, Histoire du règne de Louis XIII., v. 202.

seeing four vessels of the enemy approaching, waited only for the moment to come when the assailants had made fast and began to swarm on deck, to leap into the magazine with lighted match in hand and apply the flame to the store of powder. All five of the ships were blown up, and over seven hundred men perished in a moment. Twenty-two of Soubise's fleet escaped. He himself found refuge in England.[1]

This signal victory raised the spirits of the royalists as much as it depressed the inhabitants of La Rochelle. There were the customary *Te Deums* sung in Paris. Louis in his gladness wrote at once to the assembly general of the clergy: "Truth having triumphed over Falsehood, and Justice over Rebellion, I hope now to see those regions blossom again with Piety and Obedience. As a king I ardently desire the latter, and as a very Christian King I much more vehemently desire the former."[2]

Heroic defence of Mas d'Azil.

Discouraged though they were, the Huguenots were not crushed by their naval disaster. The resoluteness with which they defended Mas d'Azil against the forces of the Marshal of Thémines proved this. It is true that the place was small, almost contemptible in size, and the paltry garrison consisted but of seven hundred men, mountaineers of the county of Foix. But it was all the more to their glory that, so few in number and so destitute of military experience, they stood their ground against a royal army consisting of seven thousand foot and six hundred horse, and provided with artillery. The fortifications were not strong and the attack was vigorous. Such a thing was scarcely to be looked for, as that a handful of men should not only withstand the furious and long-continued cannonade, but even repulse three times, with great loss to the besiegers, a general assault made through the breaches caused by the unintermitting fire of several successive days. The event proved that the Huguenots had lost none of their ancient skill in the defence of towns, and that Saint Brancard and Dusson, in the seventeenth century, were captains worthy of ranking beside La Noue and many another Protestant of the sixteenth; so fearlessly did they expose themselves, so ably did they conduct every part of the task committed to them.[1]

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[1] Mémoires de Rohan, i. 268–270. Mercure françois, xi. 889–91; Bernard, i. 486, 490–492.

[2] Letter of September 21, 1625. Mercure françois, xi. 892, 893.

The king had lately congratulated himself that all the elements of nature were banded together to overthrow the impious rebels that dared conspire against their sovereign. Now, however, a very loyal servant of his was forced to apologize for the ill success of his majesty's arms by alleging that it was the severity of the season that caused the abandonment of the siege of Mas d'Azil and that seemed to be warring in behalf of the Huguenots.[2]

The fact was that, so far as the outcome of hostilities by land was concerned, the Duke of Rohan, by reason of his energy and of that intense earnestness of word and deed by which he succeeded in enlisting under his banner even those cities that had at first been either lukewarm or positively opposed to a resort to arms, had prevented the enemy from making any headway in the broad territory of Languedoc. The time had come for closing the war by negotiation.

Negotiations of peace.

It had been said in the sixteenth century that no sooner did a war spring up between the crown and the Protestants, than there began also a series of conferences with a view to the restoration of peace. The same phenomenon was repeated in the present struggle. But the terms which the court would offer and the Huguenots accept, varied in accordance with the fluctuating character of the war; and what Louis was willing to grant after a temporary reverse of his arms, he quite refused when failure was followed by success. In the month of July, the budget of demands handed to the king at Fontainebleau in the name of the Protestants, received so favorable a reply to most of its articles, that it was generally supposed that the terms of peace were virtually settled. Even the request for permission to hold their general assemblies every three years was not directly rejected, but the petitioners were assured that, when the set time for the convocation should have arrived, their deputies general at court might ask permission, and his majesty would provide therefor.[1] On only two points was the court inflexible in its refusal. To the demand made for the demolition of the Fort Louis, in connection with which the king was reminded of his unfulfilled promises, the reply was, that this article respected the city of La Rochelle in particular, whose citizens, in case they behaved toward the king as they ought, would receive entire satisfaction. And when, by another article, the Protestants demanded justice for the violence by which the inhabitants of Montpellier had been forced to come and ask for the erection of a fortress, and when they humbly made request that the king's patent whose provisions were violated by this erection should be carried into effect, the court would not hear of the matter, basing its refusal upon the assertion that authentic documents and special deputations showed that the obnoxious citadel had been sought for by the advice and consent of Roman Catholics and Protestants alike for their common protection.[2]

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[1] Mémoires de Rohan. 265, 271. See especially the monograph of Napoléon Peyrat, "Le capitaine Dusson et les défenseurs du Pays de Foix, ses compagnons, 1625," in the Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français, v. (1856) 78–114. Gramond, who always appreciates valor even in a foe, has a good word for the Huguenot defenders of Mas d'Azil: "Magnum sibi in ea obsidione promeruere nomen San-Blancardus et Valeta; ille vir natalibus nobilis, multumque Rohan æstimatus, hic vili ex stirpe, bellica virtute illustris," etc. Hist. Gall. ab excessu Henrici IV., 642.

[2] Mercure françois, xi. 910.

Attitude of Louis.

The terms which the Huguenots had been in no haste to accept in midsummer, were more welcome three or four months later. Soubise's defeat had dashed their hopes of success upon the sea, and an assembly of the provinces of Upper Languedoc, Upper Guyenne, and Gévaudan, which Rohan convened at Milhau, resolved, on the first of November, to send deputies to the king and accept his offers of peace. But the more anxious they were, the less gracious was Louis, especially toward the city of La Rochelle. "I am sufficiently inclined to peace," he said. "I will grant it to Languedoc and the other provinces as I offered it, if they will accept it. As for La Rochelle, that is another matter." And when the deputies of La Rochelle, a few days later, prostrated themselves at the king's feet, all of them men above seventy years old and with hair blanched by age, begging pardon in the name of their unhappy city, they met with scant respect or consideration. "You have behaved yourselves badly and insolently toward me," was Louis's brief reply, "but I forgive you and grant you peace upon the conditions which my chancellor will announce to you."[1]

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[1] Reply to the twenty-first and last articles.

[2] Cahier général de ceux de la Religion prétendue réformée, présenté à Fontainebleau au mois de juillet 1625. Mercure françois, xi. 862–873.

Even more noteworthy than the haughty attitude of the monarch is the unqualified submission, amounting almost to servility, that characterized the words of the Protestant deputies, and disfigured their most forcible and just pleas. "None of your subjects, Sire," said one, "have so much interest as we in the maintenance of your majesty's *absolute authority*. Inasmuch as we live under a special law of your realm, contained in your edicts, whose soul and support is your mere authority against the violence of the multitudes that hate us, who is more deeply interested than are we, not only in the maintenance, but in the increase and extension of that authority by which alone we subsist?"[2] The same strange admixture of excessive humility with a manly assertion of right is found in the words of the deputy general Maniald in behalf of the inhabitants of La Rochelle. "For three years," he said, "contrary to your majesty's intention, they have continually been treated as rebels. They have been shorn of their privileges, their buildings have been torn down, their vineyards have been uprooted, a stop has been put to the cultivation of their fields and to all the trade of the city except the traffic in arms. While your other subjects have slept in their beds under the public guarantee of the peace, these men have watched on your walls in order to repel the injuries of a war of which they were the only objects. They have indeed raised their arm to ward off ruin, and practised the law of necessity, which is the most just and inviolable of all. This we say not for the purpose of justifying them. On the contrary, we have only words of execration for subjects that dare, no matter on what pretext, to take

Maniald's address in behalf of La Rochelle.

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[1] Mercure françois, xi. 926.

[2] Harangue faite au Roy par les Députez du Duc de Rohan et du Sieur de Soubise, et des habitants de la Rochelle, Montauban, Castres et Millau, le 5 Juillet 1625. Ibid., xi. 860.

up arms to the disadvantage of their prince. We say it only to show your majesty that they thought that they were of necessity acting aright while doing wrong, and that they are deserving rather of compassion than of punishment."[1]

While we cannot but feel surprise at such expressions, and trace in them the fatuous policy by which the Huguenot orators furthered the growth of those ideas of the royal prerogative that led to their own undoing, it is only right that we should notice that these sentiments were common to men of all religious views. The action of Louis the Thirteenth in taking part in the war of the Valteline, against the pope's commands, had this year called forth a virulent libel in which the writer proved, to his own satisfaction, that the league into which Cardinal Richelieu had caused France to enter was foul and unjust, and that the impious war in which she was involved could not be prosecuted with a good conscience.[2] The tractate industriously circulated throughout the realm was burned by public authority and was duly censured by the Sorbonne. Still further, the general assembly of the clergy, being then in session at the capital, commissioned the Bishop of Chartres to draw up in reply a lengthy "Declaration" vindicating the rights of the crown. Of this document I may be permitted to give a sentence or two, illustrative no less of the style of the Biblical exegesis in vogue, than of the current notions of the limitless prerogative of the crown. "Kings," said the prelate, "are subject to the judgment of God alone. . . . For this reason David, defiled with adultery and murder, did not acknowledge that he had sinned, save against God only, because he was a king, feared no other, and as king was subject to no other; inasmuch as kings are exempt from the punishment of crimes and do not incur the penalties imposed by the laws, being under cover of the majesty of their dominion. David did not therefore regard himself as having sinned against man, to whom he was in no respect subject. For who can say to a king: Why doest thou thus?"[1]

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[1] Maniald's address, delivered at S. Germain en Laye, November 21, 1625. Mercure françois, xi. 915, 916.

[2] "Admonitio . . . qua breviter et nervose demonstratur Galliam fœde et turpiter impium fœdus iniisse, et injustum bellum hoc tempore contra Catholicos movisse, salvaque religione prosequi non posse. Augustæ Francorum, anno M.DC.XXV." Said to be falsely ascribed to the old Leaguer Dr. Boucher, who was still living in Flanders, the real author being a Greek Jesuit, Eudemon Joannes by name. Mercure françois, xi. 1058.

Peace concluded February 6, 1626.

At last peace was concluded early in the course of the ensuing year (on the sixth of February, 1626), and the terms were published to the world in a formal edict a month later.[2] The European powers with which France had entered into league—England, the Netherlands, Venice, and Savoy—were urgent that Cardinal Richelieu should consent to an arrangement with the Huguenots, and England pressed the Huguenots to accept the terms offered to them. As the king's unwillingness to give La Rochelle the pledges she desired was the great obstacle to the peace, the ambassadors extraordinary of Charles the First, the Earl of Holland and Sir Dudley Carleton, with the consent and indeed by the direction of their sovereign, not only urged the peace but became active instruments in forwarding it. When the Huguenot deputies protested that their instructions made it impossible for them to consent to the continued existence of the military work that threatened the peace of La Rochelle, Lord Holland and his colleague removed their scruples by giving them a written declaration making Charles in effect a warrantor of the pacification.[3] They were not content with certifying to the general assurance given by the chancellor, in the presence of Louis the Thirteenth, that by continued obedience the Huguenots might expect from the king's goodness what they could never have obtained by treaty, "even in the things which they esteemed most pressing, wherein their entreaties, humbly and respectfully made, might be heard at a convenient time." They went farther and declared that

The English envoys make Charles a warrantor of the peace.

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[1] The bishop's declaration was approved by the assembly of the clergy, November 13, 1625. It is given in full, together with the Sorbonne's censure, etc., in the Mercure françois, xi. 1063–1097.

[2] March, 1626. The text of the edict is in Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii., pièces just., 81–86, and Mercure françois, xi. 127–137.

[3] "Écrit donné par les Ambassadeurs d'Angleterre aux Députez des Églises, pour rendre le Roy de la Grande Bretagne garant de la paix." Dated Paris, February 11, 1626. In Mercure françois, xiii. 144–46, and Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 80, 81.

his majesty and his ministers had more definitely explained their meaning, by indicating that the words referred to the Fort Louis before La Rochelle, which was therefore to be torn down in due time. They pledged the king of Great Britain to labor by his intercessions, joined to their own very humble supplications, to abridge the time for the destruction of the obnoxious fortification.

In these circumstances the peace was concluded. Again Louis by solemn edict confirmed the Edict of Nantes. Again provision was made for the exercises of Protestant worship in the places where it had been allowed. Pardon was extended to those who had so lately been in arms against the king. While the synods and other convocations of a purely religious character were permitted, all political assemblies of whatever name were strictly interdicted, unless held by express and official grant of the crown.

The peace took the form of an amnesty graciously accorded to a rebellious minority of the king's Protestant subjects; for the edict presumed, and, indeed, asserted that the larger and better part of the adherents of the Reformed religion had not swerved from their loyalty to the crown. La Rochelle had little reason to congratulate herself upon the articles that related specially to her. She was compelled to receive a royal commissioner to see to the execution of the peace, and he was to remain at La Rochelle during the king's good pleasure. She was to cease from maintaining ships of war. The ecclesiastical property once belonging to the established church was to be restored. The services of that church were to be restored. While Fort Tadon, erected for the purpose of strengthening the city's defenses, was condemned to be torn down, the king announced his inability to accede to the desire of the citizens for the destruction of Fort Louis. In the face of so direct a denial, royal promises to give such order both there and in the fortifications on the neighboring islands of Ré and Oleron, as that the Rochellese would not be disturbed, were not calculated to dispel apprehension or to inspire much confidence.[1]

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[1] See the articles granted to La Rochelle at the Louvre, February 5, 1626, and approved by the mayor and other municipal officers of the city on the 6th of March. Mercure françois, xi. 124.

Meanwhile the astute churchman who, for reasons that he dared not yet give to the world, had induced Louis the Thirteenth to consent to a peace with the Huguenots, had prepared himself to sustain the weight of obloquy that must fall to the lot of a Roman cardinal accused of having betrayed the cause of religion by making terms with heresy. What Richelieu's secret purposes were, we know from his own memoirs. In concluding a treaty with the Protestants of France, he no more renounced his purpose of reducing La Rochelle and completing the overthrow of the Huguenot party, than he was at heart untrue to his plan of putting an end to the overbearing supremacy of the House of Hapsburg when, a month later, he published to the world the peace which he had quietly concluded with Spain. In both cases he was but biding his time. So far as the Huguenots were concerned, he tells us himself that there was no other way of reaching the goal. His cardinal's robes rendered him an object of suspicion in their eyes. It was therefore indispensable that he should so deport himself as to lead them to believe that he was favorable to their interests. Thus he could await a more convenient season, when the Huguenots might be reduced to the condition which all subjects ought to occupy, namely, a condition of impotence to form a distinct body in the state and of entire dependence upon the will of their sovereign.[1] Meanwhile of abuse poured upon his devoted head, both at Rome and in France, the cardinal had no lack. His treachery to the church in which he occupied the rank of a prince, furnished the subject of a multitude of pamphlets more or less virulent in character. One of the most pungent, playing upon the prelate's supposed leniency toward the Huguenot capital on the shores of the ocean, was gravely dedicated to him under the designation of "the most illustrious *Cardinal of Richelieu* or *La Rochelle*, sovereign administrator of the affairs of France."[2]

Richelieu's purpose.

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[1] "Il étoit donc nécessaire qu'il se conduisit en sorte qu'ils [les Huguenots] crussent qu'il leur étoit favorable; car, ce faisant, il avoit moyen d'attendre plus commodément le temps de les réduire aux terms où tous sujets devoient être en un État, c'est à dire de ne pouvoir faire aucun corps séparé, et dépendre des volontés de leur souverain." Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 365, 367.

[2] Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, App., 371, seq., gives the titles of no less than seventeen such pamphlets. The libel last referred to appeared in 1625.

CHAPTER VI

THE THIRD HUGUENOT WAR AND THE FALL OF LA ROCHELLE

National Synod of Castres—Sept.—Nov., 1626.

The present peace, like more than one of its predecessors, deserved rather the designation of a truce than of a pacification, and marked not the conclusion of the storm of war, but a temporary lull during its progress. Short and unsatisfactory though it was, the Huguenots took advantage of it to hold, late in the year 1626, a national synod—the twenty-fifth of their religious convocations of a national character—in the city of Castres. The eminent Auguste Galland was the royal commissioner in attendance. Two circumstances in connection with its deliberations deserve especial notice. The one regarded the nomination of the deputies general, the other bore upon the negotiations of Rohan during the late hostilities. So far as concerned the former of these points, the court, whose hostility to the Protestant political assemblies was undisguised, resolved to dispense with the necessity of convening one of these gatherings, on the plea of the trouble and expense it would entail, and proposed to confer upon the synod—a purely religious body—the unsought privilege of electing the six candidates from whom the king should select two to reside near his person, as the official representatives of the Reformed churches and the mouthpiece for the expression of their grievances. When the synod objected to assume this new responsibility, seeing in it a clear blow aimed at the articles of the Protestant union, and sent to court special delegates instructed to state their views on this and other points, the king not only declined to recede from his determination but took the novel step of supplying temporarily the place of Maniald, deputy general of the third estate, who happened to die about this time, by designating one Hardi to fill the vacancy. In the end, the synod found it necessary to acquiesce in the mode of selection, though not in the king's choice, and submitted a list of six names, out of whom Louis chose the Marquis of Clermont Galerande and Isaac Bazin, from the noblesse and tiers état respectively. By the synod's action the Huguenots renounced the most powerful weapon of defence against oppression which they had hitherto commanded. No reason could now be successfully urged with the court to induce it to permit the convocation of a political assembly, since the function of electing the deputies general had been entrusted to another body. It was, however, as will be seen in the sequel, the last time that deputies general nominated in any manner by the Protestants were accepted by the crown. Upon Bazin's death in 1631, his place was not filled and the office of deputy of the tiers état ceased to exist, although the Protestants ineffectually nominated Marbaud and, six years later, Galland. On the other hand, when, after a long tenure of office, the Marquis of Clermont Galerande in 1644, resigned the duties which he had discharged as deputy from the noblesse with little profit to his co-religionists and, apparently, with little zeal for their welfare, the crown, without consulting the Protestants, appointed in his place the Marquis of Arzilliers. The latter was succeeded by Henry, Marquis of Ruvigny, who held the position from 1653 to 1678. Upon his retirement, his son Henry, known as the younger Marquis of Ruvigny, and after his exile created Earl of Galway by William of Orange, king of England, occupied the same post of sole deputy general of the Protestants until the formal revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.[1]

The Synod nominates for the office of deputy general.

Another interesting incident concerned the relations which the Protestant churches had been accused of maintaining with Spain during the late war. The truth seems to be that, in his desperate straits, Henry of Rohan opened negotiations with the most hostile of all the powers on the European continent to the religion which he professed, and despatched a secret agent, one Campredon, to the south of the Pyrenees. The undertaking had little sincerity about it, as

Rohan's negotiations with Spain.

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[1] See Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii., 470, 473; iii. 25, 26, 161; iv., 357.

little upon the duke's side as upon the side of the Escorial; but was doubtless justified by its author on the ground that every subterfuge is allowable in war. Had not Henry of Navarre himself, before his accession to the French throne, pretended to enter into negotiations with Philip the Second.[1] In the present instance there was no serious intention either to draw upon the resources of the Spanish king, whose father and predecessor Rohan regarded as having been prompted by Satan in his hostility to the Reformation, or to augment those resources by a genuine alliance. All that was to be effected was, if possible, to frighten the crafty cardinal whose hands were grasping the power of royalty in France, into a willingness to make better terms with Louis's Huguenot subjects and with the inhabitants of La Rochelle in particular. No practical results came of the present negotiations, though some sort of an understanding was reached; the substance of which was that Philip the Fourth would assist Rohan with money, in case he should wage war in earnest with the King of France. But it fared ill with Campredon, the messenger of Rohan's envoy. Arrested upon his return from Spain, he was thrown into prison at Toulouse. A hurried trial was accorded him by the parliament of that city. No time was to be lost; for the edict of pacification containing a full pardon of all political crimes had been signed by the king, and, indeed, had already been received by the judges for publication. But Masuyer, their first president, was an inveterate enemy of Protestantism, and his zeal shrank from no excess of injustice. He therefore retained the king's edict in his own possession, until Campredon had been beheaded and the simple soldier taken with him had been sentenced to the galleys. The day following Campredon's execution, the edict was produced and solemnly entered upon the registers of parliament. The hateful story is no invention of malignant Huguenots, no improbable rumor set on foot by some one of the president's many personal enemies, victims of his insatiable greed. I find it related, with all its repulsive details, in the history of his own times written by a fellow judge and president *à mortier* in the parliament of Tou-

Masuyer, president of parliament of Toulouse.

His character.

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[1] The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre, i. 235.

louse, to which I have often had occasion to acknowledge my indebtedness. Gabriel Barthélemy Gramond, if not by any means a friend of the Protestants, is at least a lover of fair play, and he concludes his account of the case with the remark: "Certainly if good faith had been observed, the guilty man ought to have been exempted from punishment; but Masuyer, who hated the adherents of the Protestant sect in a supreme degree, had no regard for good faith where their interests were concerned."[1]

There was no doubt that the first president was guilty of a judicial murder of peculiar atrocity—a fit introduction to that course of relentless ferocity with which, during the struggle that was soon to be renewed, he pursued the Protestants of the south. It is the same historian Gramond, that makes the statement that, in the third Huguenot conflict, Masuyer as truly waged war with the Huguenots of Languedoc by his shrewdness and cunning, as did the Prince of Condé by force of arms. Not less intent upon this public business than he was ardent in the pursuit of his own private interest, the first president had his emissaries thoughout the province. In every city held by the Huguenots he had men in his pay who kept him well advised of the secret purposes of the enemy, and by means of whom not a few of the Protestant leaders, while travelling from place to place in fancied security, were betrayed to their ruin. Such as fell into his hands were instantly put to death, and Toulouse well deserved the designation applied to it by the Protestants, for it became in very truth "the horrible slaughter-house of the Reformed." By this severity, adds Gramond, Masuyer earned a great name for himself at the royal court. He would have been worthy of praise, had he acted with more gentleness.[2]

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[1] Gramond, Hist. Galliæ ab excessu Henrici IV., 645. See, also, Benoist, ii. 466, 467; Le Vassor, v. 351; Anquez, Un Nouveau Chapitre, 312; Haag, La France Protestante, s. v. Campredon.

[2] "Hac Masuyerus severitate magnum sibi promeruit nomen in aula Regia, dignus laude si mitius ageret." Hist. Galliæ ab excessu Henrici IV., 750, 751. Benoist would not, therefore, seem to have overstated the case when he says of Masuyer, "Si c'étoit en beaucoup de choses un vray sçélerat, au moins en matière de Religion il ne se picquit ni de probité ni de pudeur." Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 467.

The Protestants proclaim their loyalty.

A provincial synod held, not long after, at Réalmont was induced by the royal commissioner sent to be present at its sessions, to take notice of the treaty with Spain, and to propose action against those that had taken part in it. But the national synod of Castres did not suffer the incident to pass unnoticed, and declared in forcible terms its sense of the great wrong that had been done to the provincial synod, forced as the latter was by the royal commissioner, who was present in person, to take such action. The evident intent was to convey the impression of an avowal that some of the ministers were guilty of having a secret understanding with the Spaniards, sworn enemies of France and of the Protestant churches. The national synod thanked God that the most close and careful scrutiny of the most fierce and determined of their foes had not been able to discover the name of a single person that had taken part in the negotiations with Spain, and had only rendered it clear that the churches were innocent of the crime laid to their charge.[1]

The duke of Buckingham.

The little follies of courtiers, observes Rohan in his Memoirs, are frequently the cause of great commotions, and almost all the disasters that befall kingdoms have their origin in the private interest of the favorites, who trample justice under foot, overturn good order, change all good maxims, and, in short, make a plaything of their masters and of their states, in order to maintain themselves in power, or to increase their authority, or to obtain revenge.[2] At the present juncture, the mutual jealousy of Cardinal Richelieu and the Duke of Buckingham contributed greatly to the renewal of war, if, indeed, it was not the true cause of the renewal. The portrait drawn by the prelate of his English rival perhaps stands single and alone among the pictures which Richelieu is accustomed to give us of his contemporaries in this respect, that not a shadow is darker than is warranted by historic truth. A man of little nobility of descent, Buckingham was of even less nobility of soul, for he was destitute both of native virtue and of study, being ill born and worse bred. If his father and elder brother had been either crazy or half-demented, he himself occupied a middle ground between good sense and folly, so full was he of extravagance, so furious and unbridled were his passions. His youth, his commanding stature, and his beauty of countenance conciliated the favor of the king of England, father of the reigning monarch, and secured him an influence such as no other subject enjoyed—an influence which he contrived to retain by falsehood, flattery, and all other unworthy means. It was not strange that the prince who committed the ship of state to such a reckless pilot incurred great risk of making shipwreck.[1]

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[1] Aymon, Tous les Synodes, ii. 336.

[2] Mémoires de Rohan, i. 300.

Whether it was because of physical advantages possessed by Buckingham which the cardinal himself was conscious of lacking, or because the English gallant won more favor with the gentler sex than fell to the share of the ambitious prelate, certain it would seem to be that personal considerations were even more potent than reasons of state in arousing the deadly hostility of Richelieu against the minister of Charles the First. When Buckingham induced his king to order him to go a second time as ambassador to France, it was in reality less with a view to effect the release of the English vessels of which the Parliament of Rouen had ordered the seizure, by way of retaliation for the capture of ships from Normandy, than for the purpose of gratifying his mad passion for intrigue.[2] It was doubtless with Richelieu's hearty concurrence that Louis the Thirteenth persistently refused to suffer the duke to come to Paris.[3] For on his previous visit, when he came to negotiate the marriage treaty in accordance with which Henrietta of France became the bride of Charles Stuart, the audacious nobleman had not feared to pay such marked attentions to the queen of Louis the Thirteenth, that even a court not over fastidious was shocked and knew not which to be most astonished at—the Englishman's temerity or the evident satisfaction with which, from the first, Anne of Austria received his demonstrations of attachment. Even those who refused to believe in the queen's actual guilt, by no means cleared her of the imputation of a thoughtless disregard of all the rules of conventional decorum of conduct.[1] On the other hand it was Buckingham who, upon his return to England, had instigated his weak-minded master to pursue that course of petty annoyance toward his young French wife that culminated in the abrupt dismissal of all the attendants of either sex whom she had brought with her from across the Channel. It was Buckingham that persuaded him that Madame de Saint Georges and her companions stood in the way of his fully gaining Henrietta's confidence, and it was to Buckingham that was given the congenial task of driving them out of London.[2] Meanwhile, at the very moment the duke was executing his commission, Charles himself entered his wife's chamber and having bolted the door behind him, brutally informed her of the orders he had issued.[3] The wretched girl was overwhelmed with sorrow at the prospect of losing every companion that she loved. She had been but a little over fifteen years of age when she left her gay home in France; she was not seventeen years now.[4] She threw herself at her husband's feet and embraced his knees, begging him, but in vain, to recall his command. Then hearing the wails and laments of her women as they were leaving her palace to go to Somerset House according to the peremptory order which they had received, the unhappy princess rushed to the window, dashed the glass in pieces and grasped the bars outside, in the effort to see her friends and to be seen of them in turn. She was so roughly dragged back by Charles that her dress was torn and her hands scratched.[1] When Madame de Saint Georges and her companions reached Paris a few days later, almost in a state of destitution, they carried the tidings that, at their leaving, their late mistress was virtually a prisoner, and one of their number, who was the wife of the French ambassador resident, and who had been compelled to sell her ear-rings to obtain funds for the journey, declared that no Frenchman might speak to Henrietta on pain of death, and that this princess was much changed, eating little and scarcely sleeping at all, so that unless God should help her, there was reason to fear for her life.[2]

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[1] See Mémoires de Richelieu, i. 415.

[2] See Henri Martin, Histoire de France, xii. 479, and especially the Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz (edition of Michaud and Poujoulat), 303.

[3] Mémoires de Rohan, i. 301.

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[1] "Dès le premier jour, la liberté entre eux fut aussi grande que s'ils se fussent connus depuis un long temps . . . Ce qui augmenta par la conversation et jusqu'à tel point que la bienséance en fut bannie. Certainement dans les effets tout y était honnête, mais les apparences n'en valaient rien." Mémoires inédits du comte Leveneur de Tillières, 61.

[2] Charles I. to Buckingham, August 7, 1626:

"Steenie:

I have receaved your letter by Dic Greame—This is my answer—I command you to send all the French away to morrow out of Towne: If you can, by faire means (but strike not long in disputing), otherways, force them away, dryving away so manie wild beastes, untill you have shepped them, and so the Devill goe with them. Lett me heare no answer, but of the performance of my command. So I rest. Your faithfull, loving frend,

The 7 august 1626. Charles R."

Harleian MSS. 6988, British Museum. Printed in Mémoires de Tillières, Introd., p. xxxiii.

[3] "Il le faisait, ajouta-t-il, parce que les Français placés à ses côtés l'empêchoient de la posséder entièrement." Mémoires de Tillières, 144.

[4] Henriette Marie of France was born November 25, 1609. She left Paris for England, June 11, 1625.

Bassompierre's mission to England.

Greatly irritated at the treatment his sister had received, Louis the Thirteenth despatched Marshal Bassompierre on a special mission to remonstrate with Charles upon the breach of the promises contained in the marriage treaty, and to insist upon the re-establishment of the queen's household, ecclesiastics and all.[3] He was magnificently received, but when at length he was admitted to a private audience at Hampton Court, Charles spoke with such anger and determination, that Bassompierre would have been glad, had he been permitted, to take leave of the English monarch then and there.[1]

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[1] I owe this graphic incident to the very curious Mémoires inédits du comte Leveneur de Tillières, first published, in 1863, by Professor Célestin Hippeau, of Caen. Count Tillières, for many years in the diplomatic service of France in England, was a brother-in-law of Marshal Bassompierre. He says: "Pour y parvenir [to speak to her people], elle rompit les vitres. Le roi la suivit pour l'en empêcher; elle prit des barreaux de fer qui étaient à la fenêtre pour s'y accrocher, mais il la retira si rudement qu'il lui déchira sa robe et lui écorcha les mains" (pp. 144, 145).

[2] Madame de Saint Georges to Count de Tillières without date. Mémoires du comte Leveneur de Tillières, pièces justificatives, 249–251. The Countess de Tillières to her husband, London, August 9, 1626, ibid., 251–253.

[3] According to John Rushworth (Historical Collections, London, 1721, i. 423), the king of England had sufficient reason for his action. "By the articles of marriage it was agreed that the Queen should have a certain number of priests for her household chaplains, together with a bishop, who should exercise all ecclesiastical jurisdiction in matters of religion. These, with other Romish priests within this realm, began to practise and teach, that the pope, upon the marriage treaty, assumed to himself or his delegates the jurisdiction of the queen's whole family, especially the institution and destitution of the ecclesiasticks; and that the king of England had no power to intermeddle therein, because he was a heretick, the pope threatening to declare those to be apostates

The privy council intervenes in behalf of the Huguenots.

Bassompierre's complaints were met by the Privy Council with a paper in which Charles's action was justified by the allegation that the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics of Henrietta's suite had been guilty of "practices" against the religious peace of England. But, what concerns us more, the Huguenots of France were not forgotten. Among the counter-charges which the Council were careful to bring forward was this: "Likewise the Very Christian King has not seen fit to fulfil the articles agreed upon with the Protestants of his realm, and particularly with those of La Rochelle, to which they consented and which they accepted at the instant mediation of his majesty, who had therein employed them for the respect and satisfaction of the king [of France], his very dear brother; so that his majesty finds himself deeply involved, not only by reason of the expectation and summons of those concerned, but also because of the observation and judgment of the world, to importune his said brother-in-law for the maintenance of the peace."[2] To which, as in duty bound, Bassompierre replied by recrimination, dwelling particularly upon the fact that Charles had harbored in his kingdom Soubise, a declared rebel who brought with him into an English port a vessel belonging to Louis taken at Blavet. Respecting the Huguenots the marshal assumed a lofty and de-

Its right to do so repudiated by the French.

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that should seek their establishment from the king." Charles declared to Louis that some of the queen's attendants had "so much abused his patience and affronted his person, that he was resolved no longer to endure it." Madame Saint Georges was the chief offender.

[1] October 15, 1626. "Puis le duc me mena dans une galerie où le Roi m'attendoit, qui me donna une bien longue audience et bien contestée. Il se mit fort en colère," etc. Mémoires du Maréchal de Bassompierre (Ed. Michaud et Poujoulat), 254. In a letter to Tillières, from London, October 17, 1626, he writes: "Le roy m'a parlé sy résolument sur le restablissement des François que sy j'eusse eu permission de m'en retourner, j'eusse pris congé de luy en seste mesme audiance." Mémoires de Tillières, pièces justificatives, 255, 256.

[2] Mercure françois, xiii. 162.

fiant tone. "For what purpose do you insert among the complaints in your paper that we do not carry out the articles agreed upon with the heretics of France? Were they born under your protection, or did the king my master beg yours to be the security of his conventions with them, or was he the mediator of those conventions? I admit that the ambassadors Holland and Carleton busied themselves in procuring for the Huguenots gentler conditions that those which the king intended laying upon them, and that they also persuaded the Huguenots to accept them. But it will not be found that they intervened otherwise, or that the king their master or they were named in the treaty of peace which the king was pleased to grant to his rebellious subjects. Hence it is quite superfluous to speak more of the matter at present." And the envoy hinted that while Louis would deal gently with the Huguenots, if obedient, he would not fail to chastise them if they resisted him, without giving an account to any one else, since it was the business of no one else.[1]

Richelieu's triumph.

It is of little consequence to ascertain how far the English monarch was entitled to regard himself as the warrantor of the favorable terms which he had given the Huguenots to understand they might safely depend upon. Neither Charles nor Louis was above board in his dealings. The latter, or, to speak more accurately, the cardinal who exercised the royal functions in his name, had contemporaneously concluded peace with Spain and with the Huguenots, that he might the better crush the conspiracy into which the ambitious grandees of the kingdom had entered, through envy at the unprecedented success of Richelieu's intrigues. Now that this end had been attained, by bold and skilful measures which I need not here rehearse, now that Marshal Ornano had been thrown into prison at the Castle of Vincennes, now that the Count of Chalais had been executed, now that the king's brother, the contemptible Gaston of Anjou, had basely betrayed his unfortunate accomplices and been rewarded for his weakness and perfidy by the gift of the duchy of Orleans and a great accession of revenue; now that even the proud queen Anne of Austria had been com-

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[1] "Puisque personne ny a que veoir." Mercure françois, xiii. 189.

He resolves to reduce La Rochelle.

pelled to submit to harsh words from the king, and an open reprimand before the royal council, because of her part in the plot against the cardinal's life, and had been taunted by her husband with an intention to marry Louis's brother in the contingency of Louis's death, now that, at least for the time, the cardinal's authority was no longer questioned, Richelieu could give his undivided attention to the other object which he had had before him in concluding the peace—the reduction of La Rochelle. If he had ever given the Huguenots reason to entertain hope of the removal of the city's dangerous neighbor Fort Louis, he had not remitted his preparations of ships in Brittany for the more vigorous efforts which he had in contemplation. If he had seemed to wink at the pretensions of the ambassadors of Charles the First that, by the mutual consent of both parties to the pacification, their master had become sponsor for the faithful performance of its articles, he now found it convenient to repudiate with some show of indignation any suggestion that they had done more than solicit the Huguenots, in Charles's own interest and not without recourse to urgent remonstrances and threats, to accept the terms offered by the king.[1] In fact he maintains in his memoirs, upon whose statements unfortunately too great reliance should not be placed, that he had told the English ambassadors in private, and reiterated the warning "a hundred times," that they must not understand the king to pledge himself to the destruction of the obnoxious fort, either at once or at a later time. That was a favor that could be obtained by no one save by the inhabitants of La Rochelle itself, submitting in unreserved obedience such as that rendered by his majesty's other subjects. If we might believe him, the Bishop of Mende and the Duke of Chevreuse went farther and plainly told the envoys that Louis would not consent to their assuming the attitude of intermediary agents; he would, however, welcome any friendly efforts of Charles to induce his brother-in-law's rebellious subjects to submit to their lawful monarch, by the menace that otherwise he would come to Louis's assistance with his entire forces, such efforts being of the nature of the kind offices which all sovereigns can and are bound to render to one another. As often as they were thus addressed, Richelieu asserts that the ambassadors would reply that they claimed nothing more.[1] "After that," he remarks with some asperity, "to draw up a declaration of opposite import admits of no other excuse unless it be that they exhibit the same extravagance toward God, their pretended religion being founded solely upon an explanation of His words that contradicts their true meaning!"[2]

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[1] Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 361. The prelate congratulates himself that, "by a conduct full of unwonted industry," the Huguenots were brought to consent to peace through fear of a peace with Spain, and the Spaniards through fear of a peace with the Huguenots.

Charles declares war.

On the other hand, in the declaration of war which Charles the First was induced by his favorite to make, he asserted that "he had by his mediation prevailed for a peace between the French king and his subjects, and engaged his word that the Protestants should observe the articles of the agreement. Nevertheless, the king of France, contrary to the said articles, had blocked their towns, garrisons and forts, and had committed many spoils upon them, when they had done nothing in violation of the edict of peace." To the mention of Louis's sins against the Huguenots, Charles added the statement of grievances of his own, in particular the seizure in full peace of one hundred and twenty English ships with their merchandise and artillery. For these reasons he intended to send a powerful army and navy to require satisfaction.[3]

Despite these protestations, it was no secret that the danger of La Rochelle, the entreaties of Soubise, and a sense of the misfortunes with which the southern Huguenots were threatened, had less to do with the hostile undertaking than the wounded vanity of the Duke of Buckingham and that nobleman's ambition to exhibit himself in the eyes of the French court, and especially in those of Anne of Austria, in the new and impressive aspect of a chivalric and puissant military leader. It was indeed a notable armament which he caused to be prepared, and at the head of which he set sail for the relief of La Rochelle, wearing the fresh honors of his appointment as admiral of the British fleet and commander in chief of the land forces. Of a little over one hundred ships which composed it, eight were royal vessels of nine hundred or one thousand tons burden. There were seven thousand soldiers on board, not counting four thousand more brought by the Dutch ships to "refresh" the others, or three thousand Frenchmen who came to take part in securing the success of their Huguenot countrymen.[1] The fleet was well provided with food, with ammunition, with everything needful whether for besieging or for defending forts. Even so, however, by a strange oversight, the full co-operation of the city for whose relief the expedition was fitted out, had not been secured. La Rochelle stood in doubt whether to accept the proffered help of the king of England. For although when his forces were at a distance she had stretched out her arms for succor, no sooner did those forces draw nigh than she closed her gates and her harbor. The Duke of Rohan will have it that the mayor and his associates in the municipal government had been gained over by the court, while the people lacked vigor and courage. But the day was carried by the resolution of Soubise, who, in company with Buckingham's secretary, Sir William Beecher, landing from a ship's boat on the beach hard by the city, presented himself at one of the gates, and by the decision of his no less resolute mother, the Duchess of Rohan, who issued forth, and taking her son by the arm marched back with him into the city, to the great joy of the people who accompanied them in crowds to their lodgings.[2] It

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[1] Cardinal Richelieu's statements, it must be noticed, agree entirely with the statements in an answer, article by article, made in 1627, to the Duke of Buckingham's manifesto, and published in the Mercure françois of that year, xiii. 809–835. See the passage on page 825: "Expressement et par le conseil pris et arresté par le Roy, le Duc de Chevreuse et l'Evesque de Mande furent chargez de dire ausdits Comte de Holland et Carleton, que s'ils pretendoient se mesler de la paix comme entremetteurs, que le Roy ne la donneroit pas."

[2] "Leur prétendue religion n'étant fondée qu'en l'explication de ses paroles à contre-sens de ce qu'elles signifient." Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 485.

[3] Rushworth, Historical Collections, i. 425.

Buckingham sails for the relief of La Rochelle.

Sir William Beecher at La Rochelle.

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[1] Mercure françois, xiii. 801. The Mémoires de Fontenay Mareuil (Petitot, Collection des Mémoires rélatifs à l'Histoire de France), 32, state the number somewhat differently. at 8,000 foot and 500 or 600 horse.

[2] Mémoires de Rohan, i. 303.

was then no difficult matter to secure for Beecher a hearing in the town-hall. His speech contained a full exposition of Charles's disinterested motives at the present juncture. He declared that that monarch offered his assistance solely to obtain the advantages promised to the Protestants of which he found himself the surety. He concluded with a solemn protest that should the city decline his proffer, the Duke of Buckingham would hold his master fully exonerated before men and absolved in conscience from all further obligation.[1] It was scarcely creditable to the city magistrates, as it augured ill for the future, that in place of the prompt answer which Beecher requested, these prudent officials fell back upon their duty as members of a league, and postponed a definite reply until they should have had an opportunity to consult with the Duke of Rohan and their other Huguenot allies.[2]

Buckingham lands on the Isle de Ré.

The first of the long list of blunders which the Duke of Buckingham was destined to commit with fatal results for the city which he had come to relieve, was perpetrated during Soubise's absence. Instead of instantly rendering himself master of the island of Oleron, as had been agreed upon, the Englishman changed his mind and decided to land upon the island of Ré. The latter was indeed nearer La Rochelle and more conveniently situated for subsequent operations. But while Ré was already well garrisoned by the enemy under Toiras, a skilful commander, Oleron had been neglected by the king's generals. There was not a work on the island of Oleron that could have held out for a single week, the body of French troops occupying it numbered only twelve hundred men, and the island afforded in abundance the supplies of which an invading army stood in need. With Oleron in his possession Buckingham might easily have reduced the other island by the preponderance of the vessels at his disposal.[3] The error of judgment in the selection of the place of disembarkation might, however, have been retrieved, had the duke acted with energy and vigor. For the English sailors and soldiers made a gallant landing, and showed themselves decidedly superior in strength to their opponents. Had they pressed on without an hour's delay, and attacked the fort behind whose walls the enemy was entrenched, they would have found it destitute of provisions and ill-provided with defenders. It is not improbable that they might have taken it at the first assault.

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[1] "Becker envoyé par Buckingham aux Rochelois. Harangue qu'il leur fait dans la Maison de Ville." Mercure françois, xiii. 803–808. Substance in Mémoires de Rohan, i. 303–305.

[2] Mémoires de Rohan, ubi supra.

[3] Ibid., i. 306.

The island of Ré is a long and narrow strip of land. It may measure fifteen miles from the Pointe de Sablanceaux, the eastern tongue of sand upon which Buckingham effected a landing, to the extreme westerly cape, to which the name of Pointe des Baleines is given. Its breadth at no place exceeds three miles. The chief works of fortification had been begun on the northern side of the island at the village of Saint Martin, where the construction of the four bastions was tolerably well advanced, but the curtain that united them had scarcely risen above the height of two or three yards. If, as the Cardinal of Richelieu asserts, Toiras committed an unsoldierlike blunder in not firing the adjacent dwellings, but leaving them for the invaders to occupy at their leisure and make use of for their comfort,[1] much more serious was the mistake of the English duke in allowing Toiras time to strengthen his walls and bring in such stores of food and ammunition as were within reach. Meanwhile, the news of his favorite's success in getting a footing upon the island excited great joy in the breast of king Charles, who wrote assuring Buckingham that great supplies of men and money would be forwarded to him. In the letter that carried these promises, the British monarch, having heard of the serious illness of his brother-in-law, Louis the Thirteenth, upon the journey from Paris to La Rochelle,

His bad generalship.

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[1] Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 457. It is characteristic of the cardinal to disparage the valor or the good sense of all who might be credited with having contributed to the successes which the prelate claimed as his own, or who, as Toiras did, were so rash as to try to raise a party against him. Gramond, however, writing in 1642, can scarcely contain his indignation at the utterances of a contemporary writer who, in like manner, essays to detract from Toiras's merits, and who "barks at his heroic valor as a dog at the moon." Hist. Galliæ, p. 743.

Duplicity of Charles.

betrayed the new hopes which he had conceived. Should Louis die, Charles bade the Duke of Buckingham not make the first advances toward a peace. He instructed him, moreover, in case the royal manifesto had not been published of which a copy had been forwarded to his majesty, to change religion from the *only*, to the *chief* cause of the English intervention. He was, however, to insert no other cause, and to "leave those of the religion [the Protestants] to think what they will." It might so happen, hinted Charles, that he would otherwise be forced to contradict himself.[1]

The occasion for Charles to give the lie to his dishonest protestations of unselfish motives did not occur. Louis soon recovered from his fever, and was able to proceed to the siege of La Rochelle. And the duration of the joy of the English monarch and of the hopes which the blow struck at Ré kindled in the minds of the French Protestants[2] was very brief. Giving up, after scarcely an effort, the purpose of capturing the Fort Saint Martin by storm, Buckingham resigned himself to the slower process of a siege. The English vessels were moored so as to prevent the entrance of any further men or provisions. The land side was guarded by the duke, but so negligently that he failed to cut off the supply of water, though this was in his power. The truth was that in M. de Saint Blancard, a brave, zealous, and sagacious Huguenot captain, killed in the sharp engagement at the landing, the invaders had lost the soul of the enterprise.[3] As the Duke of Buckingham had entered upon the campaign from an insane desire to distinguish himself in the eyes of a woman, so he conducted it as if the contest were a strife of compliment and courtesy. Thus it is stated that one of the duke's gentlemen having told him that Toiras had spoken of *melons* and asked whether there were any upon the island, Buckingham sent him a dozen. Toiras recompensed the bearer by a gift of twenty gold crowns, and the next day despatched to the English admiral a present of six bottles of orange water and a dozen vases of Cyprus powder. The bearer of these in turn received a reward of twenty "jacobuses." Never was war waged with so many civilities.[1] It had been better for Buckingham to have waged it with more vigor and skill.

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[1] Charles I. to the Duke of Buckingham, August 13, 1627. Hardwicke, State Papers, ii. 13, 14.

[2] "Le rude commencement de l'île de Ré a donné la frayeur à nos ennemis jusqu'en ce pays: c'est la plus belle action qui se soit faite de nos jours . . . Buckingham a acquis un honneur immortel!" Letter of the Duke of Rohan, August 8, 1627, apud Laugel, 215.

[3] So say even the inimical Fontenay-Mareuil (Mémoires, 37 in Petitot edition), and Gramond, p. 730: "Plane constat prima belli hujus momenta fuisse in Sanblancardi capite." The ungenerous cardinal speaks of him as "homme dont la mémoire sera à jamais en malediction, qui avoit fait le voyage pour le duc de Rohan en Angleterre." Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 456. But the Duke of Rohan has embalmed his name in history as that of "a young man whose piety, courage, and understanding vied in emulation as to which of them should render him most illustrious." Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 307. Respecting his part in the brave defence of Mas d'Azil, see supra, page 264.

Of skill and vigor, however, there was no lack on the other side. The story might claim a place here of the bravery and devotion of the three swimmers who took upon them the perilous task of passing through the ships of the besiegers and carrying to the mainland the tidings of the straits in which Toiras and his band found themselves for lack of food and ammunition. One swimmer was taken by the enemy, a second was drowned, the third, a stalwart Gascon, was more fortunate, and, having safely escaped the perils of his long course, carried the message to the king.[2] About the same time, a storm having broken up the enclosure which the English had constructed in front of Saint Martin out of hulks of vessels bound together by cables and chains and rendered firm by masts and whatever else came to hand, fifteen pinnaces laden with necessaries made bold, under cover of night, to attempt a relief of the starving garrison. Thirteen succeeded, and only two were driven back. The food and drugs thus brought to men who had that very day been treating of surrender, gave new hope to Toiras and caused deep discouragement to the English. The fort, instead of barely two days' provisions, was now furnished with a full month's supply. Meanwhile the invaders were dis-

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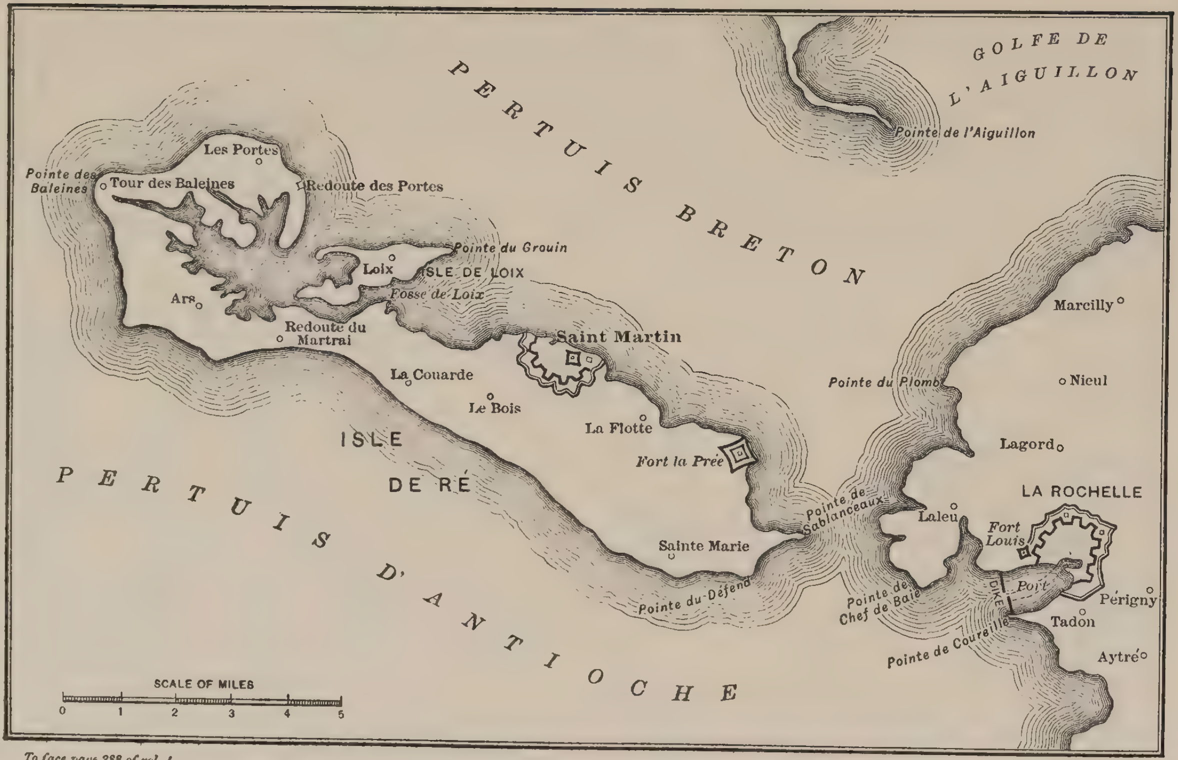
[1] "Jamais en guerre il ne s'est pratiqué tant de courtoisie et d'honnesteté." Mercure françois, xiii. 860, 861.

[2] Most of the contemporary writers have mentioned Pierre Lolanier's exploit and paid a tribute to its difficulties; among others, Bernard. Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., ii. 17, and Gramond, Hist. Gall. ab excessu Henrici IV., 735.



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ENVIRONS OF LA ROCHELLE AND THE ISLE DE RÉ

heartened. Two thousand five hundred men were on the sick list, mostly in consequence of imprudence in eating immoderately of the tempting grapes that grew on the island. The Duke of Buckingham began to think of returning home from a field where no glory was to be won, and was only deterred from a prompt retreat by the "extreme cries and complaints" of the deputies from La Rochelle who endeavored to move him to pity for their state, and by the intercessions of Soubise who accompanied them. The deputies promised to care for one thousand of the sick at La Rochelle, and to supply the place of these with as many Huguenot soldiers from the city and from the island of Ré itself.[1]

Failure of the English enterprise.

On his way from the Pointe de Sablanceaux to Saint Martin the duke had carelessly neglected to wrest from the enemy's hands an inferior fort situated on the seashore upon his right, judging that the capture of the chief stronghold of the island would infallibly be followed by the surrender of this insignificant work. Thus the *Fort de la Prée*, which would not have withstood him a single day, was spared to be strengthened and to become a thorn in his side. And now, when by the unremitting exertions of the cardinal a sufficient force of men and of transports had been gotten together, it was at the Fort de la Prée, as a convenient point, that the French reinforcement was landed. New supplies of food had also been suffered to reach the besieged in the main work of Saint Martin, and, although Buckingham received in September a reinforcement of fifteen or sixteen hundred men from England, he returned to his previous determination of abandoning his enterprise. As a parting proof of valor, he made an absurd attempt to take the Fort de la Prée by storm, without having prepared the way by opening a breach in the walls by means of his artillery.[2] Foiled in this attempt, he withdrew toward the end of the island opposite to that at which he had disembarked, and crossing a narrow causeway to the small island known as the Isle de Loix, betook himself with his disgusted followers to the friendly shelter of the squadron that lay awaiting his arrival. Harassed on the way by the enemy, his retreat became in the end almost a disgraceful rout, being attended with the loss of the lives of seven or eight hundred men, or, as others say, of more than two thousand. Lords Grey and Montjoy, who were among the prisoners taken, were sent by Louis ostensibly as a present to his sister, the Queen of England. Four cannon fell into French hands and were transported to the Arsenal at Paris, together with forty-four flags intended to grace the Cathedral of Notre Dame. Everywhere there were rejoicings. The *Te Deum* was sung, and rounds of artillery were fired. It was poor comfort for the inhabitants of beleaguered La Rochelle, who had parted with their provisions to help their English allies, to learn that the Duke of Buckingham on setting sail for Great Britain left more than eighty hogsheads of wheat to fall into the enemy's hands.[1] A few weeks later, Toiras and Marshal Schomberg, who had taken a leading part in the last engagements, received congratulatory letters on the occurrence written by Pope Urban the Eighth under the seal of the Fisherman.[2]

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[1] Sir William Beecher to Lord Conway, St. Martin's, October 3, 1627. Hardwicke, State Papers, ii. 48–51. Compare Bernard, ii. 17.

[2] "Mais de forcer plus de quinze cents hommes par escalade, dans une place de quatre bastions, bien munie d'artillerie et de tout ce qui lui étoit nécessaire, c'étoit chercher à rebuter ses soldats, et non à leur acquérir de l'honneur." Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 333.

Buckingham's attempt hastens the fall of La Rochelle.

So far from assisting the Huguenots of La Rochelle, the duke, who had so loudly boasted that he would deliver them, in reality hastened, if he may not be said to have caused their ruin. For had not his advent precipitated the investment of their city, it was the belief of many that the Italian occurrences which immediately ensued might perhaps have deferred the siege indefinitely.[3]

Meanwhile, it is time that leaving the unfortunate English expedition and the neighborhood of the city which it had so ineffectually sought to succor, we should turn to the illustrious nobleman whose history is so intimately bound up with the declining military fortunes of the Huguenots of France. Henry of Rohan, the most chivalrous character of the age, has left us, in an "Apology," a touching account of the conflict of motives in his breast and of the manly resolution to which he came. Twice before had he been compelled to take up arms despite his inclinations and his personal interest, and in two wars he had sustained a load almost too great for his strength. Into the first war he was reluctantly drawn by the actions of the political assembly of La Rochelle, against the convocation of which he had made strenuous opposition, and which he strove ineffectually to induce to disperse after it came together. The second war was undertaken, at the solicitation of his brother Soubise, in consequence of the unblushing infractions of the peace by an unscrupulous court. The king of Great Britain himself solicited him to enter upon the third, sending to the duke one of his gentlemen and protesting that, should the offers he made be declined, he would hold himself free in the sight of God and men from the obligations he had incurred by becoming the surety of the preceding peace. "I now ask my censors," exclaims the duke, "what I was to do in these circumstances. If I had refused the offers and if, after the ruin of La Rochelle, the king of Great Britain had published to the world that I alone was responsible for his not having saved it, in what repute should I be held? Should I not be regarded with execration by all the adherents of my religion?" Into the perils and hardships of this new conflict, Rohan declared that he entered with his eyes wide open. "I remembered the inconstancy of our populations, the unfaithfulness of their principal men, the partisans whom the king had in all our communities, the poverty of the agricultural regions, the niggardliness of the towns, and especially the irreligion of all classes." "All these things," he adds, "might have shaken a firmer resolution than mine. Nevertheless, hoping that God, who had thus far strengthened me, would not forsake me, I shut my eyes to every other consideration than the good of His church. I replied to the king of Great Britain that I lauded his piety and generous determination, and I promised him that, after the

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[1] On the expedition to the Isle de Ré see the prolix accounts in the Mercure françois, xiii. 835–894, including a letter from Saint Martin de Ré dated November 14, 1627, a few days after the departure of the English ; Bernard, Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., ii. 12–41 ; Gramond, hist. Gall. ab excessu Henrici IV., 729–742 ; Mémoires de Rohan, i. 307–344 ; Hardwicke, State Papers, the letters on the "Isle de Rhé Expedition," ii. 23–53 ; Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 454, etc. ; Mémoires de Fontenay-Mareuil, 37–59.

[2] See the text of the letters, in French, in Mercure françois, xiv. 210–212.

[3] Mémoires de Fontenay-Mareuil, 59.

Henry of Rohan's "Apology."

landing of his army on the Isle de Ré should have been effected, I would take up arms, and not before, inasmuch as this stimulus was needed to incite our people." M. de Saint Blancard, whose untimely death in the engagement at the Pointe de Sablanceaux has already been mentioned, was the gentleman to whom Rohan entrusted the responsible duty of going to England in order to enlighten Charles the First respecting the condition of the Huguenots.[1]

Auguste Galland's efforts to prevent a Huguenot uprising.

It was no easy burden that Rohan took upon his shoulders. The king was indefatigable in his efforts to prevent the French Huguenots, Rohan, La Rochelle, from acting in concert, and to each his agents made representations calculated to sow dissension and discord. Among the Protestants of the south the royalist faction was strong. Its sentiments were well represented by the chief agent now sent as royal commissioner to traverse Languedoc, Foix, Lauragais, Vivarais and the Cévennes and to reassure the population belonging to the Reformed faith. This agent was no other than the learned and able Auguste Galland, whom we have lately seen acting as the royal commissioner in attendance upon the National Synod of Castres, and who, the very year the synod was held, published a treatise in the form of a "Discourse to the King on the birth, ancient state, progress and growth of the city of La Rochelle; to show that the said city is naturally subject to the sovereignty of the kingdom, that its proprietorship and all the rights dependent thereon belong to the kings by lawful title, and that the prerogatives and privileges accorded to the inhabitants are gratuitous concessions and benefits."[2] No one could surpass Galland in extreme reverence for the kingly office. "Princes," he wrote on another occasion, "have been established for command, subjects for obedience. I grant to subjects only tears, prayers, flight, patience; for rebellion and a recourse to arms are in no wise permitted to them. All actions of a subject that are apart from obedience are profane and approach sacrilege."[1] With so devoted an agent, a man at once of unblemished character, gentle and conciliatory, and enjoying deserved reputation for his great acquisitions in the domain of history and letters, holding, moreover, the enviable rank of a member of the king's council, it is not surprising that the king at first found his cause faring well. The utterances of the public meeting which Galland held at Montauban, and which was attended by all the principal citizens, left nothing to be desired. The letters addressed by the consuls of Montauban to the king and to the consuls of Castres expressed a loyal determination to take no part in the present uprising. So it was also at Briatexte. In the general assembly of the citizens of Castres, held ten days later, after Galland had made a long address exculpating his majesty of all intention to violate his edicts and expressing his majesty's affection for his Huguenot subjects, he listened to the very loyal reply of Judge Pierre de Lacger, who declared that the city disavowed the English arms and those of the Duke of Rohan and his adherents. In the long list of those who were present figure the names of Samuel de Bouffard, Sieur de la Garrigue, of "Noble" Jean de Bouffard, Sieur de Madiane, and of Mr. Josion, the minister of the gospel who offered prayer on the occasion. To Castres there came deputies from Pamiers, from Mazères, from Saverdun, from Mas d'Azil, and from Carlat (Carla)—all places in the County of Foix—protesting their allegiance to the king.[2] The king's policy was, indeed, so successful that not only did Castres and Montauban—those strongholds of Protestantism in the south—themselves hold aloof from the enterprise of the king of England, but they actually sent deputies to other Protestant cities and towns to advise them to adopt a similar course. In this matter they laid great stress upon the fact that La Rochelle had been in no haste to effect a union with the forces of Buckingham.[1]

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[1] Apologie du duc de Rohan sur les derniers troubles de la France à cause de la religion. Printed at the conclusion of the Mémoires du Duc de Rohan (Ed. Petitot), i. 444–456.

[2] The document was esteemed so valuable to the royal cause that the editor of the Mercure françois inserted it entire in the 13th volume of that collection, pages i.–clx.

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[1] These expressions are taken from a paper addressed by him to the king and now in the National Library of France. I am indebted for the quotation to Schylbergson, Le Duc de Rohan et la Chute du Parti Protestant, 51.

[2] See the long contemporary accounts of Galland's reception at Montauban, October 12th (Mercure françois. xiv. 332–343), at Briatexte (ibid., xiv. 343–47), and at Castres, October 22d (ibid., xiv. 360–377).

Rohan convenes a Protestant assembly. September, 1627.

Meantime, nothing daunted by the opposition of many and the lukewarmness of almost all, the Duke of Rohan resolved to bring together, upon his own responsibility, an assembly so fairly representative that with its approval, should he obtain it, he might hope to enlist the great majority of his fellow-believers under the banner of resistance to the encroachments of the court upon Huguenot rights. To summon such a meeting openly would have issued only in disastrous failure. No city would have dared to be among the first to defy the king's authority and expose itself to the king's displeasure. Rohan was determined not to run the risk of incurring defeat. Making no reference to an assembly of any kind, he wrote on one and the same day letters of identical import to twelve of the principal Protestant towns of Lower Languedoc and of the Cévennes.[2] In each letter he asked the citizens of that town to delegate some of their own number to meet him at Nismes (September, 1627), that he might be able to communicate to them matters of importance. All complied with the request, because all supposed themselves to be the only persons invited. On the arrival of the deputies, the representatives of Uzès alone were found to have been entrusted with insufficient powers, and, rather than lose their co-operation or delay the deliberations, the duke promptly proceeded to Uzès in company with the whole body of delegates.

His eloquent appeal.

Having so skilfully brought the Huguenot representatives together, Rohan made a signal display of that knowledge of human nature and of that singular personal magnetism which constituted him a leader among men. He laid before his hearers the infractions of the two previous edicts of pacification and the dangers menacing not La Rochelle alone but all Protestant France; and taking them into his confidence, frankly told them that he had assembled them as the only method of securing concerted action. This could not have been attained by communicating with each town separately, and a formal invitation to a general assembly in a time of peace would have been the surest means of preventing any assembly from convening. The duke's eloquence, his impassioned appeals, added to the confidence inspired by his tried integrity and manly and Christian patriotism, easily won the day. Protestant Lower Languedoc and the Cévennes cast in their lot with the champion who almost single-handed espoused their quarrel. It was the Protestant *people* that spoke in this action—the Protestant people, a distinct majority, who in the defection of the *noblesse* and the higher and richer class of the population to the royalist views of the Gallands and Madianes, yet retained the manly independence of their ancestors and were ready to encounter peril of life and property rather than make a craven surrender of their religious and municipal rights. It has, indeed, been denied that the Duke of Rohan in his conflicts with the King of France had the sympathy of the greater number of his fellow believers, and so able and impartial a work as "La France Protestante" has not hesitated to assert that evidently the revolt of Rohan was not approved by the majority of the Protestants of Upper Languedoc, and that "the unpopularity of Rohan's enterprise suffices to account for the easy success of the mission of Galland."[1] But the rapidity with which the duke undid the work of the royal commissioner, not less than the enthusiasm kindled by his mere advent in any quarter at the head of even a small body of troops, seems conclusively to prove the contrary. It was the coldness and parsimony of the rich, not the lukewarmness of the Protestant

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[1] Mémoires de Rohan, i. 309.

[2] The towns were Nismes and Uzès, in Lower Languedoc, and Saint Amboix, Alais, Anduze, Le Vigan, Saint Hippolyte, Ganges, Saint Jean du Gard, Sumène, La Salle, and Sauve. See Mercure françois, xiv. 306; Mémoires de Richelieu, i. 491.

The Huguenot people espouse his cause.

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[1] This opinion, originally set forth by the brothers Haag in the first edition of this monumental work has, strange to say, been retained by the late Henri Bordier in the new and as yet incomplete second edition, vi. 806. I am glad to see that Schylbergson, Le Duc de Rohan et la Chute du Parti Huguenot, adopts a more correct view. See page 72, but especially page 32, where the young Finnish historian justly remarks respecting the notion that the refusal of the cities to take part in the enterprise of Rohan and Soubise is a proof that they disapproved it: "Rien n'est plus inexact; les événements qui suivirent prouvent assez que l'attitude des villes au commencement de la guerre fut déterminée par l'influence d'une minorité royaliste, tandis que la masse de la population n'attendait qu'une occasion pour prendre part à la lutte pour la religion."

people, that thwarted the plans of the only hero of the seventeenth century who may with propriety be assigned a place, for purity of patriotism and for self-abnegation, not inferior to that occupied by Coligny in the sixteenth.

Rohan is elected general.

The Protestant towns, through their deputies, took a decisive step. They refused to allow the noblemen, who were present to the number of twenty-eight, to vote upon the matter.[1] They re-elected Rohan the Protestant general. They granted him extensive powers for the levy of troops and the conduct of the war, and requested him to associate with himself a body of representatives of the Protestants of France which should subsist in office until the return of peace. To the old oath of union they appended a recognition of the new alliance in arms with the King of Great Britain.[2]

About the same time was published to the world the "Declaration of the Duke of Rohan, Peer of France, containing the just reasons and motives that have compelled him to implore the help of the King of Great Britain and to take up arms for the defence of the Reformed churches of this kingdom." It is needless to repeat the contents of an important paper which was but an epitome of the wrongs dwelt upon at length on preceding pages of this history. Written in that nervous and impressive style in which the duke perhaps surpassed every one of his contemporaries, the document closed with a touching, because most sincere, profession of the author's readiness, if only the Reformed Church might be re-established in its former prosperity, himself to go into a voluntary exile, and spend the remainder of his life as a private individual, renouncing all worldly honor and advantage, foregoing the rest and prosperity he had procured for others, and celebrating by continual praise the grace God had accorded him of seeing His poor people once more delivered by his instrumentality from suffering and slavery.[3]

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[1] See Schylbergson, 64.

[2] Mémoires de Rohan, i. 312; Mercure françois, xiv. 306–309. The text of the oath, ibid., xiv. 312–316.

[3] Déclaration de M. le Duc de Rohan, etc., Mercure françois, xiv. 224–305. The twenty-nine articles are here met one by one with an answer from the pen of a royalist. It may be of interest to read the virulent characterization of the

It was not the first time that a Huguenot had made profession of a willingness to immolate himself upon the altar of his country and his faith. Louis of Condé made it in 1562, and in consequence was nearly entrapped by Catharine de' Medici.[1] Rohan himself had so frequently uttered the same thing in various forms, that there can be little doubt that voluntary expatriation occupied a prominent place in his thoughts as no remote or improbable contingency. Whether the notion was a fruit of his reading of profane or of sacred history, whether the example of a Curtius or the nobler example of the Founder of his religion was before his eyes, or whether indeed he had visions of a possible redemption of his fellow believers at the price of his own sufferings, or merely spoke out of the weariness of one who sees the futility of a struggle, which in his magnanimity he feels himself incapable of declining, are questions which it may not be possible to answer.[2] At any rate, impartial history, taking into account the sacrifices that Rohan unhesitatingly made, in full view of the probable issue of the war, as well as his patriotic course at its close, will not refuse to accord him credit for full persuasion of the rectitude of his course and for entire sincerity of purpose.

His profession of willingness to immolate himself on the altar of his faith.

Not so seems to have thought the royalist who made a scurrilous reply to the duke's Declaration, and who ventured to suggest that the Huguenot might go to keep company in exile with the Elector Palatine, brother-in-law of Charles the First, whose failure to maintain his title to the crown of Bohemia and other misfortunes had scarcely ceased to resound throughout Christendom. "I believe," says this writer, "that you could scarcely choose a retreat more worthy of you than the Hague in Holland, the place of sojourn of the favorites

A scurrilous retort.

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document by the Cardinal of Richelieu (Mémoires, i. 490): "Ce manifeste étoit tissu d'une continuelle fureur déguisée d'un ingénieux artifice, soutenu d'une impudence de démon." The prelate knows little of Christian moderation.

[1] See Jean de Serres, Commentarii de statu religionis et reipublicæ, ii. 177 seq.; Rise of the Huguenots of France, ii. 64.

[2] The questions are raised, but not answered, by Laugel, Le Duc de Rohan, 217. I have before referred to expressions of a similar nature uttered by Rohan some six years earlier, supra, page 198.

of fortune; where, as an exiled duke and peer, you will occupy a furnished chamber near the person of the King of Bohemia, in no wise intruded upon by his subjects. You will have a place at his table where tooth-picks of scented wood are served on sitting down, and at whose court you will have entire leisure to blow upon your fingers and play the part of one amazed."[1]

The Cévennes.

The Protestant Cévennes answered Rohan's appeals by contributing a force of several thousand men, and stood ready to assist the entry into France of an auxiliary force which was promised by the Duke of Savoy but never came. Rohan himself, with a body of four thousand five hundred foot and two hundred horse, started for the west, prepared to help the English and make a diversion in the interest of La Rochelle.[2]

Milhau.

Milhau en Rouergue, Protestant though it was,[3] had been constrained by the party of timid counsels to refuse him admission. The consuls wrote him a letter notifying him of the city's intention to abide by the king and not to inquire further into the designs of the "foreigners."[4] Two noblemen of his own partisans in the place came out to dissuade him from passing that way, urging that, when Castres and Montauban should once have espoused his cause, the weaker towns would promptly follow the example. But Rohan knew that the time had come for decisive action, and as a general saw the importance of securing the little stronghold on the Tarn. Announcing his intention, in case it held out, to ravage the surrounding territory, he resolutely attacked the bridges and penetrated into the suburbs, making so formidable a demonstration before the eyes of the citizens, that the people, rising to arms by night, compelled the unwilling consuls to open to him the gates of the city.[1]

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[1] Mercure françois, xiv. 305. "A la cour duquel vous aurez tout loisir de souffler à vos doigts et jouer à l'ébahy."

[2] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 318.

[3] For the petition of the consuls and inhabitants of Milhau, addressed to Charles IX., in which they declared themselves all to be of the Reformed faith, and the return showing that, in a visitation of over eight hundred houses made by a commission appointed for the purpose, in 1563, not a person had been found who asked for or desired a restoration of the service of the mass, see The Rise of the Huguenots, ii. 147; Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, ix. 382–392.

[4] See their letter, dated October 23, 1627, in the Mercure françois, xiv. 312, etc.

Castres shuts its gates.

It was not so when he advanced to Castres, a place of capital importance, both because of its strength and because, in consequence of its situation, it commanded the roads as well toward Montauban as toward Foix. The hostile faction held the people in check and shut the gates of Castres in his face. Unwilling to risk an attack, and fearful of a similar reception at the hands of the municipal officers of Montauban, the duke turned southward and executed a brilliant movement that soon made him master of the better part of Foix. In lieu of Castres, the smaller but well fortified town of Revel served as the base of operations and prevented his communications from being cut off. The *people* of Mazères imitated the example of Milhau, and forced the municipal officers to admit him, and Saverdun, Pamiers, Mas d'Azil and Carla, not to speak of smaller places, were brought to submit within little more than a fortnight.[2] They were the very places whose consuls had been so forward in sending to Galland, at Castres, letters expressive of their unalterable loyalty to Louis the Thirteenth.[3]

Revel, Mazères, and other places welcome him.

The bonfires kindled all about him in the county of Foix by the Roman Catholic population were the first tidings that reached Rohan of Buckingham's defeat on the Isle de Ré. They warned him of the danger of his present position, closely beset as he was by the Duke of Montmorency, and dictated a prompt retreat, after provision made for the safety of his recent captures, toward the Cévennes and Vivarais.[4]

The Prince of Condé selected to crush the Huguenots.

Meanwhile, on the receipt of Rohan's Declaration, the king, or the Cardinal of Richelieu, had taken a step that fixed the character of the war against the Huguenots. This was the selection of the Prince of Condé, "the sworn enemy of the Huguenots," as the prelate himself styles him, to crush the southern revolt. Montmorency, as governor of Languedoc, might well have claimed the appointment, but he had signally failed in every previous movement against Rohan, whether because of bad fortune, or of unskilful management, or of a covert unwillingness to crush the Huguenot party which his father had done much to strengthen.[1] Condé's commission gave him the command, as royal lieutenant-general, in the provinces of Languedoc, Guyenne, Dauphiny, Lyonnais, Forez, and Beaujolais. He was fortified by a royal declaration against Rohan and his followers, which ordered the Huguenot leader's trial for treason by the Parliament of Toulouse, despite the privilege of his peerage, which he was said to have forfeited. Condé was provided with an ample army to effect his purposes. The cardinal had taken the pains to invite him to an interview at his castle of Richelieu, and had fully explained to him the king's intention to reduce the Huguenots by waging a politic warfare and avoiding a severity both untimely and needless. It boded ill for his future course, that, shortly after the conference, "the passion which the prince had against the Huguenots and his desire to hasten their ruin made him forget his understanding with the cardinal, and write to Louis that it seemed to him that the time had arrived for attacking all the Huguenots of his kingdom at once with the utmost hostility." The king, he said, should resolve not to lay down his arms until he held in his possession all their remaining towns, and should turn a deaf ear to every proposal to treat with their leaders.[2] Condé's ardor was quietly cooled by the reminder that his majesty, having another great war upon his hands, could not comply with the prince's suggestions.

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[1] Mémoires de Rohan, i. 318, 319.

[2] Ibid., i. 320–329.

[3] See above p. 293.

[4] Mémoires de Rohan, i. 337, etc.

The superior force at Condé's disposal effectually disposed of all opposition. Reaching Lyons a little before the first of December, he made his way to the neighborhood of Nismes before the end of the month. About this time an incident occurred at Aubenas, a small fortified city situated upon the river Ardèche, which was heralded throughout France as a veritable miracle. In the course of a few days, so it was said, the entire Huguenot population was converted to Roman Catholicism. The exploit of Marshal Ornano (for it was he whom Condé sent thither to make sure of the place) is deserving of notice as one of the first specimens of a kind of work in which Foucauld, Marillac, and other famous "converters" of the age of Louis the Fourteenth distinguished themselves about a half-century later.

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[1] "Ou qu'il avoit dessein d'entretenir le parti huguenot que son père y avoit établi." Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 492.

[2] I have quoted almost the exact expressions of the cardinal. Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 492, 493.

Marshal Ornano "converts" Aubenas.

For this reason I shall lay before the reader so far as possible the very account which, at the time, was sown broadcast throughout France, in the interest of the authors of the enterprise.

The marshal reached Aubenas on the last day of the year, having come in all haste because he had learned that, a week or ten days before, the Huguenots had captured Vals, a place only a league distant from Aubenas, and belonging to his wife. Upon his arrival, the three municipal officers came to do him honor. Two were Protestants. He gave them no time to utter any complimentary speech; but, stepping forward, took from their shoulders the scarfs of office they wore, and handed them to their Roman Catholic colleague. He would accept no honor, he said, at the hands of rebels. Then summoning the Protestant minister and certain chief men of his flock, he set forth the grounds he had for distrusting their loyalty. Their partisans in Vals had given them an example in their rebellion against a mistress who had always used them well. He announced his intention of placing the guard of the city in safer hands. It happened that the marshal's visit exactly coincided with the time for a new municipal election. He therefore ordered the convocation of the council upon the morrow, New Year's Day. At this meeting only Roman Catholic burgesses were permitted to vote, and these were bidden to elect all three municipal officers from members of the same communion. On account of their numerical preponderance, the Protestants had heretofore always held either two or three of the seats in the board. An order was issued to the Protestants to bring in all the arms in their possession. Their houses were visited, so as to make sure that they complied with the direction. The Protestant minister was dismissed, but the members of his flock were forbidden to leave Aubenas or to assemble for any purpose, on pain of imprisonment. Three days passed, and the Roman Catholic inhabitants came to Ornano with the request that the expenses of the increased garrison be laid upon "the Huguenots." It was so ordered, and Ornano commanded the new municipal officers to lodge the soldiers in the houses of "the pretended reformed religionaries."

"It was at this point," artlessly observes the Roman Catholic account which I follow, "that they began to know that God was disclosing to them the path to lead them back to the faith of their ancestors. For which reason a goodly number of them, anticipating the execution of this order, hastened at once to the college of the Jesuits, begging instantly to be admitted to the Catholic church. Their example being followed by others, and the matter published throughout the town, there was a great concourse. Ten or fifteen would come together; and this continued so long, that six fathers of the company were unceasingly busy for the space of a fortnight in instructing and shriving them. Had it not indeed been that they were already as it were half instructed by the frequent sermons that had for several years been delivered to them upon the public square, and by private interviews held with them from time to time, the Jesuit fathers would have been unable to accomplish their task, seeing even that one of their number had as much as he could do to recognize them and take down their names. There has not been seen until now in any city of France so general and so sudden a conversion, inasmuch as, in less than three weeks, there have been received into the faith more than two hundred and fifty families, without reproach and without dissembling, so far as one can judge from external signs. This shows that the almighty hand of God has mercifully wrought therein."

Our informant, evidently one of the Jesuit fathers or some ecclesiastic in full sympathy with them, having said thus much, might have been content to leave his narrative to the reader to believe or not, according to his pleasure. But being apprehensive that so strange a story may require further corroboration, he fortifies it by assertions scarcely more credible. The proof that the work was a miracle of divine grace he finds in the circumstance that, while the greater part of the vicinity of Aubenas had already turned to the faith, the citizens of

Aubenas had only been the more hardened. For many years the number of converts had been small. They of Aubenas had earned the reputation of being "the most cross-grained"—*les plus acariâtres*—of French Huguenots. All at once the obdurate metal melts. The converts themselves regard it as a work of God. The joy and satisfaction visible on their countenances, and their cheerful conversation and deportment, testify to the integrity of their conversion. A still stronger proof is the frankness with which they converse with those who act as mediators to reconcile them with God and to keep them within the pale of the church, accompanying their communications with tears and sighs that come from the heart. In short, the converts partake of the divine mysteries with such devotion and consolation, as to stop the mouth not only of all calumny, but also of every suspicion which might arise respecting the reality of their conversion, as though it may have been occasioned by fear of the damage they would have incurred in being compelled to support troops quartered upon them.

Such is the narrative, from a friendly pen, of one of the first essays at the Dragonnades in France, an essay so successful that it was asserted that only two families (and the heads of these families were absent) remained unconverted. So thorough was the work of regeneration, that the new converts themselves, the writer would have us believe, desired to leave no trace of their former religion, and placed their church edifice or *temple* at Ornano's disposal. A quieter work of grace could scarcely be imagined, or a movement farther removed from constraint, did not the compiler, in his anxiety to laud the skill of the military commander, betray the fact that Marshal Ornano was present at all the religious conferences between the Jesuits and the Protestants, and himself went to visit any of the heretics who were detained at home by bodily infirmity.[1]

Upon such shallow impostures is the world fed! And not only the ignorant and unthinking multitude, but men otherwise shrewd and far-seeing, were content to close their eyes to the palpable absurdity of this and similar fables of sudden and sincere changes in the religious sentiments of mankind operated by the mere, and scarcely disguised, exhibition of superior and irresistible force. I need give no other proof of this amazing blindness of men who did not desire to see, than the fact that Cardinal Richelieu, ordinarily no bigot, incorporates in his memoirs the account of the conversion of the Protestants of Aubenas which I have reproduced, and virtually adopts it as his own. Not only does he utter no word of doubt or incredulity, but he closes his narrative with a pious reflection upon the utility and the occasional necessity of human considerations, insignificant though they may be in comparison with considerations based on divine things, to effect the conversion of men.[1] No friend of extreme measures, the cardinal had, nevertheless, as little hesitation in approving the forced conversion of Aubenas, as in justifying the seizure of the little principality of Orange by Louis the Thirteenth, in plain violation of international law and the obligation of treaties. The pretext was that the little principality enclosed by the king's territory served as a rendezvous for rebels against his authority. The motive was perhaps a desire to retaliate upon the Dutch for the coldness with which they had responded to his call for help in reducing the Rochellese. The Bishop of Orange was the convenient instrument in corrupting the governor, who, for a pecuniary reward, consented to be converted to the Roman Catholic faith, to turn the castle over to the French, and to acknowledge the authority of Louis in place of that of the Stadtholder of Holland.[2]

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[1] The detailed narrative of the conversion of Aubenas is given in the Mercure françois, xiv. 410–416.

Obedient to the king's commands the Parliament of Toulouse had instituted a trial of the Duke of Rohan for treason, and, having found him guilty, it now condemned him to the ordinary penalty for that crime. Not being able, however, to lay hands upon him, an effigy as closely resembling him as possible was prepared, and the rabble of Toulouse enjoyed the satisfaction of beholding the comical sight of the puppet torn asunder, limb from limb, by four horses, and looking on while the public hangman cast these lifeless members into the flames, together with a board upon which the arms of the duke had been duly painted.[1] As the Protestant leader's estates were declared to be forfeited to the crown, the Prince of Condé secured for himself the rich duchies of Rohan and Pontivy and the principality of Léon, not to speak of other lands and seigniories.[2]

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[1] The cardinal prefaces the story with the words: "Je ne puis oublier ici la bonté de Dieu en la conversion de tout le peuple d'Aubenas." Mémoires de Richelieu, i. 496. I note that so recent a historian as Bazin, in his Histoire de France sous Louis XIII. (Paris, 1838), ii. 376, tells the story of the conversion of all the Protestants of Aubenas in the space of less than three weeks, and tells it without any mark of disbelief. He even quotes Cardinal Richelieu's statement that many of the converts fully admitted that for years—six, eight, or ten years—they had been desirous of becoming Roman Catholics.

[2] Mémoires de Richelieu, i. 497.

The Parliament of Toulouse condemns Rohan as a traitor.

His estates forfeited.

Meantime that nobleman, quite oblivious of the instructions he had received, which were simply to hinder Rohan's progress until such time as, La Rochelle having been taken, the overthrow of the Huguenots could be easily secured, was vexing the king and annoying the cardinal by incessantly writing to obtain permission to besiege the Huguenot strongholds and to wage a sanguinary and universal warfare. Repeated remonstrances on the futility of any captures he might make fell on deaf ears, and for a while Richelieu, busy with a more serious undertaking, was fain to let him go on pretty much as he pleased.[3] Consequently while Rohan remained in the east, Condé, joining forces with Montmorency, directed his course westward, and, penetrating into the County of Foix, retook and punished with great cruelty the town of Pamiers. His severity extended even so far as forbidding that a Protestant should ever

Condé's zeal and importunity.

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[1] Since Perier, an envoy of Rohan to Foix, was put to death on the same occasion, Gramond, one of the judges, styles the occurrence "actus una tragicus et comicus." Hist. Gall., 751.

[2] Louis had indeed granted them to Condé, December 1, 1627, or two months before the sentence of the Parliament of Toulouse, which was rendered near the end of January, 1628, and executed February 1. The Parliament of Brittany, within whose jurisdiction most of the lands were situated, made strenuous opposition to recognizing the gift, and only yielded and verified it, March 12, 1629. Condé's tenure was brief, since the peace of June, 1629, ordered restitution to the Duke of Rohan. Duc d'Aumale, Hist. des Princes de Condé, iii., pièces justificatives, 512.

[3] Cardinal Richelieu explains the situation very clearly in his Mémoires, i. 509.

dwell in the place—a regulation which is said to have continued in force for more than a century and a half, to the outbreak of the French Revolution.[1] He was not always so successful, nor, when victorious, did his triumphs always further the cause he espoused. When, coming down from the Pyrenean slopes, he laid siege to Réalmont and forced it to capitulate, scarcely a pretence was made of observing the terms. The town was given over to plunder and to the flames, the wretched inhabitants to the sword and to every form of outrage. Condé is said to have striven to restrain his troops, but, if so, his troops, flushed with victory and throwing off all respect for authority, human or divine, gave unbridled sway to license and lust.[2] The miserable men and women who escaped were scattered abroad. Some made their way to Castres, which still held for the king, and, exhausted and half naked, reached the edge of the moat, whence they called upon their recreant fellow believers for shelter, for food, for the treatment of their wounds. So moving a spectacle, so touching an appeal, could not be disregarded. The people of Castres had not forgotten the tie of a common faith that bound them to the fugitives. The judicial officers and the consuls might strenuously decry the proposal to open the gates, but they dared make no active resistance when a party of Huguenot gentlemen from neighboring towns made their appearance and

The fate of Réalmont.

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[1] The text of the order of banishment of the Protestants from Pamiers, dated from Toulouse, April 5, 1628, is printed for the first time in the Bulletin de la société du Protestantisme français, xix. (1870) 299, 300. So strictly was the proscriptive ordinance observed down to 1789, that a Protestant watchmaker, M. Hérisson, was only tolerated in Pamiers because his weekly absences on the Lord's Day were construed as constituting a legal residence elsewhere. Note of M. Cassas, ubi supra.

[2] The salaried historiographer Bernard (Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., ii. 131), recalls that Réalmont was the first city of Languedoc infected with Calvin's heresy, and that for more than seventy-six years it had professed the Protestant religion, having wholly expelled the mass and all Roman Catholic ceremonies. He has nothing to say of any cruelty or breach of faith. The parliamentary judge Gramond (Hist. Gall., 756, 757), more honest and truthful, chronicles the excesses I refer to, with sorrow and regret. The contrast between the two writers, both ardent Roman Catholics, strengthens one's suspicion that, despite the eulogium upon the office of Historiographer of France, placed at the head of Bernard's work, that office cannot be said to have been instituted in the interest of truth and impartiality.

set their scaling ladders against the wall. Thus a handful of Protestants, by a bloodless assault, captured the city and admitted the refugees. The misfortunes of Réalmont became the occasion of Castres's coming over to the party of Rohan and the Protestants in arms against the king. Montauban speedily followed the example of Castres.[1] Thus much was accomplished by the blundering policy of Condé. His arms were destined to be covered with fresh disgrace before the insignificant works of Saint Affrique.

Leads Castres and Montauban to open their gates to Rohan.

This town, founded upon the reputed burial place of Saint Africain or Africanus, a bishop of Comminges, who, being expelled from his see by the Visigoths in the sixth century, is said to have taken up his abode in the neighboring village of Vabres, was not a spot likely to be selected for the honor of a siege at the hands of the first prince of the blood and of the old favorite of Henry the Third; nor, having been besieged, was it likely to detain them long. It may very well, as was reported, have owed the solitary event that has illustrated its otherwise monotonous annals to the jealousy of two prelates, and to the private resentment of a royal officer. The Bishop of Rodez, chief city of Rouergue, viewed with displeasure a Huguenot town the rendezvous of the sectaries of his entire diocese; while to the bishop of the ancient but declining see of Vabres, it was perpetual annoyance that a distance of scarcely half a league separated him from a community three quarters of whose population rejected his spiritual authority. Nor is it improbable that one Galtier, a judge of Saint Affrique itself, may have been the most active agent in persuading the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Épernon, governor of the province, to turn aside, while upon their march to the relief of the castle of Meyrueis (at that time hard beset by the Duke of Rohan), that they might capture the saucy little town of Saint Affrique. However this may be, late in the month of May the two royalist leaders, with a united force of about five or six thousand foot and eight hundred horse, made their approach to Saint Affrique, which they had been assured would not be enough of a meal for three regiments, and was too weak to withstand fifteen volleys of

Saint Affrique besieged by Condé, May, 1628.

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[1] Gramond, ubi supra; Mémoires de Rohan, i. 355 et seq.

cannon.[1] Moreover, those within its walls were represented as cowards, if indeed they were not already gained over to the king's side.

Pastor Jean Bastide plans the fortifications.

The assailants little knew the kind of men with whom they had to deal—either the burgesses, commanded by their pastor Bastide, or the Huguenot soldiers, led by Charles de Saint-Estève, the elder brother of the Baron d'Aubais. Jean Bastide was an exception to the rule that a converted priest rarely made a very stanch and trustworthy Protestant minister. Not a pastor on the rolls of the Reformed Churches of France was cast in a more heroic mould than the former curate of Montgaillard, whom the Protestant provincial synod had installed at Saint Affrique, only three months before the outbreak of the war. It was a recognition of this fact that induced La Vacaresse, governor of the town, to request Bastide "to go a little beyond his more serious occupations and to labor for the preservation of the bodies of his flock, in like manner as he watched for the salvation of their souls." La Vacaresse's prayer being reinforced by an express order from the Duke of Rohan, the Huguenot pastor gave himself to the work of setting the town in a condition to sustain a siege, with a skill that would have done credit to a professional engineer. Nor was it an obstacle that, having been foremost in opposing a resort to arms, he had but recently been convinced that self-defence was now fully justified by the course of events. With the eye of a practised student of the art of fortification, Bastide had already devised on paper the works which Saint Affrique needed for its safety; now he traced them out upon the ground. "Necessity, mother of inventions," says the graphic narrative that may well, I think, have been penned by the warrior-minister himself, "led Bastide, while holding in one hand the trowel and building the House of the Lord, to take the sword in the other for the purpose of preserving the Lord's work."[2]

Saint Affrique stands on the northern bank of the little river

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[1] "On leur assure que St. Affrique n'est pas le dejeuner de trois regimens; qu'au pis aller elle ne souffrira jamais quinze volées de canon; que dedans il n'y avoit que des lâches, et qu'on y avoit des intelligences," etc.

[2] "La nécessité, mère des inventions, porta Bastide, pendant que d'une main il tenoit la truelle, bâtissant en la maison du Seigneur, de prendre l'épée de

Sorgue. A high wall of the old fashion, provided with small towers and gates at intervals, and surrounded by a ditch, ran about three sides of the town proper. On the fourth side flowed the river. The town contained some five hundred houses. There were beyond the walls three "faubourgs," or suburbs. Two stood on the same side of the Sorgue; the third, lying upon the other bank and connected by a bridge, bore the name of *Tranpon*, an abbreviation for *Trans pontem*. Bastide had provided the nearer suburbs with walls and outworks, and had made them reasonably secure. He experienced greater difficulty in completing the system of fortifications which he had planned for the little suburb across the Sorgue, upon which, as the most vulnerable point, the safety of the whole place depended. He had, however, wisely begun with the counter-scarp, consisting of two earthworks joining at an angle protected by a crescent or half-moon; and, lest they should be discouraged, he had carefully concealed from the citizens the hard task which he had still in reserve for them within these outer works. The ditch had also been dug in front of the wall, and, had he been able to carry out his designs, he would have provided covered ways and other convenient passages at the places where he foresaw that the attack must surely come.[1] Patriotism and religion vied with one another in the names which Bastide gave to his new works. On the northern side of the river were the half-moons of the King, of the Queen, and of Madame de Rohan, the Platform of the Gospel, the Bastions of Rohan, of Bastide, of La Vacaresse. On the other side of the Sorgue, the Eagle, the Lion, the Dragon, the Laurel and the Maiden gave their names to various parts, while upon the whole

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l'autre, pour conserver son ouvrage, voyant l'état auquel les plus pacifiques s'en alloient être exposez, ceux-là mémement, lesquels, *tels que lui*, *avoient par tous moyens essayé d'éviter la prise des armes dans le Vabrois*, et sentant arriver le tems d'une naturelle et par consequent trop juste deffense Il met donc en usage sur le terrain ce qu'autrofois il avoit pratiqué sur le papier." Relation du siége de Saint-Affrique, 18, 19.

[1] "Mais les traverses necessaires et ruës couvertes ont été encore à faire, par le caprice de quelques habitans, qui ont eu le repentir pour salaire de n'avoir cru Bastide, *qui leur marquoit jusques à un pouce de terre les endroits par lesquels ils seroient et assiégez et battus*." Relation, page 19. This is another of the little touches which, if I am not mistaken, reveal the authorship of the document.

suburb the council of war and of the city saw fit to confer the designation of *Ville Louis*, in token of loyalty to the monarch against whom they were contending. Finding time in the midst of warlike preparations for the cultivation of the muses, and playing upon the tradition that one of the northern suburbs of Saint Affrique had been the *Leucopolis* (*Ville blanche*) of the ancients, Bastide composed and placed upon the portal of the new walls the lines

Leucopolis, rigido vastante hæc culmina Marte,
Auspiciis, Lodoice, tuis hæc moenia ponit.

It is characteristic of the age and of the Huguenots, that, in chronicling this choice of name for their fresh fortifications, the loyal narrator pauses to observe: "This was for the purpose of showing to our adversaries that, in the midst of our most poignant sufferings, we kiss the hand that smites us, and pray without ceasing for him who in his royal dignity bears pre-eminently above all the rest of the kings of the earth the lively image of God."[1]

Such was the little town that had prepared to withstand Condé and Épernon, its citizens divided into seven companies of fifty men each, with a sufficient number over and above for the most urgent needs. The governor, La Vacaresse, commanded the first company. Pastor Bastide commanded the second.[2] The Duke of Rohan sent what troops he could to their relief. There were in all some thirteen hundred fighting men in the place.[3] Their spirit was all that could be desired.

Brave defence of the Huguenots.

More than once in the preliminary skirmishes did a few Huguenots succeed in retarding or frustrating the movements of the enemy. But the courage of the defenders shone resplendent on Thursday, the fifth of June. On that day, the artillery of the Prince of Condé, posted on a commanding eminence—the besieged surnamed it *Fort Falsehood*—having made a breach in the Bastion of the Dragon, a general assault was ordered as well upon this work as upon the "Fort of Truth," and "the Bastion of the Gospel." The assailants were confident, apparently not without good reason. They boasted that they would sup that night in Ville Louis. In their assurance of victory, they had given out in camp that no one should spare the life of a single Huguenot, on pain of the gallows. The women were to be abandoned to the brutal soldiery. Nothing that had life was to escape, even to the domestic animals; this in revenge, because a cat had been derisively held up to the view of the royalists on the point of a pike.[1] And indeed the attack was only less bravely made than repulsed. It was afterwards commonly observed that in intrepidity and obstinacy neither the assailants nor the assailed had ever been surpassed.[2] More than once the shout arose from Condé's soldiers that they were within the enemy's works, but a renewed and more determined effort of the besieged drove them into the ditch. Three times was the desperate struggle made, three times did the brave burgesses of Saint Affrique and their equally brave helpers from elsewhere render futile the undertaking. Those whose lives had by anticipation been declared forfeited beyond possibility of ransom, showed little pity. The offer of a thousand *pistoles*, the cry "Ten thousand crowns if you will spare me," or, "Save me, a captain," were not listened to by men who remembered that the suppliants were the persons who had sworn their destruction, and that, but a day before, when they overheard the Huguenot soldiers invoking the name of God in the trenches, the royalists had boastfully cried out: "Your Lord is not able to save you from our hands!"[3] The women, who on previous days had not labored less heartily than the men in carrying stones or mortar, or hurdles, to fill the ditch or strengthen the ramparts, now fought for their religion, and for their honor, with a resolution that shamed even some of their companions of the stronger sex. The names of three young girls, daughters of respectable burgesses, have come down to us as worthy of special admiration —all described as "untiring in labor and amazons in the combat;" while of a fourth, a woman of the lower class, it is told, that a cannon-ball having struck a soldier at her side and driven a piece of bone from his splintered leg into her shoulder, she begged the captain who chanced to be near by to draw it. This done, she continued to fight, though covered with blood, with her wound undressed, until she had twice smitten down with her own hands one of the enemies in the breach.[1]

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[1] Relation, page 20.

[2] Ibid., 21, etc.

[3] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 368.

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[1] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 35. "Le bandoul est fait dans le camp, qu'à peine de la corde personne ne parle de sauver la vie, ni à ami ni à parent qui soit dedans. Les filles, par une chasteté romaine, sont données à la discretion de la brutalité du soldat. Tout y doit passer, oui, jusques aux chats; puisque le premier jour de la batterie les assiégez leur en avoient presenté un sur la pointe d'une pique."

[2] The Duke of Épernon was credited with the remark that although he had lived about eighty [more accurately seventy-four] years in the world, yet he had never seen an assault either more furiously made or more vigorously repelled. Ibid., 43.

[3] "Qui blasphemant, le jour auparavant, dans la tranchée, lorsque nous invoquions le nom de Dieu aux brèches, crioient que notre Eternel n'étoit pas capable de nous garantir de leurs mains." Ibid., 40.

Retreat of the Prince of Condé.

At length the Prince of Condé retired in disgust from before the little town which had defied his arms. He had lost four hundred of his best men, including forty officers, in killed, besides three hundred in wounded. Of the Huguenots there were said to be only twenty-eight killed and sixty wounded.[2] It was a bitter disappointment for the first prince of the blood with a well appointed army to fail miserably before little Saint Affrique almost at the very moment that the Duke of Rohan with inferior forces was capturing Meyrueis, a place of much greater strength, as Cardinal Richelieu asserts, than any of the places that Condé had taken.[1] On the other hand, the Huguenots, and none more than the minister Bastide, covered themselves with renown. It may, indeed, be esteemed an additional tribute to the glory of the pastor, otherwise unknown to history, that the memory of his achievements at Saint Affrique so rankled in the ignoble soul of Louis the Thirteenth, that at the next national synod of the Reformed Churches, held in Charenton in 1631, his royal commissioner, Auguste Galland, was instructed to demand Bastide's removal from his church at Saint Affrique "for having tried to disturb the public peace and tranquillity." The synod was too feeble to refuse compliance with the king's request, but learning that Bastide was at that time a prisoner, it petitioned his majesty for his release, and at the same time gave the intrepid pastor leave to apply to any church in another province than Languedoc that might need his services, or in which he might desire to live.[2]

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[1] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 40, 41.

[2] The figures are those of the Relation, p. 40, and of the Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 368. They agree, so far as the royalist loss is concerned, with those given by Gramond (Hist. Gall. ab excessu Henrici IV., 760). Again this historian of Louis XIII.'s reign shows his superiority to the paid historiographer Bernard (ii. 133), who in this case is more than usually unfaithful to historic truth. Not only does he greatly exaggerate the Protestant loss (making it to be of more than 200 killed and 200 wounded), and reduce the loss of the royalists to about one-tenth of what it actually was (40–50 killed in place of 400); but he carefully suppresses every indication that the siege ended in disaster. I have based my account of this interesting event mainly upon a contemporary manuscript published for the first time at Montpellier in 1874, by Professor A. Germain, dean of the Faculté des Lettres of that city, with an instructive introduction, and with notes. It is entitled "Relation du siége de Saint-Affrique fait en 1628 par le Prince de Condé et le Duc d'Épernon." The MS., formerly belonging to the Marquis d'Aubais, is at present in the library of the city of Nismes. The triumphal tone of this enthusiastic and admirable narrative, almost an epic in itself, sufficiently proves that it is a contemporary production, written, in fact, prior to the fall of La Rochelle and the peace of 1629. The author is unknown. It has been conjectured that he may have been M. de Saint Estève, who as we have seen commanded during the siege. I regard it as more probable, as I have said, that it was the Huguenot pastor, Jean Bastide, a

Louis XIII. demands the removal of the heroic Bastide.

Of such sieges, so wasteful, so unprofitable for the great ends of the war, even when carried to a successful issue, the court had had quite enough. Condé now received peremptory commands to forego all enterprises of the kind, and devote himself

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hero in action, who may well have written heroically. I am glad to see that Professor Schylbergson comes to the same conclusion (Le Duc de Rohan, p. 79). See also the Mémoires de Rohan, i. 366-368; Gramond, 759-760; Bernard, ii. 133, etc.

[1] It turned out, the prelate states, as he had expected, "car deux mois ne se passèrent pas, qu'après avoir été contraint de lever le siége de Saint Affrique qu'il avoit entrepris avec trop de chaleur, son armée ne fût absolument dissipée, que le duc de Rohan n'eût pris Mervé [Meyrueis], place beaucoup meilleure que toutes celles qu'il avoit prises," etc. Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 509.

[2] Acts of the Nat. Synod of Charenton, ch. iv., art. 6, and ch. xxiii., art. 10. Aymon, Tous les Synodes, ii. 459, 506. Jean Bastide was not therefore deposed from the ministry, as a reader of Professor Germain's note (Relation, p. 18), and of Haag, La France Protestante, i. 953, might perhaps be led to suppose; and the synod is clear of the grievous error of having dishonored a man who deserved well of his church, and who will be held in high esteem by posterity so long as courage, sagacity, and self-devotion are prized.

to the necessary work of ravaging the country about the three great centres of the Huguenot revolt.[1] "I beg you to remember," Cardinal Richelieu urgently, if somewhat facetiously, wrote to the prince, "that it is time to prepare to lay waste the neighborhood of Nismes, Castres, and Montauban; for on this hang all the law and the prophets."[2] The three royalist generals divided the work between them, Épernon devoting himself to Montauban, Montmorency to Nismes and Uzès, and Condé to Castres. The first two had little heart for their commission and executed it negligently, Condé performed his part with delight, although his forces suffered much from disease, and he was himself sorely perplexed, what with the sorties of the Huguenots from Castres, the descent of their allies from the mountains, and the mysterious appearances and disappearances of his enemy Henry of Rohan. For if that leader was not really ubiquitous, he showed a rare faculty for making himself seen and felt when least expected. At one moment he issued from Milhau and by a bold stroke recovered several of the towns that he had lost. The prince would thereupon advance hastily to meet him, summoning Montmorency to join his forces, and hoping to come up with the adventurous duke at Milhau. He reached that city only to find that Rohan had secretly drawn off into the mountains, whence he presently emerged as a conqueror in the plains of Lower Languedoc.[3]

Alertness of the Huguenot leader.

Nowhere, in fact, did the Duke of Rohan exhibit more clearly his surpassing military genius than in the dexterous use which he made of the Cévennes Mountains as the base of all his operations and as a convenient retreat. Between the pressure brought upon Condé by Cardinal Richelieu to resort to more drastic measures, and the facility with which Rohan could always escape the hazard of an engagement with an enemy superior in numbers, the poor prince was almost distracted. "Those who tell you that we must not besiege places but go straight toward Monsieur de Rohan," he wrote on

The Cévennes a Protestant base of operations.

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[1] Duc d'Aumale, Histoire des Princes de Condé, iii. 209, 210.

[2] "Car de là dépendent la loi et les prophètes." Richelieu to Condé, June 6, 1628, apud Laugel, Le Duc de Rohan, 235.

[3] Duc d'Aumale, Les Princes de Condé, *ubi supra*.

one occasion, "do not understand the country or the impracticability of the plan; for the path from which he never strays leads him from Nismes to Uzès, from Uzès to Alais, and thence through the Cévennes to Milhau. If he shows his face at one end and we approach, he retreats into his den, where he can in no wise be attacked without great forces at command; because the mountains are inconvenient of access, because our cannon can only with difficulty be brought up, because the supply of food is scanty, because the passes are advantageous to him, because the whole region is favorable to him, and because his infantry is strong while our cavalry is of no use.[1] Consequently, unless I push forward, day by day, taking one place after another, unless I busy myself incessantly with sieges, either in Foix, or in Languedoc in the direction of Castres, or in Rouergue as far as Cornus and Lunas, or unless I attack Privas in Vivarais, the king's army in Languedoc will do nothing but consume the people's substance, will make no progress, and will never assail or harm the Duke of Rohan."

So far, then, from sieges being unnecessary, Condé insisted that warfare by siege was, in fact, the only thing that was practicable. But in order to stifle the rebellion in Languedoc completely, a supreme effort must be made. The Cévennes must be entered, on opposite sides and at the same moment, by two armies of ten thousand men each, well furnished with artillery and supplied with abundant provision of food and money. By means of the two armies the Cévennes might easily be conquered in a month. This being accomplished, everything would be accomplished; for the strongholds in the lower country would make little or no resistance. If the king was not yet prepared for such radical measures, there was nothing left but to persist in the slow but sure process of successive sieges.[2]

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[1] "Car la gallerie de laquelle il ne s'écarte jamais est de Nismes à Usès, d'Usès à Allès, à Milhau par les Sévènes. Si monstre son nés à un des bouts et qu'on l'aproche, il rentre dans la tanière, où sans de grandes forces, où pour estre les montagnes incommodes, le canon difficile à mener, les vivres rares, les passages avantageux, tous le pays à luy, son infanterie forte, notre cavallerie inutille, il ne peult nullement estre attacqué."

[2] See the long and instructive letter of Condé to Richelieu, undated but belonging to the year 1628, which the Duke of Aumale has printed among the

It is of interest to note here that Cardinal Richelieu has left on record in his Memoirs an estimate of the importance of the Cévennes Mountains to the Protestant party little, if at all, inferior to the estimate formed by Condé. In view of the part which the mountaineers of this region were destined to play about three-quarters of a century later, in the Camisard war, the prelate's respect for the "courageous and experienced warriors" whom it produced and his admiration of the convenient access it afforded to Upper Languedoc, Guyenne, and Foix deserve our attention. "This has always been the course of the armies of the Huguenot party since it has existed in France. D'Acier followed this path when bringing great reinforcements to the army which subsequently fought the battle of Moncontour. By the same passage the Admiral [Marshal] of Châtillon led his force to deliver Montpellier from the arms of the last Constable of Montmorency who was besieging it. The region abounds in towns, not great so far as the number of their inhabitants is concerned, but formidable for their fortifications, each being regarded strong enough to detain a royal army."[1]

Their ancient importance.

The truth was that Rohan had much greater reason to be proud of his achievements than either of his principal opponents. Condé's dissatisfaction was threatening to become chronic and to comprehend all, both friends and enemies, with whom he came into contact. The court could not, or would not, furnish him the twenty thousand men whom he deemed indispensable. As the first prince of the blood, he was jealous beyond measure of the deference he believed to be due to him, and he wrote an angry letter to the Duke of Montmorency, freely accusing him of a want of respect, because he had interfered in behalf of some rebels of Languedoc and had actually forbidden upon pain of death the execution of one of the prince's ordinances directed against them.[2] As for the public in general, he was specially indignant that

Condé's dissatisfaction.

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pièces justificatives of the third volume of his Histoire des Princes de Condé (Paris, 1886), pp. 515-520.

[1] Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, ii. 17.

[2] Condé to Montmorency, Carcassonne, October 7, 1628, Ibid., iii. 521.

having, as he asserted, been successful everywhere else, men misrepresented the attack upon Saint Affrique, which, he admitted, had not proved successful, as though it had been the loss of a battle.[1] How the report rankled in his breast appears from the prince's futile attempt to show that the diminution of his troops after the repulse in front of Saint Affrique—the regiment of Normandy, he admitted, had dwindled from six hundred men to only three or four hundred men—was due not to the effective warfare of the enemy, but to lack of pay, to insufficient or unsuitable food, to distaste for sieges, to the call of harvest time. He was willing to pledge his life for it that there were not over ninety-eight men wounded in the entire army, while the number of dead was very insignificant.[2]

Bloody reprisals—Gallargues and Aimargues.

Meantime, while Condé fumed and uttered incessant complaints against the very associates for whom at the beginning of the campaign he had professed the highest consideration,[3] Henry of Rohan pursued his plans quietly and effectively. It was perhaps his misfortune, not his fault, that there was an abundance of bloody reprisals in this miserable war. Thus when he captured the little fortified town of Aimargues, not far from Nismes, Montmorency with a superior force made himself master of Gallargues in the same neighborhood. A goodly number of Huguenots fell into the Roman Catholic general's hands, together with the latter place, and he bethought him of a shrewd device for taking two castles by one success. The articles of capitulation promised the prisoners of war taken at Gallargues their lives and their effects, upon the condition that within ten days they should restore Aimargues and its fortifications intact to the hands of the Duke of Montmorency. The demand was as contrary to the usages of war as it would have been to attempt to prevent an enemy from firing into the ranks of an advancing army by placing his women and children as a screen in front of them. So judged Rohan and the Protestant deputies of Languedoc and the Cévennes, whom he consulted upon the matter. At the same time that he signified to Montmorency the readiness of his fellow Protestants to exert themselves to the utmost to effect by ransom or exchange, in short by any means but the unheard-of method proposed by their enemies, the deliverance of the unfortunate captives, he also plainly informed him that, should any evil come to the latter, he would be compelled to retaliate. He was as good as his word. The prisoners of Gallargues having been transported to Montpellier within Condé's jurisdiction, the prince had sixty of them hung, and sent the rest to the galleys.[1] Rohan replied by hanging an equal number of the Roman Catholics who had fallen into his hands at the taking of the castle of Monts, near Alais. A virulent correspondence ensued. Condé taunted Rohan with being the author of the death of the prisoners of Gallargues, to whose life he had preferred the continued possession of Aimargues; and he laid to the duke's charge three notable crimes—that he had brought the foreigner into the kingdom, that by his own authority he had created officers of justice, and that he had coined money without the royal sanction. He bade him beware of the exemplary punishment which would certainly overtake him sooner or later. "You spit against heaven," said he. Rohan, on the other hand, declared that if the English had come to the help of the Huguenots, they came as warrantors of the peace, admitted as such by the king's consent. If the Protestants had coined money, it was with the king's arms and just as had been done during previous civil wars. As for the prince's threat of future reprisals upon the peaceable Huguenots living under safeguard of the public faith in the midst of the Roman Catholics, he warned him that it would be an admirable example to teach them what trust they

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[1] "Encores qu'il me fasche un peu qu'après avoir réussy partout, pour une attacque faicte à Sainte Affrique qui n'a pas esté heureuse, on en aye parlé comme si j'avois perdu une bataille."

[2] Condé to Richelieu, ubi supra, iii. 519, 520.

[3] "Lui réduit à ce point qu'au lieu que, quand il alla en Languedoc, messieurs de Montmorency et d'Épernon etoient ceux dont il faisoit plus d'état en France, l'un comme ayant l'honneur d'être son beau frère, et l'autre pour l'estime particulière qu'il en faisoit, ce furent ceux dont il se plaignoit davantage, et avec qui il lui fut impossible de compatir." Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 509.

Correspondence of Condé and Rohan.

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[1] See the Mémoires de Rohan, i. 381 seq., and the correspondence in Laugel, Henry de Rohan, 237 seq., and in Duc d'Aumale, Hist. des Princes de Condé, iii. 521 seq.

ought to repose in their enemies, and a full justification of the course taken by the Protestants. "It only remains for me," he wrote in conclusion, "to pray that God may not treat you according to your deeds, but may bring you back to the true religion, and give you grace to persevere therein unto the end; that following the example of your father and grandfather, you may become the Defender of our churches."[1]

But it is time that, leaving Henry of Rohan in the midst of his brave, if hopeless, contest in southern France, we should turn to the heroic struggle of the city of La Rochelle. This reached its termination about the point to which we are now come, after a siege that had lasted between fourteen and fifteen months.

Siege of La Rochelle.

When, in the middle of August, 1627, the army of the king formally began the investment of the Huguenot capital of the west, its actions left no room for doubt that the cardinal was in earnest in his determination once for all to put an end to the political power of the Huguenots. Indeed, the persistent refusal of the king to fulfil his engagements to raze the neighboring Fort Louis gave to the citizens and to their friends abroad all the warning needed. Yet the student of history who remembers that the resources of a great and flourishing kingdom were at the disposal of the monarch and his trusted adviser, would at first be inclined to entertain surprise rather at the protracted duration of the siege than at its inevitable issue. According to the admission of Cardinal Richelieu himself, several serious mistakes were committed by the royalists that greatly retarded their success. They neglected to cut off the water-supply of La Rochelle. They failed to destroy the wheat, the vegetables, and other natural productions which grew upon the counterscarp, and which confessedly supplied the city with provisions for two months' time. They were lax in not beginning at an earlier date to punish fugitives from the famishing town and to drive them back inexorably within its walls. They erred especially in not attacking La Rochelle at

Mistakes of the besiegers.

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[1] The letters of Condé and Rohan, dated respectively on the 4th and 6th of November, 1628, are given in full by Petitot in his edition of the Mémoires de Rohan, i. 383–385.

a time when by a vigorous assault they might have taken it with comparative ease, and shortened the siege by five or six months.[1]

Despite these and other possible blunders, the operations to which Cardinal Richelieu, exchanging the spiritual functions of the priest for the life of a general, applied himself with unremitting assiduity, will ever remain a monument of his skill and tenacity of purpose. I shall not imitate Bassompierre, and give a story, day by day, of the progress of minor events that would be as devoid of interest as burdensome to the ordinary reader. A few general statements will suffice for my purpose, both in regard to the situation of the city and the means by which it was taken.

La Rochelle and its ports.

La Rochelle stands at the head of a bay or exterior harbor which may measure a mile and a half or two miles in depth, from the farthest side of the city's water-front to the Point de Coureilles, and which maintains a nearly uniform breadth of about seven-eighths of a mile. La Rochelle itself grew up on the sides of a small inner port, extending two hundred and fifty paces into the land, and thus assumed somewhat the shape of a horseshoe. The sheet of water held in the city's embrace was not so small, we are assured, but that it was capable of holding at one time more than two hundred vessels of three hundred tons each; but a modern ocean steamship of respectable size, could it have gained admission, would almost have reached from the entrance to the opposite land, and could not have turned upon its own central point. The fortifications, recently greatly strengthened by the Huguenot burghers, not only comprised a wall on the land side, provided with nine or ten formidable bastions, with half moons, with moat and counterscarp—in short, with every appliance known to the most approved art of the times—but included a line of wall upon the water's edge broken only by the narrow entrance of the inner port. This entrance was commanded by two towers—the *Tour de Saint Nicolas*, on the right, and the *Tour de la Chaîne*, on the left. Between the two, even in time of peace, a massive iron chain was by night suspended at the water's level,

The fortifications.

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[1] Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 553.

and so carefully was the narrow passage watched that the man to whom its guard was entrusted was permitted to collect a toll from every vessel that put to sea.[1] It is not an exaggerated statement of President Gramond, that La Rochelle, at the time of the siege, was the first of European fortified towns.[2] There was perhaps none that exhibited in every detail of its municipal administration a greater amount of care, bred of well-grounded fear of possible plots against its peace.[3]

Works of the royalists.

The results of recent attempts to take towns much weaker than La Rochelle by assault had been so uniformly disastrous, that a resort to that more prompt, but more perilous, method was out of the question. Larger forces and far more effective artillery than those at the command of Louis might have failed to make an impression upon such redoubtable works. In order to reduce the city by famine it was necessary, in the first place, to cut off supplies by land. This was done by throwing up a wall of circumvallation, with suitable forts at more or less regular intervals, constructed at a respectful distance from the Huguenot bastions, and reaching from just below the famous Fort Louis quite around the city to the forts of Coureilles and Orleans on the opposite side of the bay. It was even more indispensable to close the communication of the city with the sea, that no succor, whether of men or of provisions, might come from the English or other allies of the Rochellese. The first efforts in this direction were not promising. Pompée Targon, an engineer of Italian extraction, more fertile in invention than successful in practice, had acquired some reputation at the siege of Ostend, a quarter of a century earlier. But his plan to shut in La Rochelle by means of a chain with floating castles, pontoons, and rotating battery,

Targon's chain.

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[1] Jodocus Sincerus is careful to inform us that sailors returning with a successful catch of fish were expected to give him a part of their fish; for which purpose a basket was lowered by a rope from the tower. Itinerarium Galliæ, 117.

[2] "Hæc Rupella Europæarum princeps arcium (quo tempore obsessa) hodie pagus est." Hist. Gall., 767. Both Bernard (i. 176, etc.) and Sincerus (ubi supra) made personal visits to La Rochelle, and both have testified to the courtesy with which the mayor took pains to show them all the wonderful works.

[3] Bernard, i. 178.

though excellent upon paper, did not stand the test when carried into effect. The first storm snapped the chain asunder and wrecked the entire structure.[1] It was evident that something more stable must be substituted. A massive dike was accordingly begun, at a distance of a full mile from the nearest bastion of La Rochelle, and therefore quite beyond the range of the enemy's fire. The work had advanced but little when a considerable portion was overthrown by the waves of the sea.

The great dike.

Cardinal Richelieu was not discouraged. The disaster was ascribed to the fact that the sides had been built perpendicular; when the work was resumed they were constructed so that the force of the storms might expend itself upon the sloping faces of the dike. Thus, while the top had but four yards of level space in breadth, the foundations reached far out into the water on either side. Great masses of stone, laboriously brought to the spot, formed the body of the work, and were kept in position by piles driven into the bottom; while farther out, where the depth of the water precluded the continuation of the wall in this shape, nearly threescore vessels, firmly bound to each other by iron bands and filled with masonry well cemented together, were sunk to the bottom and became the firm foundation which was subsequently covered by an immense quantity of stones until this part of the work, like the parts nearer to either shore, was reared to a height beyond the reach of the waves at their highest. In order to afford a passage for the water to run in and out, the dike was not continuous, but its two arms, projecting from the opposite sides of the bay, overlapped, leaving a circuitous entrance some thirty yards in breadth. This was rendered impracticable, even for such vessels as might have ventured to thread so exposed a pathway, by spurs of the principal dike, by piles firmly driven, and united by chains, and by a cordon of sunken ships.[2]

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[1] Bernard, ii. 50.

[2] See the full description of the dike given by Cardinal Richelieu in his Mémoires, i. 550, 551, and the briefer account by Arcère, Histoire de La Rochelle, ii. 268, 269. The excellent plan illustrative of the siege given by this author is of great assistance to a clear understanding, and has furnished me the measurements given in the text. Mr. Smedley (History of the Reformed Religion in France, iii. 189) reproduces this plan on a smaller scale, but, through a blunder of the engraver, reversed.

Marquis Spinola's visit

Such was the structure, in its ultimate shape, and as modified under the lessons of partial disaster, which has added to the fame of the cardinal who, if not the author of every one of its features, made it his own both by the zeal with which he projected its erection and by the untiring application with which he personally superintended its execution. We may well believe that the Marquis of Spinola, hero of the capture of Ostend, who examined the dike when in process of construction, did not hesitate to praise the project, and still more the courage of the undertaking. So ambitious a military structure had scarcely been seen in modern times. If the astute marquis had thought so before, he was now fully confirmed in his opinion that it was highly undesirable, indeed that it was a violation of the first principles of good policy that Spain should help the King of France to reduce his Huguenot subjects.[1] The Spanish ministers were evidently of the same mind. Although, in accordance with the terms of a late treaty, the King of Spain had sent a fleet to French waters professedly to aid his brother the King of France, their commander had secret instructions to give Louis no substantial assistance. Sorry enough was Don Frederic to be near La Rochelle when the news reached him that a succor of fourteen English vessels was preparing to come under escort of eight ships of war. None the less was he compelled to go to Louis and ask permission, which could scarcely be refused, to carry back the newly arrived troops to Spain. "It was a great disgrace," bitterly remarked the cardinal, "that could have been borne by no other nation than Spain, a country which can boast of its impudence, as the wicked emperor Caligula used to boast of his."[2]

Insincerity of Spain, which recalls its fleet.

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[1] "Quando fù in Corte Cattolica, e che proponevansi affari et imprese, sempre riveniva al suo divisamento, e ricordo di soccorersi La Roccella peccando la Spagna contra i primi principii della politica in cooperare alla sua caduta; da quel momento la potenza Reale della Francia trasalita al punto suo verticale, onde ben presto potè calpestare gli Ugonotti, ridurre tutti gli Ordini del Regno ad una cieca ubbidienza, e stipare le sue forze a battere ed in abbattere le fioritissime all' hora della Casa d'Austria" Vittorio Siri, Memorie Ricondite, vi. 359. Others have remarked before me, that, although Siri was a paid historiographer of France, he was sometimes more frank than other salaried writers of his class; probably because he wrote in a foreign tongue.

[2] Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 511.

Both sides, indeed, were destined to carry their contest on to the bitter end without effective help from abroad. Denmark sent two ambassadors to remonstrate against the fatuity of continuing a war with England that could turn only to the advantage of Spain, and to plead in behalf of La Rochelle. Marie de' Medici at first positively refused them an audience unless they should promise to make no mention of the latter topic, on the ground that Louis would hear of no peace with La Rochelle save by its surrender. And when the envoys insisted that they could fulfil their commission only by saying all that they had been instructed to say, the queen, or the attendant ministers, at the audience to which the Danes were reluctantly admitted, made a reply to the second part of their speech as ungracious as the response to the former part had been kind and conciliatory. The intercession was fruitless.[1]

The Danish embassy.

The help which Buckingham had promised, and for which the friends and agents of the Huguenots had not ceased to pray, proved worse than vain. Yet if England turned out to be a broken reed for the Huguenots to lean upon, this was no fault of the *people.* True, the disgraceful mismanagement of the expedition to the Isle de Ré was disheartening, and the royal favorite was so unpopular that the Commons were not disposed to vote supplies for any new fleet that might be sent out under his command. And the favorite himself, though he spent a part of his private fortune in preparations, was so nettled by the distrust which the Rochellese had shown, that he insisted at one time that hostages of the sons of the best families of the city should be sent to England, and that the English soldiers and sailors should be allowed, if need be, to enter its walls—demands which the jealous burghers would in no wise listen to, and from which he had to recede.[2] Yet on the twenty-eighth of January, 1628, new articles were agreed upon between Charles and the Rochellese, and one of these articles permitted a general collection to be made in their favor throughout his dominions.[3] On the eleventh of May, a formidable English fleet, under command of the Earl of Denbigh, made its tardy appearance before La Rochelle. I need not mention the number of vessels of war, great and small, of fire ships, and of transports laden with provisions, of which it was composed. Neither ships nor provisions did La Rochelle any good. It was too late, or the English leader was too inefficient. Cardinal Richelieu's mole was well advanced toward completion and it was, or was thought to be, impossible to force a way for the ships through the narrow and well protected entrance. A solitary boat of no great size succeeded in entering by stealth, and gave the inhabitants a taste of the plenty which they might have enjoyed had the fleet come earlier or been more resolute. There was a short interchange of shot between the English vessels and those of Louis; then the former returned home scarcely a week after their arrival. The second English expedition had done nothing but tantalize and disappoint the Rochellese; whose hearts sank as they saw its sails vanish in the offing; but, at least, it had not, like the first expedition, consumed their provisions and aggravated the hardships and difficulties of their situation.[1]

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[1] Vittorio Siri, Memorie Ricondite, vi. 359.

[2] Laugel, Le Duc de Rohan, 244.

[3] Text in Mercure françois, xiv. part 2, pp. 1 and seq. The collection thus authorized must not be confounded with either of those collections for which briefs were issued dated January 1st, and January 29th respectively. Of these

A new English fleet under the Earl of Denbigh.

Cardinal Richelieu would have us believe that the inhabitants of La Rochelle were so discouraged by this occurrence that they would at once have capitulated, had it not been for the machinations of a seditious preacher, Salbert, or Salvert, by name, and especially of the Duchess of Rohan, whose hopes for her sons lay in inducing the city to hold out.[2] The prelate scarcely exaggerates the activity of the noble woman whose devotion to the cause espoused by her family led her to endure with exemplary patience and a truly virile determination the horrors of the protracted siege, and thus to make of herself and her daughter a target for the petty meanness of Louis the Thirteenth and the malignity of his unforgiv-

Heroism of the Duchess of Rohan.

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two, the first was for the benefit of French Protestants who had come from the Isle de Ré, and the second was in aid of "the poor exiled Palatinate ministers." G. H. Overend, Strangers in Dover, in Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, iii. (1890) 144.

[1] Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 537, 538.

[2] Ibid., i. 538.

ing adviser. But the same malignity has induced Richelieu to pass over without a reference the noble conduct of the man who may be regarded as the true hero of the siege—Jean Guiton, who, in the midst of the conflict, on Sunday, the thirteenth of April, 1628, after the second sermon of the day, was chosen mayor of La Rochelle by the decisive vote of seventy-five out of the eighty-two échevins and *peers* who took part in the election.[1]

Jean Guiton, mayor of La Rochelle.

This intrepid man was a fair type of that honorable and substantial class of merchants and burgesses that constituted the strength and the pride of La Rochelle. Various members of his family had held high position in the municipal government. His grandfather, Jacques Guiton, was elected to the mayoralty in 1575, apparently as the reward of his self-devotion in the famous siege of 1573, immediately after the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day. It is significant of his social standing that, nine years later, he was chosen to act as sponsor, on the part of the Protestant city, at the baptism of that Benjamin de Soubise destined to be so closely connected with La Rochelle's fortunes. His two sons, Jacques and Jehan, the latter the father of the hero of the siege of 1628, were raised to the highest municipal office in 1586 and 1587, in the troublous times of the League. The family had thus in successive generations enjoyed the high consideration to which it was entitled by the executive ability of its members. The stanch Protestantism of the Guitons was well attested in the past. In the next generation a daughter of Jean Guiton was married to Jacob Duquesne, brother of Abraham Duquesne, the great Protestant admiral of Louis the Fourteenth.

After an active mercantile career, during which he either sailed or despatched vessels in which he had an interest to the banks of Newfoundland and wherever in the west a profitable field for commerce opened to French mariners, Jean Guiton turned his attention to public concerns. First an *échevin*, or alderman, he was selected at the beginning of the troubles of

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[1] Jean Guiton, dernier maire de l'ancienne commune de La Rochelle, 1628. Par P. S. Callot, ancien maire de La Rochelle (La Rochelle, 1872), p. 33, from the minutes of the municipality for 1627–1628.

1621, with one other, to gather ships to defend La Rochelle, and on the fifth of September in that year was appointed admiral of a fleet of some sixteen vessels that carried the blue and white flag of the city. As admiral he distinguished himself above many bred to the profession. The Duke of Guise, whose superior forces he met and withstood with signal courage, subsequently extolled his intrepidity. When, after the return of peace, Guiton was commissioned to wait upon Guise and offer him, as the king's representative, the ensign under which he had fought and which he had rendered glorious, the admiring duke, placing his hand upon it, replied: "I receive it, but I return it to you; I did not gain it in combat." "You are brave men," he exclaimed to the Rochellese admiral's captains, "to have fought so valiantly. That is what I did not expect. I thought that, at the sight of so powerful an army, you would certainly retire without fighting." "My lord," replied Guiton, "God has hitherto conferred this grace upon me, that I have never turned my back in battle, and I would sooner have lost my life in the flames than fled." On the other hand, the city of La Rochelle did the successful admiral no ordinary honors. The mayor, followed by the échevins and peers, came to greet him upon his landing, and conducted him in state to his home. In token of gratitude for his faithful services, they begged him to accept as a gift "the great vessel named *Le Melhuacq*, of three hundred and fifty tuns burden," with all its guns and munitions of war. It was the ship he had lately commanded.[1] The part played by Guiton, when again chosen admiral of the Rochellese fleet during the second Huguenot war, has already been referred to.[2]

There was a story current that Guiton after his election to the mayoralty made some objections to accepting the post in the dangerous and well-nigh desperate situation of La Rochelle, and that when his resistance was overborne by the urgency of his associates in the government of the city, he drew his dagger from the sheath and exclaimed: "Well, I shall be mayor, since you will have it so, but on this condition: that I shall be permitted to drive this weapon into the heart of the first man who speaks of surrender, and that I be treated in the same fashion should I propose it." Thereupon he laid the dagger upon the board before him, to be used as occasion might require.[1] It may be that the story is insufficiently attested to merit our unqualified acceptance, and that the antique table still shown in the town hall of La Rochelle with a deep groove, said to be cut by Guiton's dagger, does not deserve the interest in which it is held.[2] Yet the incident is in strict conformity with the resolute character which Guiton at once developed.

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[1] Jean Guiton, 4–30. M. Callot has thoroughly investigated and elucidated the career of a man of whom La Rochelle is justly proud, but of whose life, outside of his military exploits, little or nothing was known by the majority of readers, or indeed writers, of history. I am indebted to his account, which is based upon municipal records and other manuscript sources, for almost all the statements which I have made.

[2] Supra, chapter v., page 263.

Richelieu's tenacity of purpose.

And, indeed, resolution was the quality most needed in the defender of La Rochelle. For the situation of that city was growing desperate. Cardinal Richelieu had not swerved from his purpose to make thorough work with the siege of the recalcitrant place. Others might grow weary; he never tired. Louis the Thirteenth himself, early in the year, waxed so impatient of his enforced stay on the seaboard, far from his gay capital, that he announced his desire to retire for a while to Paris; and Richelieu incurred the king's displeasure, and may have been in some danger of losing his favor, by trying to dissuade him by arguments drawn from the impolicy of abandoning at this stage so important a siege. But the cardinal discovered his blunder in time. Thereupon he recommended that his majesty should carry out his purpose to return to the capital, magnanimously offering, though an ecclesiastic, to remain and, so far as might be, repair the damage that might be entailed by the king's absence from the scene of war. It was much like giving one's sovereign a furlough, but Louis, having obtained what he wanted, was indisposed to quarrel with the man to whom he was indebted for it. He was, in fact, so much delighted to be permitted to escape, that he shed tears of joy when parting from the prelate who had accompanied him a few miles on his way. What was more, he took this opportunity to create Richelieu his lieutenant-general in the army before La Rochelle, granting him absolute authority over cavalry, infantry, and artillery, over domestic and foreign troops alike, with full power to prosecute the siege, to conclude peace with the inhabitants of the rebellious town, and to enter it—in short, enjoining on all men to obey Richelieu as implicitly as they would obey the king himself.[1] This was in February, and Louis was permitted to absent himself until April, when he came back to the camp only to express his complete satisfaction with what Richelieu had done and was doing—at the progress of the dike, and at the good discipline of the contented and well-fed troops.

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[1] See, among other writers, Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis XIII., v. (liv. 25) 690.

[2] M. Callot believes in the authenticity of the table, but is incredulous respecting the cut in the white marble top, since made, as he supposes, "by clumsy or ignorant hands." Jean Guiton, p. 38, note.

Continued assurances of Charles I.

Guiton had a harder task before him, and in the performance of it he too never flinched. Charles the First had nourished the Rochellese with vain hopes. His assurances were strong enough, had they been followed by any effects. "Gentlemen," he wrote from Westminster, "do not be disheartened, even if my fleet be returned. Hold fast until the last day, for I am resolved that my entire fleet shall be destroyed rather than that you be not succored. To this end I have countermanded it, and I have sent vessels to make it change the plan it adopted to return. I send you promptly a number of vessels to reinforce it. With God's help, the success will be happy for your deliverance." Eight days later the king who called himself "Your good friend," wrote again. "I have been sorry to learn that my fleet was on the point of coming back without having accomplished my commands, which were to bring provisions in to you at whatever cost it might be. I have now given it a fresh order to return to your roadstead and not to stir thence until it shall have introduced provisions or until I have strengthened it. To this end I shall have labors instituted with all diligence. Be assured that I shall never abandon you, and that I shall use all the forces of my kingdom for your deliverance, until God has done me the grace to give you an assured peace."[1]

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[1] Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 514. The commission dated February 4, 1628, six days before the king's departure. See Bazin, ii. 390, 391.

The third English fleet.

Three months after these letters were written, the royal favorite, the Duke of Buckingham, was murdered by one Felton. One month later, a third and last fleet of the English king appeared in the neighborhood of La Rochelle. Guiton had not for a moment intermitted his appeals to the Rochellese commissioners in England begging them with increasing earnestness to secure the fulfilment of Charles's promises, and the commissioners had not failed to discharge their trust. Meantime, the commissioners themselves wrote home and urged their townsmen to stand fast. That is a touching letter to which the signatures of Jacques David and of the intrepid Huguenot pastor Vincent are affixed, written from London, on the fourteenth of July. These were men full of compassion for the city which contained all that were dearest to them in the world, yet men full also of unselfish devotion to a cause dearer to them than life itself. "In God's name, gentlemen," they wrote, "continue the miracles of your constancy. We know that your necessities cannot but be frightful, and as we picture to ourselves our children who, with yours, are crying from hunger, we eat not a morsel that is not wet with tears. But were you to be compelled to cut off all food both from our ten children (yet God knows how dear to us they are) and from all those that are incapable of taking their part in the common defence, make a virtue of the most extreme necessity, while waiting that God crown it with His deliverance. We write you this with our eyes all bathed in tears."[2]

On the other hand, Guiton kept the commissioners advised of every point of which advantage might be taken. He informed them that the dike was weakest in the centre, where there were only floating boats and a few machines; that the king had but thirteen large vessels, the rest were small and badly equipped; that fire-ships were good for attack, ships in the form of mines still better; that men armed with axes were needed; that the enemy had but six hundred sailors in all; that, after God, all depended upon what the help from England could effect. In a brief note written on Saint Bartholomew's day, the fifty-sixth anniversary of the Parisian massacre, he reminded them that the Rochellese had been expecting the promised aid for full three months, and that they could not conceive what disaster detained it at a time when the soldiers and the citizens of La Rochelle alike were worn out and were dying of hunger. "Nevertheless, we shall hold out to the very last day. But, in God's name, do not delay, we are perishing."[1]

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[1] Text of the letters of Charles I., of May 19 and 27 O. S., in the pièces justificatives of Callot, 114, 115. I translate from the French original.

[2] This letter was published in the Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis, 1888, and is reprinted in Schickler, Églises du refuge en Angleterre, ii. 11, 12.

Now at length, as I have said, the third fleet had arrived, consisting of more than one hundred vessels, under command of the Earl of Lindsey. But it soon appeared that he came only to add another chapter to the story of the incompetence of British noblemen who undertook the relief of La Rochelle and succeeded only in affixing disgrace to the arms of their country and themselves incurring dishonor by their pusillanimity. Three times did the relieving fleet make a pretence of coming to blows with the inferior force of the enemy in position at the mouth of the bay leading up to La Rochelle. Three times did the English confine themselves to making impotent attempts to blow up the ships of their antagonists by means of tin cases filled with explosive material which did no execution, or to set the ships in flames by means of fire-ships that drifted about and were easily secured by the enemy, or to cripple them by a distant, and therefore quite fruitless cannonade which inflicted no substantial injury. After a few days, the fleet which, in the words of the Roman Catholic historian of La Rochelle, seemed to have come less to combat than to offer vain spectacles of combats,[2] gave over even this poor exhibition, and left the famishing town to its fate. Meanwhile, up to the last moment, Guiton did not relax his appeals to the Rochellese commissioners on board of Lord Lindsey's fleet to induce him to make an attack, which he regarded as far from hopeless, upon the middle of the dike. "Hasten," he said, "in God's name, and do not leave the few inhabitants that we have remaining to perish almost in your sight. The richest persons among us have no bread left. Act without delay, or we shall perish."[1]

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[1] Letters of Guiton to David, Vincent, Bragneau, De Hinse, and Gobert, "in England," dated August 20 and 24, 1628. Text in Callot, pièces justificatives, 116, 117.

[2] Arcère, Histoire de la Ville de La Rochelle, ii. 310.

Famine of La Rochelle.

Guiton did not exaggerate the deplorable condition of La Rochelle. Gaunt Famine had not laid her hand with more relentless hold upon the throat of Sancerre a half century before, than she now laid it upon the throat of the miserable inhabitants of La Rochelle. The same old story of suffering was repeated, perhaps aggravated. Of the sum of physical distress no price current, such as that which the jubilant besiegers despatched to Marie de' Medici, in order to show her that the end was slowly but surely approaching, can convey an adequate conception. Yet even bare figures become eloquent, as they reveal the fact that the barest trifle of food, which could stay for a moment the gnawing of hunger, commanded a sum of money which the wages of a laboring man for a day could not secure. The wealthy found that, for the first time, all the money in their possession would scarcely buy for them a satisfactory meal. Two cabbage-leaves or one onion were valued at ten *sols*, a beet at eight *sols*, while an egg was rated at eight *livres*. Meats the most disgusting were quoted at extravagant prices. A pound of horseflesh was eagerly bought for six *livres*, a pound of dog meat for twenty *sols*. Even at these ruinous rates the supply fell short of the demand.[2] At last men had recourse to anything, however repulsive in character, that promised to defer the fatal moment of complete starvation. For days before the surrender of the city, the greater part of its population was driven to subsist upon scraps of leather, boiled in vinegar and water, until they reached a consistency that would permit them to be eaten. Again were there cases reported of women driven by desperation to feed upon the flesh of their own children, and it became necessary to set a watch over the very cemeteries, lest men should undertake to rob them of the corpses of the dead to obtain the means of subsistence for the living. Men, women, and children pined away and died. The bodies lay unburied in the shops, in the houses, in the streets. The survivors were too few, and themselves too much reduced in strength, to provide a grave for the remains of their nearest friends and kinsmen.[1] Some said that eight or ten thousand persons, others said fifteen thousand, perished of hunger.[2] Death stared the survivors in the face.

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[1] Guiton to the commissioners, La Rochelle, October 10, 1628, apud Callot, ubi supra, pièces justificatives, 118.

[2] "Relation du siége dernier de la Rochelle sous le très Chrestien et invincible Roy Louys XIII. à present heureusement regnant" (Paris, 1630), 245–247.

La Rochelle capitulates.

The extreme point of human endurance was reached. Deserted by the ally who had been so prodigal of assurances of help, even the stout-hearted mayor saw that he must yield. On Monday, the twenty-fourth of October, 1628, the Rochellese deputies appeared before Cardinal Richelieu and begged him to intercede for them with the king. This the prelate promised to do, but informed them that his majesty had gone off for eight days; upon Louis's return he would speak to him of the matter. "How, my Lord, eight days!" the envoys exclaimed. "There is not enough food in La Rochelle to live upon for three days." A messenger was despatched, and Louis was brought back to the camp.[3]

It was not difficult to fix the articles of the capitulation. La Rochelle was at Richelieu's mercy, but it was not Richelieu's policy to drive the Huguenots throughout the kingdom to despair. It was enough that he had triumphed completely over the defiant Huguenot stronghold, and could dictate terms to the vanquished. Having secured their submission, he was quite willing to grant them their lives.

The twelve Huguenot deputies who came on the twenty-ninth of October, to make the formal surrender, were treated with a mixture of courtesy and disdain. Too much enfeebled by their long abstinence to walk from the gate to the royal quarters, Marshal Bassompierre furnished them, at their request, with horses, and even talked to them, by the way, "with unparalleled gentleness."[4] But he also compelled the burghers to dismount at the distance of a hundred paces from the king, and led them before his majesty, with troopers preceding them and troopers following them, much as a provost marshal might bring in a pack of prisoners whom he had been sent to apprehend. At the sight of Louis the Thirteenth the deputies knelt down, and from his knees, one of their number, De la Goutte, a peer of the proud city, pronounced in the name of his associates a very humble plea for forgiveness, full of assurances of obedience and loyalty. Thereupon the king accorded them his grace, though it must be confessed, in no very gracious manner. "I pray God," he replied, "that it may be from the heart that you bear me honor, and that it be not the need to which you are reduced that compels you to utter these words. I know well that you have always been malicious and full of craft, and that you have done everything you could to shake off the yoke of my obedience. I pardon your rebellions. If you prove good and faithful servants, I shall be a good prince to you. If your actions are conformable to the protestations you make, I shall fulfil all I have promised you."[1]

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[1] Mémoires de Fontenay Mareuil, 119, 120.

[2] Ibid., ubi supra; Relation du siége, 245.

[3] Mémoires du Maréchal de Bassompierre, 289.

[4] "Douceur nompareille." Mercure françois, xiv. 694.

Speech of Louis XIII. to the Huguenot deputies.

Thus fell La Rochelle. The gates were opened and the royal troops were admitted. They took possession of the fortifications that had so long held them in check, and of the famished city. It was a city of the dead. They could find but sixty-four French soldiers and ninety-six Englishmen alive. La Rochelle was full of corpses, lying uncared for in the rooms, the courts, the streets—wherever they had happened to die—yet so attenuated by want that the shrivelled remains had given rise to no general pestilence. On All Saints' Day Richelieu celebrated mass in the church of Saint Margaret; and that very afternoon Louis made his triumphal entry on horseback and in full armor. The miserable inhabitants looked on with conflicting emotions, glad once more to taste of plenty, but sick at heart that they had lived only to witness the ruin of their cherished institutions, and the forfeiture of privileges which La Rochelle had for centuries enjoyed. From the full grace which Louis the Thirteenth was pleased to dispense as of his royal bounty, the chief exceptions were made in the case of the patriotic mayor, and of the mother and sister of the great Huguenot leader. So narrow-minded a prince as the present monarch of France could scarcely have summoned up sufficient magnanimity to appreciate signal virtue in determined opponents, even had he possessed generous advisers. When Marshal Schomberg reached La Rochelle, at the head of the first detachment of troops, he was met at the gates by Jean Guiton, whom he permitted to make a brief address; but, at its conclusion, the latter was informed that he had ceased to be mayor, and must give up the keys of La Rochelle. At the monarch's stately entry, two days later, the man, whose only fault was that he had defended La Rochelle too well, was informed that the king positively refused to lay eyes on him.[1] In accordance with Richelieu's suggestion, Jean Guiton was commanded to leave for a time a city where, it was said, he had displayed his inhumanity by suffering the citizens rather to starve than to have recourse to the king's mercy; and the brave dowager of Rohan, with her equally brave daughter, was sent off to be kept in confinement at Niort, as unworthy of the king's sight, "because she had been the torch that had consumed the people of La Rochelle."[2] The duchess had not been mentioned by name, and had been supposed to be comprehended in the capitulation; but the interpretation of the terms of surrender lies with the victorious party.[3]

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[1] See the harangue of the deputies and the king's reply in Mercure françois, xiv. 695, 696; Relation du siége dernier de la Rochelle, 241, 242; and Mémoires de Fontenay Mareuil, 116.

Treatment of the city and its defenders.

"It was an unexampled exhibition of harshness," observes the duchess's indignant son, "that a person of her rank, at the age of seventy years, issuing from a siege in which she and her daughter had lived three whole months upon horse-flesh and four or five ounces of bread a day, should be detained captives without the exercise of their religion, and so narrowly that they had but a single servant to wait upon them." But Catharine of Parthenay, who never forgot that in her veins ran the blood of that brave Huguenot, Jean de Soubise, was made of too stern stuff to yield to misfortune. From her place of confinement she wrote to her son warning him to place no confidence in any letters which force might compel her to write, and begging him that no consideration for her wretched plight should induce him to relax his activity, to the detriment of the Huguenot interests, no matter what sufferings her enemies might inflict. Her noble resolution, which was in keeping with a life of rare virtue and piety, forms a fitting sequel to the story of the siege of a city, which, in the words of the great Huguenot captain, having undergone a pitiless famine, in the end acquired, by its constancy, a longer life in the memory of ages yet to come than the prosperous places of the day.[1]

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[1] "Le Maire ne s'y trouva point, parce que le Roy ne le voulut voir." Mercure françois, xiv. 710. See also p. 703.

[2] Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, i. 553. "Leur Maire qui les avoit si long temps fait subsister en leur rebellion, et quelques-uns des plus seditieux furent commandez de sortir, *et changer d'air pour quelque temps.* Bernard, Histoire du Roy Louis XIII., ii. 117.

[3] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 395.

By the king's formal Declaration, La Rochelle lost all its rights, franchises, and privileges. Of its municipal officers, the consuls alone were retained; the offices of mayor, *échevins*, and peers, and even the corporation of the city itself, were abolished. Full pardon for political offences was indeed granted, and it was promised that Protestant worship should be permitted on a site hereafter to be designated; but the large and commodious edifice which the Huguenots had erected upon the castle square, and which was known as the *Grand Temple*, was taken from them and reserved for use as a cathedral church, when the pope should have acceded to Louis's request and either transferred to La Rochelle some bishop of the neighborhood, or erected the city into a new see. The bell that had served to summon the burghers to their municipal assemblies was to be melted. A monumental cross was to be erected upon the castle square to commemorate the fall of La Rochelle, and yearly processions on the first day of November were to perpetuate the fame of it. The fortifications were to be so completely levelled with the ground that the plough would pass as easily over the spot they had once occupied as through tilled land. Those walls alone were excepted that faced the sea, between the towers of Saint

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[1] Mémoires de Duc de Rohan, i. 396.

Nicolas and La Lanterne, together with these two towers themselves and the "Tour de la Chaîne." In fact the king in advance pronounced guilty of treason not only any person that should venture to disobey his command, but any person that might dare to importune him to obtain anything that was contrary to it.[1] Only such Protestants as had resided at La Rochelle before the English landing were permitted to dwell there.[2]

Reception of the news of the fall of La Rochelle abroad.

It is almost needless to say that Louis despatched messengers to carry the tidings of his victory to all the friendly princes of Europe. His extraordinary courier to the pope was particularly unfortunate. Having passed on his way through the plague-stricken city of Lyons, he was remorselessly detained, upon reaching the duchy of Savoy, until the full term of the quarantine should be completed. The reader accustomed in our times to see in the daily journal the news of the events taking place in the most distant quarters of our globe within a few hours of their occurrence, will be amused to discover that about three weeks elapsed from so important an affair as the fall of La Rochelle, before Urban the Eighth heard of it. Even then the story came in so unofficial a manner that the enemies of France affected to throw doubt upon its truth, and the pontiff was compelled to wait some days more before publicly testifying the gladness he felt. But if the rejoicing was postponed, it was none the less demonstrative when the time came for its manifestation. Urban's congratulatory brief was as ardent as could be desired, and dealt out praise to the king of France with as free a hand as it dealt out condemnation to the vanquished heretics and rebels.[3] Not content with words, however, the pope instituted, or encouraged, spectacles and demonstrations appealing to the senses of the populace. Peals of artillery resounded from the castle of San Angelo. The brilliancy of the illumination of the palace of the French ambassador was rivalled only by the splendor with which the façade of the church of San Luigi de' Francesi shone forth. The former was all ablaze, shining "like another firmament," and, while trumpets blared and drums beat, two fountains ran with wine for all comers. The church, with its six hundred lights and its representations of fiery ships and a besieged fortress, on the exterior, was scarcely less brilliant within. Urban himself honored the French sanctuary with his presence, walking on foot all the way from San Agostino, a distance of some two hundred paces, to join in the *Te Deum* and the *Exaudiat*, and to repeat four prayers with his own voice. Nay, in the excess of his joy, the pontiff went so far as to publish a decree granting a plenary indulgence to all worshippers who, within two days, should visit the churches of San Agostino and San Luigi—a liberal offer of spiritual benefits even for a city so richly endowed as Rome with opportunities for the faithful.[1]

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[1] "Déclarons criminels de lèze majesté tous ceux qui attenteront quelque chose au préjudice du présent Article, ou qui oseront nous presser et importuner pour obtenir quelque chose au contraire du contenu en iceluy." A similar threat was pronounced against any that should solicit the restoration of the mayor, etc.

[2] "Déclaration du Roy, contenant l'ordre et police que sa Majesté veut estre establie en sa ville de la Rochelle. Donné à la Rochelle au mois de Novembre l'an de grace 1628." In Mercure françois, xiv. 720–736.

[3] The brief may be read both in the original Latin and in a French translation in the Mercure françois, xiv. 749–753, and in the contemporary Histoire des deux derniers siéges de la Rochelle (Paris, 1630), 255–259.

It was not strange that the pontiff should exhibit great satisfaction at the fall of La Rochelle, since the catastrophe signified to him chiefly a fresh mishap that had befallen the cause of heresy. More remarkable was the joy which the Emperor of Germany thought fit to feign, although he could not but know that the union of all the forces of France in the hands of Louis and his astute minister, which must now come shortly, augured no good for the interests of the House of Hapsburg. He gratified the French messenger, as the bearer of glad tidings, by creating him a count of the Holy Roman Empire. On the other hand, the Spanish court was less jubilant and less hypocritical.[2]

The fall of La Rochelle sealed the fate of the Huguenots as a political and military power in France. The part which they had been compelled, contrary to their will, to assume sixty-six years before, after the massacre of Vassy (1562), they were now compelled to renounce. Henceforth not armed resistance to injustice and oppression, but patient endurance in the hope that the king might be brought to a better mind characterized their attitude to the crown. It was not that out of the population of a single city of thirty thousand inhabitants more than one-half had fallen a prey to famine, disease, and the sword. But with the loss of a stronghold which had been regarded as well-nigh impregnable, all hope of ultimate success had also been lost. With diminished resources, abandoned by the greater part of the higher nobility—the apostasy of La Trémouille within a few months had made a profound and painful impression [1] —weakened by the persuasion, even among Protestants, that it is the duty of subjects to yield unconditional obedience to "the powers that be," it was a foregone conclusion that the Huguenots must everywhere succumb to Louis's arms and Richelieu's policy.

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[1] Mercure françois, xiv. 105–107; Histoire des deux derniers siéges de la Rochelle, 251–254; Mémoires de Fontenay Mareuil, 123.

[2] Mémoires de Fontenay Mareuil, 124.

Rohan continues the war.

Yet, for eight months more, the Duke of Rohan held out in southern France, and carried on a brave but futile struggle. He had not lost all hope of help from England, the piety and sympathy of whose people he did not question, however his past experience might lead him to put little reliance upon the promises of its king. His appeals to Charles the First continued to be urgent and touching, as he reminded that monarch not only that as Defender of the Faith which the Huguenots professed, he could not in honor permit them to be unjustly oppressed, but also that it was his promises, his sacred word freely given to employ all his power to guarantee them from ruin that had incited them to resistance and had been, next to God's help, the only foundation of their hope.[2] The Protestant Assembly of Nismes joined its solicitations to the duke's, in a letter scarcely less pressing and pathetic in its exposition of the straits to which the Huguenots of Languedoc were reduced by the malice and inhumanity of their enemies.[1]

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[1] See the letter of the Duchess of Bouillon to the Duchess of La Trémouille, Sedan, August 12, 1628. Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., xxiii. 411 et seq.

[2] Henry of Rohan to Charles I., March 12, 1629, printed in the Mercure françois, xv. 285–88, and in Le Vassor, Histoire du Règne de Louis XIII., vi. 61–63. See, also, his letter written a month later (April 13, 1629), in the pièces justificatives of Schylbergson, Le Duc de Rohan et la Chute du Parti Protestant, 113–115.

He concludes a shameful treaty with Spain.

The lack of money, which Charles could not or would not supply, but without which the war could not be carried on, induced Henry of Rohan to turn again to Spain. This time, indeed, the negotiations proceeded so far that a formal compact was concluded at Madrid, on the third of May, 1629. It was signed by Don Juan de Billela, on the part of Philip the Fourth, and Clausel, in the name of the Duke of Rohan. The latter had originally offered, in return for an annual subsidy of six hundred thousand ducats from Spain, to set on foot and maintain an army of twelve thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, wherewith to make a diversion in favor of Philip, in Upper or Lower Languedoc, or in Dauphiny, as his Catholic Majesty might please. Philip, however, cut down his promised allowance to one-half the sum asked for, and stipulated for only one-half the number of troops. It was a shameful and unnatural agreement by which a Huguenot, at the head of Huguenots battling for the maintenance of the rights of religious profession and worship, entered into an alliance with the secular power most inimical to their faith, and pledged himself to renew war against his lawful prince so often as he might be summoned to do so by the Catholic King[2]—nay, even hinted at the possibility that Rohan and his party might make themselves so strong as to erect a state of their own, in which case it was stipulated that liberty of conscience and of worship should be conceded to the adherents of the Roman Catholic religion."[3]

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[1] "From the Assembly of Nismes to His Majesty" (March 12, 1629), MS. in the Public Record Office, printed in Schylbergson, pièces just., 115–119.

[2] "Et cas advenant que ledit sieur de Rohan vint à traicter de paix, du sceu et consentement de sa Majesté Catholique, il sera obligé de la rompre quand il plaira à sadite Majesté, et de conserver la guerre, moyennant les mesmes faveurs et aydes . . . tant qu'il plaira à sa Majesté Catholique."

[3] "En cas advenant que ledit sieur de Rohan et ceux de son party se puissent rendre si forts, qu'ils se puissent cantonner et faire un Estat à part : audit cas ils promettent pareillement la liberté de conscience et le libre exercice de la Religion aux Catholiques," etc. Gramond (Hist. Gall., 793) gives a summary, the Mercure françois (xv. 463–465) the full text of Clausel's offers in thirteen articles, and of the acceptance of these offers, as modified by the Spanish king Philip attempts to justify his act by referring to the wrongs done to him by the

The most ardent admirer of the chivalric duke would find himself unable to defend Rohan's course, and must, with one of the ablest and most candid historical students of recent times, content himself with ascribing it to some unaccountable infatuation of a man of a noble but chimerical character, who, in his devotion to the fancied interests of his party and his church, occasionally forgot the claims of his native land.[1] But Rohan must not bear the entire blame; if, as he tells us, the Huguenot political assembly of Nismes expressly begged him to write to Clausel informing him of the existing need of money and bidding him to notify the Spaniards that, unless it were promptly received, the conclusion of peace could not be deferred.[2]

Cardinal Richelieu suffered his king but little time to rest at his capital and to enjoy those pleasures for which he had more than once pined during the protracted siege of La Rochelle. Barely had Louis been two months in Paris, before he again started in the dead of winter for the southeast. In February he reached Grenoble. Within a few weeks more he had crossed the Alps, had taken the fortified town of Susa, had raised the siege of Casale, and had forced the Duke of Savoy to make peace. This was on the nineteenth of April. Less than a week later (on the twenty-fourth), peace was concluded between England and France. Unmindful of his reiterated promises to the Huguenots, and careless of every appeal whether to his justice or to his compassion, Charles the First dishonorably ended a war during whose continuance he had won little glory, and had involved his allies in disaster.[3]

The cardinal's plans had long been laid. Bringing forward

Kings of France and the help they rendered his revolted vassals of Holland, and by stating that he had duly consulted his "Conseil de conscience, composé de gens de grande integrité." See also Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, ii. 18–22.

[1] "Étrange et coupable aveuglement que Rohan devait payer bien cher. . . . Esprit distingué et noble caractère, souvent chimérique dans ses vues et ses espérances, et si fort absorbé par l'intérêt de son parti et de son Église, qu'il eut parfois le malheur d'oublier celui de son pays." Guizot, Histoire de France, iv. 114, 117.

[2] Mémoires du Duc de Rohan, i. 410.

[3] Laugel, Le Duc de Rohan, 260. See the duke's own account in his Mémoires, i. 410, and in his Apologie sur les derniers troubles, ib., i. 452.

Louis and the troops that had served under him on the Italian frontier, he approached the Cévennes, Rohan's very headquarters, with an army of some fifty thousand men. At the terror of the advent of so overwhelming a force the stoutest hearts quailed. That terror was augmented by the studied severity of the treatment of captured towns. The king was more bloodthirsty than he had ever been before. The capture of the considerable town of Privas, in Vivarais, now the capital of the Department of the Ardèche, will long be remembered for the savage cruelty which it witnessed, and for the complacency with which a king of France looked upon the butchery of his own subjects. The bravest part of the garrison, fearing itself too weak to defend the place, withdrew into the fort of Mont Toulon, overlooking the town. Finding themselves even here forced to capitulate, the Huguenots surrendered only to become the victims of a massacre. For this the explosion of some barrels of gunpowder at the moment of the entrance of the royalists furnished a convenient excuse. The explosion may have been accidental. The Protestants believed it to have been purposely caused by the assailants. The Roman Catholics charged it upon the late defenders of the place. By way of revenge, they put to the sword every man or woman that they met, and burned every house. The few human beings that escaped instant death became the prey of the gibbet, or were sent to the galleys. Nor was this all. A few days after, Louis issued an edict against the wretched town, confiscating all the property of the late inhabitants of Privas, ordering the demolition of its fortifications, and forbidding that any one should henceforth dwell on its site without the king's express permission issued under the great seal of state.[1]

Fall of Privas.

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[1] The king's sanguinary intentions respecting Privas are betrayed by a letter which he wrote to his mother, May 28, 1629, wherein, referring to the besieged who had taken refuge in the citadel, he says: "They are the best men that M. de Rohan has, and, in hanging them all, *as I shall do*, and Saint André the first, I shall cut off M. de Rohan's right arm." MS. Paris Nat. Lib., apud Henri Martin, Histoire de France, ii. 587. The contemporary account in the Mercure françois, xv. 464–472, shows upon its face that the story of a Huguenot plot to blow up the king's soldiers is a subsequent fabrication. Louis's edict may be read, ibid., xv. 483–86. It is dated June, 1629.

It was high time to abandon a fruitless contest against such overwhelming odds.

The peace of Alais, June 27, 1629.

Peace was concluded at Alais, on the twenty-seventh of June, and promulgated in a fresh edict of pacification (declared, like its numerous predecessors, to be "perpetual and irrevocable") at Nismes, in July, 1629. In most respects the present law was unlike the edicts issued at the conclusion of other wars. It affected to contain, not concessions wrung from the unwilling hands of the monarch, but a gracious pardon granted of the monarch's simple good pleasure to rebellious subjects. The jubilant preamble related the triumph of the king's arms over La Rochelle and Privas, and the voluntary subjection of Vivarais. It ascribed the condescension of his majesty to the fact that the city of Alais had fallen at his feet and sued for forgiveness; while, as he was about to carry his victorious arms farther, the Duke of Rohan and other gentlemen, together with a host of cities of Languedoc and elsewhere, had sent their deputies to testify their contrition for the past and their good intentions for the future. In the articles themselves a similar exuberance of self-gratulation betrayed itself. While Rohan and Soubise, together with their adherents, received full absolution of all their misdeeds, good care was taken to recapitulate those misdeeds—a formidable list—one by one, with tiresome and, as it would seem, needless prolixity. This, however, was of little moment, in view of the fact that, notwithstanding their losses and reverses, the Huguenots were insured all that was most essential to their religious freedom and their physical and intellectual welfare. If Louis gave expression to a pious desire that his subjects of the "Pretended Reformed Religion" should return to the church in which he declared that the kings his predecessors had lived for more than eleven hundred years "without any interruption or change," this did not prevent him from promising them the full enjoyment of the advantages secured to them by the Edict of Nantes and the legislation therewith connected. They might rebuild their houses. They recovered their property of every kind. All gifts and confiscations were repealed. They might dwell undisturbed in any part of the realm, with the exception of the two islands of Ré and Oleron, and the two guilty cities of La Rochelle and Privas. Their places of worship and of burial were restored to them. The churches that had been destroyed might be rebuilt. The old order of municipal elections was recognized. Judges whose courts had been transferred elsewhere during the troubles, including those of the Chamber of the Edict at Castres, were bidden to return to their original seats. But the fortifications of the cities which the Huguenots had held were, within a term of three months, to be completely destroyed, with the exception of a mere circuit of wall, and hostages were to be taken and held until the work of demolition should be completed.[1] The terms were more favorable than might have been expected.

Almost all the Protestant towns promptly accepted the peace. Uzès and Nismes were dilatory, but yielded as soon as they saw the king advancing toward them. Cardinal Richelieu, quite willing to release Louis from his enforced absence from the capital, begged him to make an entrance into Nismes and Uzès before leaving Languedoc. "It is certain," he said, "that when men see that his majesty has entered these cities (which are the principal cities of the region), with his troops, and has made no changes to the detriment of the inhabitants, all the others will be relieved of the fear which they entertain of being treated as was Montpellier, which received a large garrison and subsequently a fortress, although the ministers of his majesty had given their word not to introduce any there."[2] The frank admission of the cardinal is a conclusive proof that the assertions of the Huguenots respecting one of the causes that led to the second war were fully warranted by the facts, despite the persistent denials of their opponents.

Montauban was the last city to yield,[3] nor did she accept the proffered terms of peace until M. de la Grange, a deputy from Nismes, had come in the name of a sister city, and, in a forcible speech, had set forth the good treatment which that city had received.[1] Nor had Montauban any reason to regret the confidence she reposed in the word of the present prime minister of France. Cardinal Richelieu himself visited the place, Louis having returned to Paris, and treated the Protestants with kindness as signal as was the welcome he received at their hands. Scarcely had the prelate returned from hearing the *Te Deum* sung in a church of the city, when he was visited at his quarters by the ministers of Montauban. They came in a body, and pastor L'Huillier, speaking in their behalf, declared to Cardinal Richelieu that he alone had possessed the power to deliver the Huguenots. "For," said L'Huillier, "the greatest of our misfortunes, which was Distrust, could be healed only by its opposite, namely, Confidence; and that *clean reputation of incorruptible good faith* which your highness has always professed,[2] has in a moment achieved what armies might have accomplished in a long space of time, but with much bloodshed and many disasters." "Gentlemen," replied Richelieu, "it is not customary in France, anywhere, or in any circumstances, to receive Protestant ministers as an ecclesiastical body; but I receive you as men that profess letters, and as such you will always be very welcome to me. It will be a pleasure to me to show you that your position will never prevent me from rendering you all manner of good offices; for I shall make no discrimination between the king's subjects save as to their loyalty. This loyalty being henceforth common to the adherents of both religions, I shall help both equally and with the same affection."[3]

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[1] The text of the *Articles* agreed upon at Alais and signed by Louis XIII., June 27, 1629, is given in full by Bernard, ii. 172–175; the text of the *Edict* of Nismes, July 1629, is in the Mercure françois, xv. 505–521, and among the pièces justificatives appended to Benoist, ii. 92–98. There are summaries in the Mémoires de Rohan, i. 441, 442; in Gramond, 797, etc.

[2] Toutes les autres seroient délivrées de la crainte qu'elles avoient d'être traitées comme fut Montpellier, quoique les ministres de Sa Majesté eussent donné parole de n'y en mettre point." Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, ii. 25.

[3] A contemporary royalist account draws an unfavorable picture of the town: "Montauban, ville des plus acariastres et malignes qui aye jamais esté, après la

Richelieu at Montauban.

Rochelle, laquelle enflée d'orgueil de ses prosperitez passées, ne pouvoit ouyr le Traicté de paix, ny s'asseurer que tant de rebellions et cruautez par eux commises ne leur fussent une fois imputées pour en faire un chastiment sévère." Mercure françois, xv. 537.

[1] See his address as reported in the Mercure françois, xv. 545, etc.

[2] "Cette nette réputation de foy incorruptible, dont vostre grandeur a tousjours fait profession."

[3] "Laquelle se trouvant doresnavant commune aux uns et aux autres, il les assisteroit tous également et d'une mesme affection." Mercure françois, xv. 561–563.

The tribute which the Protestant pastor of Montauban paid to the character of Richelieu as a trustworthy man, was well deserved. Zorzo Zorzi, the Venetian ambassador, who, this very year, retired from his post at the French court, wrote in his report to the doge and senate: "In the midst of the corrupt passions and the disgraceful faults of the ministers, the cardinal alone displays a lively and most severe zeal for the public welfare, accompanied by a constant integrity of purpose. The gold of his most pure faith receives only a French stamp."[1]

Richelieu's good faith.

With the end of the third Huguenot war, the stately form of Rohan, the great and incorruptible Protestant hero, passes out of our history. Few notable characters have ever been destined to be more misunderstood and misrepresented. As generous as Admiral Coligny, whom he probably excelled in military genius, he was born in an age of inferior devotion and less ardent enthusiasm, an age in which the ideas of the royal prerogative had reached an exaggeration unknown in the preceding century. Receiving a divided support from his fellow believers, it is rather strange that he was able to maintain himself so long, than that he was finally compelled to succumb to the inevitable course of events. His subsequent services in behalf of French interests abroad I may not stop here to narrate. With rare disinterestedness he had made no attempt, such as the leaders in previous struggles with the crown made, to secure for himself, if not a reward for his submission, at least a compensation for his losses. The voluntary grant of one hundred thousand crowns, which the monarch promised him at the conclusion of the general peace, was a poor compensation for his labors and toils. More than four-fifths of this sum went to pay the troops he had raised or to reimburse his faithful followers. The paltry remainder was a trifle compared with the sum needed to repair the ravages of war upon his wide estates.[2]

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[1] "L'oro della sua purissima fede non riceve che marca franceze." Relation of Z. Zorzi, in Ranke, Französische Geschichte, v. 287.

[2] Apologie du Duc de Rohan sur les derniers troubles de la France à cause de la religion. Mémoires, i. 455.

BOOK SECOND

QUIET UNDER THE EDICT OF NANTES (1629-1659)

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QUIET UNDER THE EDICT OF NANTES (1629–1659)

CHAPTER VII

THE HUGUENOTS UNDER RICHELIEU

The peace concluded with the Duke of Rohan and the Huguenots permitted the Cardinal of Richelieu to give his undivided attention to the broader schemes which had long been paramount in his mind. The remainder of his master's reign was devoted to the execution of the prelate's cherished plans for the abasement of the House of Hapsburg. With the history of these events our narrative does not immediately concern itself. Yet it is not unimportant to notice that the alliance effected with Gustavus Adolphus, the heroic king of Sweden, and the close relations into which France was drawn with the Protestant states of the German Empire, contributed not a little to the comfort and to the comparative freedom from molestation which the adherents of the Reformed Church of France enjoyed during the period which we have now reached. For the last fourteen years of Louis the Thirteenth and the first seventeen years of his son and successor may with propriety be regarded as the season of the greatest material prosperity of the Huguenots. These were the times in which, finding themselves deprived of all political and military consideration, they gave themselves as never before to the pursuits of trade and manufactures. Their hopes of power had gone down in the fall of La Rochelle and the definite failure of Henry of Rohan to rally to his support such forces as had gathered around Admiral Coligny, and, at a later time, around Henry of Navarre; but commerce, finance, and the learned professions still lay open before them and invited their exertions. Another such intelligent and well educated class of men as the Huguenots was not to be found in France. Moral and religious worth such as theirs could not remain unnoticed or be without its effect upon the community and the nation. The energy and enthusiasm that had so long rendered the French Protestants, although constituting only a small fraction of the entire population of the country, a significant factor in the determination of its destiny, when directed into the new channels opened for them, could not fail, under favorable circumstances, to bring the Huguenots into social prominence and into the possession of wealth and influence. It was not many years before they became more prominent in almost all industrial enterprises, as they were already better educated, more refined, and more highly cultured than the great number of their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens. But of this I shall have occasion to speak again.

Advance in material prosperity.

Meanwhile, the government, or at least the ecclesiastical prince in whose hands the real powers of government rested, seemed not indisposed to deal fairly by the Huguenots, now that their political power was broken. Cardinal Richelieu was honest when he declared to the Protestant ministers of Montauban that it was his purpose henceforth never to discriminate between Frenchmen save in the matter of loyalty.[1] The boast of impartiality may possibly need some qualification, but it is substantially well grounded. Certainly Richelieu, priest though he was, could more safely be trusted to do the Huguenots justice than the Prince of Condé, the son of a brave Huguenot father, and a layman. For Richelieu was resolved to give them no plausible

Cardinal Richelieu claims to have treated the Protestants fairly.

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[1] See supra, page 345, and the address as recorded in Mercure françois, xv. 562, 563.

grounds for a new revolt, and he was equally resolved that no one else should give them any. To Count de Sault, who was instructed to attend to the execution of the edicts of pacification in the province of Dauphiny, he wrote very plainly: "I am of the opinion that, as we must not stretch in favor of the Protestants whatever may be contained in the edicts, so also we ought not to detract from the gracious concessions that are made to them. Especially at the present time, when, thanks to God, peace is so well established throughout the realm, too much care cannot be taken to prevent all these causes of popular discontent. I assure you that the king's veritable intention is to enable all his subjects to live peaceably under the maintenance of his edicts, and that those who are in authority in the provinces will render him service by conforming thereto."[1] The lines which Richelieu penned to Le Masuyer, first president of the Parliament of Toulouse, were even more remarkable, in view of the fact that this magistrate had, as we have seen, distinguished himself for the ferocity of his pursuit of the unfortunate Protestants of Languedoc. In the letter in which he acquainted the president with the terms of the peace just accorded, the cardinal wrote: "What we now have to do is to gain the hearts of these misguided people by good treatment, provided that they faithfully observe the peace. I beg that you see to this, and that you prevent them from receiving undue vexations in the obedience which they render. You can do more in this matter than any one else. I am sure that you will lend all the help that you can."[2]

His letters to Count Sault,

and to President Le Masuyer.

It must be confessed that Richelieu treated the matter of the relations of the Protestants to the state with a degree of common sense unusual in prelates of that time. Flushed with success, he had, it is true, determined, two months after the fall of La Rochelle, to abolish the entire judicial system established or confirmed by the Edict of Nantes in the interest of the Protestants. Accordingly, an article of the law of January, 1629, ordered that the chambers of the edict and the *chambres mi-parties* should be merged in the parliaments to which they were attached. The Parliament of Toulouse, fanatical as ever, desired nothing better than to be well rid of the hated "chamber of the Edict of Languedoc," properly belonging to Castres, but for the past six years sitting at Béziers. It promptly undertook to execute the royal ordinance, by commanding the judges of Béziers to come and take their seats at Toulouse. Before the term fixed for the execution of the plan had expired, however, Cardinal Richelieu reviewed his hasty action and resolved to spare the feelings of the Protestants whose attachment to their courts, as to one of the chief safeguards of their liberties, was well known. The execution of the order was formally deferred (by letters patent of the tenth of April), and the treaty of peace, three months later, secured for the Protestants the retention of their highly prized tribunal.[1]

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[1] Cardinal Richelieu to the Count of Sault, apud Guizot, Histoire de France, iv. 118.—I have been unsuccessful in my search for this letter in the voluminous correspondence of Cardinal Richelieu published by order of the French Government.

[2] "Il est maintenant question de gaigner le cœur de ces esprits dévoyez par bons traittemens. . . . Vous y pouvez plus que personne ; je m'asseure que vous y contribuerez ce que vous pourrez." Cardinal Richelieu to Le Masuyer, July 1, 1629. Lettres, instructions diplomatiques et papiers d'état du Cardinal de Richelieu, recueillis et publiés par M. Avenel, iii. 364, 365.

He maintains the "chambers of the edict" and "chambres mi-parties."

Yet the government did not, under Richelieu, abate its determination to exercise a strict supervision over the national synods, the only representative bodies which the Huguenots of the entire realm were permitted to have. The presence of a royal commissioner at all the sessions had come to be regarded as an indispensable condition to the validity of the proceedings—a continual reminder of the jealousy of the government, and a continual menace to the independence of the deliberations. One of the national synods, reckoned as the twenty-sixth in the annals of the Reformed Churches, met in the month of September, 1631, just outside of the capital, at Charenton. It was characteristic of the truly catholic spirit that inspired it in its attitude to the Lutheran churches of Germany, that this body, strong in its

Twenty-sixth national synod. Charenton, September, 1631.

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[1] Cambon de Lavalette, La Chambre de l'Édit de Languedoc, 95, 96. See the 21st article of the Edict of Nismes, July, 1629, in Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. (pièces justificatives) 98.

attachment to the Calvinist system of doctrine, emphasized the substantial agreement of Lutherans and Calvinists on all the fundamental points of religion, and proclaimed its confidence in a sister communion in whose worship it saw neither superstition nor idolatry. Far from requiring any repudiation of Lutheran tenets, it freely admitted Lutherans to the Lord's Supper and permitted Lutherans to assume the duties of sponsors at the baptism of the children of Calvinists, exacting no promise but of faithful instruction in the articles of the common faith.[1]

The equity professed by Richelieu in his dealings with the Huguenots did not prevent him from treating this synod as cavalierly as it had been the custom to treat Protestant representative bodies, both political and ecclesiastical, from the time of the assembly of Saumur. On one point, in fact, Richelieu went beyond any of his predecessors. The time having arrived for a choice of deputies to represent Protestant interests at court, not only did the king virtually dictate to the members of the synod the person whom they might nominate, but, when they had made their nomination, and the king had expressed, through his commissioner, his satisfaction with their action, he reserved the confirmation, as he did also the answer to their budget of complaints and requests, until after the synod should have adjourned.[2] On such points, as Richelieu himself informed the envoys of the synod, "his majesty was resolved to deal with his subjects in a manner corresponding to his sovereign dignity, and the sacred authority of his royal word, and would grant them a favorable reply after the meeting had broken up, and not before."[3] Unfortunately the experience of past years had not been calculated to inspire the Huguenots with much confidence in the authority, sacred or otherwise, of that royal word.

I have spoken of grievances. Of such there was a long list, which happily we need not here examine in exhaustive detail.

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[1] Aymon, Tous les Synodes, ii. 500, 501.

[2] This was the more remarkable because the deputy of the Tiers État was the eldest son of the royal commissioner, Auguste Galland, who might well be expected to follow in the footsteps of his father and to carry loyalty to the very verge of craven submission. See Aymon, ii. 468–470. Benoist, ii. 523, 524.

[3] Aymon, ii. 466.

There were many places where the Protestants were entitled, under the edicts, to hold worship, but from which they were in point of fact excluded. Amyrault and Villars, whom the synod sent to court, alleged the loss of twenty-four towns or villages in Saintonge, of nineteen in the Cévennes, of twenty in Languedoc, and of twenty-nine in Vivarais, all in the regions in which the recent war had raged.[1] Trouble arose respecting the *annexes*. A persistent attempt was made to prevent Protestant ministers from discharging their pastoral functions in more than a single place. The royal council forbade them to preach elsewhere than in the town or village where they resided. The effect of this prohibition was to deprive of all religious privileges every community of Protestants too weak or too poor to support a pastor devoting his whole time to their edification. The grievance was one that disturbed the peace of the Huguenots for many years. At one time a more kindly view was taken of their rights. An unusually equitable order of the royal council (of the twenty-sixth of September, 1633), based upon the report of commissioners sent to Dauphiny, permitted Protestant pastors to preach in several places, each of which enjoyed the right of public worship. But the lapse of a few months brought, on the second of December, 1634, a decision of an opposite tenor from the same body.[2]

Huguenot grievances.

The *annexes*.

The root of the trouble, the fruitful source of the oppression which we shall find more and more burdensome as the century advanced, lay in the disposition of the royal government and of the judiciary alike to regard the Huguenots with ill-concealed dislike. The Reformation was, in the eyes of those who made or executed the laws, the cause of the division introduced into a country previously holding but one faith, and, however discordant in other respects, harmonious in the point of religious belief. The history of the Protestants in France was a history of contentions. No matter whether these contentions were directly caused by them, or arose in the attempt to crush them, their presence was an evil, a misfortune, it might even be said, a menace to the national peace. France would be better off without them. While they were doubtless entitled to certain privileges, expressly secured by royal edicts, good care must be taken not to concede to them a particle more than was strictly theirs. The rules of interpretation must be abridged, not stretched to cover their case. In so excellent a cause as the prevention of the growth of a religion condemned by the pope and repulsive to the majority of the subjects of a prince who had the best claim to the title of "Very Christian," a little quibbling was not inexcusable. In ordinary cases, it was true, a new law, when its provisions were at variance with preceding legislation, was understood as modifying or superseding what went before.

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[1] Aymon, ii. 461; Mercure françois, xvii. 725.

[2] Benoist, ii. 507, 508, 533, 549.

Mischievous interpretation of the Edict of Nantes.

Now the dangerous practice became rife of deriving interpretations of the tolerant edict of Henry the Fourth from the proscriptive laws of Charles the Ninth or Henry the Third. In other words, ordinances that had been purposely repealed became the commentaries on the ordinances enacted in their place. By an anachronism, as singular as it was iniquitous, the "Edict of January" (1562), which by its tenth article forbade Protestant ministers from "going from place to place, and from village to village, to preach there by force, against the will and consent of the lords, curates, vicars, and wardens of the parishes," was construed to prevent a pastor from going peaceably from the place of his residence to preach in another place, although there was not a syllable in the Edict of Nantes, published thirty-six years later than the "Edict of January," which made the act reprehensible."[1]

All presumptions of law against the Huguenots.

It cannot be truthfully denied that the adherents of the dominant church in France had been trained to discriminate against the Huguenots. The most equitable of judges could not bring himself to view the distinction of religion as a matter of which he must not take cognizance. He did not indeed deny the Huguenot a share in the common heritage of man, nor uphold the doctrine that the Huguenot had no rights which the Roman Catholic was bound to respect. But he adopted and put into practice, with greater uniformity and with increasing rigor of application from this time forward, a theory scarcely less repugnant to the innate sense of justice—the theory that all the presumptions of law must be regarded as lying against the dissenter from the faith of the majority of Frenchmen.

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[1] Benoist's "édit de 1561" (ii. 540) is, of course, the famous edict of January 17, 1562, New Style. It will be remembered that the year 1561, Old Style, did not end until Easter, which fell on the 29th of March, 1562, according to our mode of computing. See the 10th art. of the Edict of January, in Benoist, i. pièces just., 4; and Mémoires de Condé, iii. 13.

Let it not be imagined that this remark is a generalization made from uncertain or delusive particular facts. We are so fortunate as to possess in its support the distinct authority of a prominent jurist, a member of a family distinguished through several generations for legal acumen. The point is so important that I shall speak in some detail of the circumstances in which the opinion of Omer Talon was enunciated.

"Grands Jours de Poitiers," 1634.

In the year 1634 there were held at Poitiers the assizes of a tribunal known as "La Cour des *Grands Jours*," a commission whose members were drawn from the judges of several parliaments of France, and which was invested with extensive powers for the redress of abuses. Before this court was brought a suit for the demolition of the Huguenot church in the town of Saint Maixent. The plaintiff, Messire Bertrand Deschaux, Archbishop of Tours, commendatory abbot of the royal abbey of Saint Maixent, presented himself at the bar in company with the prior and monks of that institution, and attended by an advocate and an attorney. He wore the full vestments in which he would have officiated in his cathedral. The defendant was Maître Samuel Le Blanc, pastor of the Protestant church, designated by the records merely as a "minister of the pretended Reformed Religion," who came with his elder Raphael Dieumegard. Both were apparently dressed in the simple costume of laymen of the period. There was no question that the "temple," or Protestant church, of Saint Maixent had stood fully thirty-five years, and had been used for the worship of Almighty God, according to the rites of the Reformed Religion ever since the Huguenots were compelled by the Edict of Nantes to restore to the Roman Catholics the ecclesiastical edifices formerly belonging to the state church. So long a period of undisturbed occupation might have been supposed to give a title that could not be contested. This conclusion, however, the advocate of the plaintiff denied, for he averred that against the rights and franchises of the Church there can never be any prescription.[1] Again, the counsel of the Protestants showed that the Edict of Nantes permitted his coreligionists to hold worship in every town or village where they had held it in 1596 and 1597. He maintained that this permission must, in the very nature of the case, involve "the things necessary to attain thereunto," or places for worship. Besides this, he proved that the Huguenots had had free and public worship at Saint Maixent so far back as in 1569 and in 1579; and, moreover, that the edicts of the present monarch in 1622 and 1629 ordained the re-erection and restoration of all Protestant churches, "without discrimination of the spots and places where they were built." But Omer Talon, speaking for the king's attorney-general, repudiated the Protestant claims. "The edicts of pacification were made," he said, "for the purpose of maintaining the king's subjects in a good understanding, of allowing liberty of conscience, of preventing the Inquisition in the realm, and of suffering, by way of toleration and dissimulation, what one could wish were not there.[2] The king's intention was to provide for the personal safety of those who profess the Protestant religion, and for the exercise of their religion; but not to give it authorization in France, nor to place it side by side with, nor to confer upon it the same advantages as upon the Catholic religion. For this reason, the terms of the edicts ought to be interpreted literally; they should not suffer extension. It would not be just that a religion that exists in this kingdom merely by tolerance, and by the kindness of the king, should be reckoned among those favorable matters for which the terms of laws and ordinances are wont to be graciously interpreted and extended."[3] And, as the interpretation

Omer Talon's interpretation of the edicts of pacification.

They must not be "graciously" explained.

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[1] "Parce que l'on ne prescrit jamais contre les droicts et la franchise de l'Église."

[2] "Et souffrir par tolérance et dissimulation ce que l'on desireroit qui ne fust pas."

[3] "Pour cela les termes des Edicts doivent estre interpretez à la lettre; ils ne doivent point souffrir d'extension: et ne seroit juste qu'une Religion qui ne subsiste dans ce Royaume que par la tolérance et par la bonté du Roy, peust

of one set of prescriptions was rigid, so that of another set was elastic. The restoration and rebuilding of Protestant churches, according to the edicts of 1622 and 1629, if they were soundly interpreted, must be held to apply to such churches only as rightfully belonged to the Protestants and as they could lawfully hold.

So urged Omer Talon, soon himself to become the highest law officer of the crown, and so thought the Cour des Grands Jours. Accordingly it ordered the destruction of the Protestant church of Maixent within the term of one week, forbidding, meanwhile, that any meetings be held within its walls, upon any pretext whatsoever.[1]

Omer Talon was not a cruel or unfeeling man. We are told that he was the very oracle of the bar, respected even by his enemies. It has been said of his memoirs which have come down to us, that they everywhere reveal the great magistrate, the enlightened jurist, the good citizen, and that their eloquent words are marly and full of warmth, wisdom, and dignity.[2] Nor were the members of the Cour des Grands Jours by any means the most unfair judges that ever sat upon the bench in France. Yet a more iniquitous maxim than that propounded by Talon and adopted by these judges, could not have been devised. Incorporated into the principles of French jurisprudence, the unfortunate declaration of Omer Talon converted the very citadel of defence of the innocent into a stronghold of injustice and oppression. So unfair did the practical application of the laws become in consequence, for the next hundred years and more, as to surpass even the atrocity of the laws themselves. A signal illustration was afforded of the adage that a severe construction of the law may result in the most flagrant invasion of personal rights—*summum jus, summa injuria.* It was not to be long before the royal judges of France, from impartial arbiters, would become masters of the petty art of spe-

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estre contée entre les choses favorables pour lesquelles les termes des Loix et Ordonnances ont accoustumé d'estre gracieusement expliquées et estendues."

[1] Benoist has referred to these judicial proceedings (Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 543, etc), but the text of the official documents, of which I have made use, is interesting and important. See Mercure François, xx. 836–848.

[2] Abbé Sabatier, apud Feller, Biographie Universelle, ii. 259.

cial pleading, dealers in quibbles and low chicanery, whose misapplied ingenuity was all directed, not to the discovery of the true intent of the laws in force regarding matters of religion, much less to a conscientious fulfilment of their provisions; but, rather, to the study of such methods of interpretation as might contribute to the discomfiture of the Protestants in the unequal struggle into which they were forced.

Yet for the present the Huguenots were occasionally treated with courtesy by the government. At least, of civil words and of promises of protection there was no lack. Thus, when the consistory of the Reformed church of Metz, with their pastor, Paul Ferry, presented themselves before Louis the Thirteenth and his minister, on the occasion of a royal visit, they had reason to be satisfied with the assurances given them in answer to their own professions of loyalty. The king, it is true, was as sententious as usual. "I thank you," he said. "Continue to serve me well. I assure you that I shall maintain you." But Richelieu, whose countenance seemed to confirm the truth of his words, spoke in the most kindly manner, as he expressed his gratification at seeing and hearing the Protestants and the obligation their words had conferred upon him. "My affection for you," he said, "is not small, for it leads me to desire that God may enlighten your minds, and touch your hearts, and to secure you all the temporal benefits I may be able. If I find opportunities with the king to serve you, I shall very cheerfully take advantage of them, that I may show you by deeds the truth of the words I speak. Make trial of this."[1]

Richelieu receives the Protestants at Metz with courtesy.

Nor were political favors altogether denied to the Huguenot nobles, although greater favors evidently awaited any Huguenot noble that would consent to abjure his faith. In September, 1634, the aged Duke of Sully received tardy recognition of his services to Henry the Fourth, and was made a marshal of France.[2]

Sully is made a marshal of France.

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[1] December 23 and 24, 1631. See the addresses and replies. as written down by Paul Ferry himself, in Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français, xi. 31–35.

[2] Benoist, ii. 536.

Yet his advisers, lay or clerical, never allowed the king to forget what they were pleased to call the former rebellion of the Huguenots. In 1638 they induced Louis the Thirteenth to issue a solemn Declaration by which his majesty placed the kingdom under the special protection of the Virgin Mary. This extraordinary document recited among the signal blessings which Almighty God had conferred upon him, the overthrow of the Protestants. "The rebellion of heresy having formed a party in the state that had no other aim than to share our authority, He made use of us to humble its pride, and permitted us to rear again His holy altars in all the places where the violence of the unjust party had destroyed them."[1]

Louis XIII. places France under the protection of the Virgin Mary. 1638.

Their clerical enemies were not disposed to leave the Huguenots undisturbed in the enjoyment of the comparative quiet of their condition, and interested themselves in the internal concerns of the Protestant churches with an officious zeal. As often as the assemblies of the clergy of France were held, so often the supposed misdeeds of the churches and consistories were held up to reprobation. In the assembly of 1636, the Bishop of Orleans, besides other odious accusations, charged the Protestants with having purposely altered the last verse of one of the psalms sung in their services—it was the twentieth—transforming a loyal supplication to heaven in behalf of the king, into a prayer that God would be pleased to turn the king's heart and make it favorable to the suppliants. One might reasonably have asked the prelate, what concern it was of the Roman Catholic clergy, even were the allegation substantiated, that the Huguenots had made the change, during the course of the persecutions to which they were subjected under so many kings of France? Why should the ecclesiastics of another faith complain, if, looking to heaven for relief from intolerable oppression, the Protestants did indeed prefer a petition

Alleged falsification of the Psalms.

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[1] Déclaration par laquelle le roi place le royaume sous la protection spéciale de la vierge Marie. Saint Germain en Laye, le 10 Février, 1638. Mercure françois, xxii. 284. Isambert, Recueil des anciennes lois françaises, xvi. 483, etc. Almost the same expressions occur in Louis XIII.'s edict of April, 1643, appointing a regency in the case of his death a document which may be regarded as his last will and testament. Isambert, xvi. 550.

for deliverance from the effect of royal enmity to a petition for the longevity of their oppressor?[1]

The Huguenots accused of having altered their faith.

The truth is that the bishop was not less anxious thus to prove the disloyalty of the Huguenots, than to persuade the monarch that the religion of the Huguenots of the day was quite another religion from that which was tolerated by the edicts of 1562 and of 1598, and consequently that it was entitled to none of the privileges which it now enjoyed. His reasoning on this point is ingenious and amusing: The divisions between the Lutheran and Reformed churches, said he, are notorious, especially in the matter of the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist; for everybody knows what thunderbolts were hurled to and fro, what blood was shed, to give weight to their opposite views. Yet the French ministers, by the express act of the recent Synod of Charenton (1631) have publicly received the Lutherans to a participation in the Lord's Supper. Is this not the introduction of a new religion, of Lutheranism, into France? Again, one of their most distinguished writers, Daillé, in his "Apology for the Reformed Churches," finds fault with them for condemning the Greeks with too much severity because the latter reject the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost from both the Father and the Son; while, in another of his works, the same theologian opens so wide the door of Christian charity as to admit all the forms of heresy, eight only excepted.—In other words, the tendency toward broader and more fraternal relations between the different branches of the churches of the Reformation proved that the religion of Huguenots of the seventeenth century was quite a different thing from the religion of their ancestors in the sixteenth ; and the prelate, instead of rejoicing in the change, saw in it only a reason for the withdrawal of royal toleration.[1]

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[1] See Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., ubi infra; Benoist, ii. 553, etc. See O. Douen, Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot (Paris, 1878), i. 597–599. The lines as originally written by Beza (not Marot) read:

"Seigneur, plaise-toy de défendre
Et maintenir le Roy;
Veuilles noz requestes entendre
Quand nous crions à toy."

They were changed to read as follows:

"Seigneur, plaise-toy nous défendre,
Et faire que le Roy
Puisse nos requestes entendre,
Encontre tout effroy."

I quote from the copy of the Huguenot psalter in my possession, printed in Geneva in 1638, two years after the delivery of the harangue of the Bishop of Orleans.—M. Douen traces the change back to 1562, and believes that Theodore Beza himself made it after the bloody executions of Huguenots by Francis II., consequent upon the Conspiracy of Amboise.

The thought expressed by the Bishop of Orleans, at the opening of the assembly of the clergy, was repeated by his colleague, the Bishop of Saint Flour, in his harangue to the king at its close. "It is no longer a pure heresy," he exclaimed, when speaking of the new religion which was disseminated throughout France. "It is a mixture of poisons. From heresy they degenerate into atheism. They confound the sects of Calvin and Luther. They mix these two venomous concoctions[2] with those of several other heresiarchs, and instead of fearing the edicts which forbid them from making any innovations, their writings give to the world impieties that would horrify the most irreligious."[3]

A demand that the Huguenot liturgy be expurgated.

The most astounding demand, however, was made by the prelate whom I first mentioned, to the effect that the government should undertake to expunge from the liturgy of the Huguenots every expression that might be construed as offensive to a Roman Catholic ear, and that any such expression uttered by a Huguenot pastor should be severely punished. "Can your Majesty believe it," he said, "that there are to be found in your kingdom ministers so bold as to style the Church whose eldest son you are 'the infamous Whore and the idolatrous Babylon,' the host, 'a god of paste,'

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[1] Remonstrance of the Clergy to Louis XIII., Paris, February 17, 1636, by Nicolas de Netz, Bishop of Orleans. Recueil des Actes, Titres, et Mémoires du Clergé de France (Paris, 1673), v. 313-315.

[2] "Ces deux venins."

[3] "Leurs livres et leurs escrits publient des impietez qui feroient horreur aux plus libertins." Remonstrance made to the king in the name of the clergy by Charles de Noailles, Bishop of Saint Flour, at Chantilly, April 20, 1636, ibid., v. 324.

'an abomination,' 'a wafer over which the priest mumbles four or five words,' as says that impious blasphemer Drelincourt, 'and would have us believe that he has made a god of it,' the mass, 'mummery,' the worship of the Virgin and the Saints, 'idolatry,' the pope, 'Antichrist'—ministers so bold as to express doubts whether the Holy Father is the successor of Simon Peter and not, rather, of Simon Magus?" After which, the Bishop of Orleans prays that the Bibles and prayer-books of the Huguenots be taken in hand, and the obnoxious passages be erased, the prayer for the king restored in the twentieth psalm, and the "infamous" pages in Daillé's works (wherein he had expressed charitable views respecting the Greek church and sundry heretics) be burned by the public hangman, while their author should be severely punished as a "heresiarch."[1] It was truly a curious spectacle to behold a Roman Catholic bishop, at the head of other bishops of the Roman Catholic church, insisting before the king of France that the Protestant church should be conservative, not progressive; as though they would force it to earn the right to adopt for its own the boast of unchangeableness, and the motto "*Semper eadem.*"

The Bishop of Saint Flour on the royal power.

Nor must it be supposed that the denunciation of the Huguenots fell upon dull ears. Flattery disposes kings to listen with favor, and the Bishop of Saint Flour took good care to exalt the power and authority of Louis to the skies, and to congratulate him upon their boundless extent. "Who indeed," he exclaimed, apostrophizing the monarch, "who indeed is it that has ground to powder that rock which is responsible for almost all the commotion of this realm? Who has overturned that foundation of a religion opposed to the religion founded by our Lord upon the Rock? Who has destroyed the centre of all the disturbances contrary to the stability of so puissant a kingdom? Is it not your majesty, Sire? And if you have been able to remove this barrier that abridged the power of kings, may we not hope that you will enlarge the kingdom which you have liberated, and give new frontiers to a state which, in the reign of former kings, had limits, and within those limits guilty lurking-places of rebellion."[1]

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[1] Remonstrance of the Bishop of Orleans, ibid., v. 317, 318. Thus, it is suggested, would that monster of heresy, that indifference respecting religion, begotten by Minister Daillé, be stifled at its birth.

It might not be impertinent here to inquire, or conjecture, how great was the loss to the cause of liberty which France sustained in the overthrow of the Huguenots as a political party and in the consequent cessation of their active resistance to the tyranny of the crown.

Demands of the royal commissioner at the national synod of Alençon, 1637.

If impotent to oppose by force of arms, the French Protestants continued to make as determined a stand as their circumstances would permit, against the combined injustice of the clergy and of the king acting under its inspiration. Of resistance there was great need. The royal commissioner at the twenty-seventh National Synod, held at Alençon, in the months of May and June, 1637, brought instructions of the most offensive character, breathing a spirit of suspicion of which it was not difficult to detect the source. Whatever the bishops of the established church had uttered by way of complaint, here found expression in the form of prohibitions emanating from the government. The Huguenots must have no intercourse with foreign countries, however friendly to the French crown, even respecting purely ecclesiastical matters, nor indeed the Huguenots of one province with the Huguenots of another province. Their ministers must inculcate such perfect obedience as never to impute to the king any other intention than to maintain religious liberty, even should he order anything that seemed to be an infringement of it. Such words and expressions as "the scourge of God," "martyrdom," "persecution," and the like, were ruled out of place. So also was it of "antichrist," and those other terms respecting which the clergy had complained. The instructions went to the length of interfering with the doctrine and practice of the Protestants respecting Baptism, and bade the national synod undo the work of a provincial synod of Nismes which had invalidated the rite when administered by laymen. The commissioner, or the ecclesiastic who spoke by his mouth, undertook to inform the Protestant synod of the nature of the sacrament which, quoth he, works *ex opere operato*, and which even when administered by a layman cannot be impugned without impugning the authority of the Roman Catholic Church which approves such a baptism.[1]

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[1] Remonstrance of the Bishop of Saint Flour, ibid., v. 323, 324.

Firm reply of the moderator, Basnage.

To all which the Huguenot moderator, the Norman pastor Benjamin Basnage, replied with firmness and with a certain manly independence. There was, indeed, in his answer no lack of that humility which it was the fashion of all to profess in approaching the throne; but far from seeing in the speech the signs of timidity, which the learned Benoist seems to have discovered,[2] I can find only marks of a true courage that will make no unworthy concessions even to menace and overwhelming preponderance of power.[3] If, speaking for the whole body, he declared that the pastors of the churches should be urged more than ever to observe the prescriptions of their own canons that forbade them from employing, in the expression of their own belief and hope, words calculated to shock the feelings of men of another creed, he also took occasion to beg his majesty to require a like practice on the part of the ecclesiastics of the Roman Catholic Church, who in their sermons, indulged so freely in abuse of the Protestants. On not a single essential point did Basnage flinch. His rejoinder was calm and conciliatory, and he displayed even more resolution than tact. The historian of the Edict of Nantes, usually so accurate in his statements, has strangely mistaken the character of the moderator's words when he represents the synod, speaking through him, as replying as one replies when one trembles. He more nearly hits the mark when he observes of the synod's long list of infractions of the Edict of Nantes and of other acts of injustice, that it was handed in, not so much with any hope of obtaining redress, as in order not to forfeit the right to complain in future.[4] It cannot be said that the spirit of the Huguenots was broken as yet by the disastrous issue of the wars waged in defence of their civil and religious rights;

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[1] Aymon, Tous les Synodes, ii. 534–39; Benoist, ii. 569–71.

[2] "Le Synode repondit au discours du Commissaire, comme on repond quand on tremble." Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 572.

[3] Haag (La France Protestante, new ed., i. 924), very properly repudiates Benoist's view.

[4] Benoist, ii. 574.

but, while unprepared to surrender those rights, they looked for future acknowledgment of their just claims on the part of the king in a better mind. Patience, obedience, forbearance seemed, consequently, to be the qualities chiefly called for in his majesty's Protestant subjects at the present moment. Thus it was that, when Louis the Thirteenth, instead of choosing two deputies-general at the nomination of the synod, ignored the *tiers état* altogether, and prolonged the term of the Marquis of Clermont as a representative of the nobility, the synod resigned itself to the king's will without a protest.[1]

The great affair of Amyraut and Testard.

It may here be noticed that if the synod of Alençon was firm in its attitude toward the crown, it was also faithful in its efforts to promote the internal peace of the churches. This was seen in its disposal of what was known as "the great affair of Messrs. Amyraut and Testard." The former, a professor of Saumur, had written a treatise upon the doctrine of Predestination, but his well-meant attempt to remove difficulties had merely succeeded in raising the most considerable storm of theological discussion which the French Protestant Church had ever known. Happily, the long and patient examination at Alençon brought about, if not a perfect calm, at least a temporary lull. Amyraut's explanation of his use of the term of "universal" or "conditional predestination," as an accommodation to the mode of speech of the adversary, and his declaration that Jesus Christ died sufficiently for all men, but efficaciously for the elect alone, were accepted by the synod as satisfactory. But the assembled divines, while they dismissed Amyraut and his friend in a very honorable fashion, adopted the advice of the pastors and professors of Geneva, and enjoined upon them, upon pain of deposition, to abstain in future from the discussion of what they regarded as a dangerous and unprofitable theme, a conclusion which was confirmed, eight years later, in the National Synod of Charenton (1645).[2]

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[1] Benoist, ii. 577–78.

[2] See Aymon, ii. 571–76; Benoist, ii. 578; A. Vinet, Histoire de la Prédication parmi les Réformés de France au dix-septième siècle, 218–21; and, especially, the detailed account, for the first time printed from a contemporary manuscript, entitled "Journal de ce qui se passa dans la ville d'Alençon lors de

The year that witnessed the solemn dedication of the kingdom of France to the Virgin Mary, to which reference has already been made (1638), beheld also the birth of a son to Louis the Thirteenth and his wife, Anne of Austria, on the fifth of September, after a childless union of nearly twenty-three years. The infant was the future Louis the Fourteenth, during whose long reign of nearly three-quarters of a century, the Huguenots were destined to suffer more disasters than during all the previous years of their checkered existence. For the present their condition was little affected either by the events, whether favorable or adverse to France, of the Thirty Years' War, which occupied the remainder of the reign of Louis the Thirteenth and the first five years of the reign of his son, or by the successful contest of Cardinal Richelieu against other jealous aspirants to the control of the government of the weak monarch, against Anne of Austria herself, the Count of Soissons, Cinq-Mars and his despicable ally, the king's younger brother, Gaston, Duke of Orleans. Important as these events are in the general history of France, neither they nor the unfortunate fate of De Thou, son of the great historian, concern us here. So far as they had any bearing upon the fortunes of the Huguenots, they may be regarded as usefully diverting the attention of the government from a religious body which fared best when most removed from notice at the hands of an unfriendly court. It was, probably, otherwise with the quarrel between the pontifical government and the French cardinal, who, although himself a member of the "sacred college" and a "prince of the church," was ambitious to bring Rome itself under his comprehensive sway. The Huguenots rarely, if ever, profited by the disputes of the French crown with the Holy See. When Richelieu assumed so distinct an attitude of hostility to Pope Urban the Eighth, that there was serious thought, or, at least, very loud talk of the institution of a French patriarchate and of a complete sundering of the ties of religious subjection to the Roman pontiff, it was esteemed politic to prove to the

Birth of Louis XIV., September 5, 1638.

Richelieu and the proposed "patriarchate" of France.

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l'affaire de MM. Testard et Amyraut," in Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français, xiii. 39–63.

world that his eminence had no kindly inclination toward the adherents of the Reformed faith. I shall spare the reader, however, the details of the acts of injustice which, if he desires to see them, he will find on the pages of the faithful and laborious Benoist. If the villagers of a small place in the neighborhood of Paris were forbidden to meet to sing psalms or to bury their dead from their sight except at certain fixed hours; if the Huguenots of Dauphiny were unjustly ordered by the Parliament of Grenoble to drape their houses on Corpus Christi day; if the University of Poitiers discriminated against Protestant students—in short, if here and there the members of the Reformed churches were the victims of palpable injustice, whether at the hands of judges or at the hands of royal officers, these vexations were, as compared with the trials awaiting them in the next reign, almost unworthy of notice, since they did not seriously interfere with the general state of peace and prosperity of the industrious and God-fearing men and women professing the Calvinistic faith.

Minor vexations.

Thus did matters stand when, on the fourth of December, 1642, Cardinal Richelieu died. He was followed to the grave less than six months later, on the fourteenth of May, 1643, by Louis the Thirteenth. Louis had reigned over France for exactly thirty years to a day.

Death of Cardinal Richelieu (1642) and of Louis XIII. (1643).

I have spoken of the last years of the reign of Louis the Thirteenth and the first years of that of his successor—in other words, the period of about thirty years beginning with the Edict of Grace, in 1629, and ending with the adjournment of the last National Synod which the French Reformed churches were permitted by the government to hold, in January, 1660—as constituting the halcyon days of Huguenot history. It may not, therefore, be out of place to pause at the point which we have now reached, and gain a few general notions regarding the state of the Huguenots and their churches before they entered upon the disastrous times of systematic oppression culminating in an attempt to terminate at one blow their civil existence in the realm.

The halcyon days of French Protestantism, 1629 1660.

I have in a previous work alluded to the difficulties attending an inquiry into the question respecting the absolute number of

Huguenots in France and the fraction which they consequently formed of the entire population. Cardinal Bentivoglio, a papal nuncio at the court of Louis the Thirteenth, who gave special study to the condition and prospects of the "Calvinists," is not far astray when he reckons their churches at about seven hundred.[1] There were in reality somewhat more. The reports made to the national synods show that in 1598 the Protestants had seven hundred and sixty-three churches; in 1601, seven hundred and fifty-three; in 1607, seven hundred and fifty-eight; and in 1637, owing to the fact that the forty-seven churches of the principality of Béarn were included, eight hundred and seven.[2] At the very close of the period now under consideration, a careful list that was drawn up, apparently, for the last national synod, showed six hundred and thirty-one principal, and two hundred and thirty-one secondary places of worship (annexes), or eight hundred and sixty-two places in all.[3] The cardinal is less accurate when, judging from some of the larger churches, such as Charenton, which had several pastors, he supposes that, upon the average, there might be two ministers for every church. In reality, the number of ministers was slightly inferior to the number of the churches. But Bentivoglio is, as I have shown in a previous chapter,[4] in accord with the results obtained from other sources in his estimate of the Huguenot population. France in the early part of the seventeenth

Huguenot population.

Churches and ministers.

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[1] Breve relatione degli Ugonotti di Francia, inviata a Rome dal Cardinal Bentivoglio in tempo della sua Nuntiatura appresso il Rè Christianissimo Luigi XIII. all' Illustrissimo Signor Cardinal Borghese, Nipote della Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Paolo Quinto, sotto li vii. di Novembre 1619. In Relationi del Cardinale Bentivoglio (Venice, 1636), 198.

[2] See The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre, ii. 445.

[3] "Rosle des Églises Réformées de France, avec les noms des pasteurs exerçant le saint ministère en la présente année 1660," printed in the Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Prot. franç., xv. 511–526, 577–582, from MS. in the Court Collection of the Public Library of Geneva. The National Synod sat from November 10, 1659, to January 10, 1660. The names of the pastors, 712 in number, are given in this very valuable document. In some cases also a later hand has given the number of communicants. Calais and Saint-Quentin, for example, are credited with three thousand each.

[4] See Chapter I. supra, p. 5.

century had fifteen million souls. Of these a million, or a little over, were Huguenots. They were the only Protestants tolerated in the kingdom, of whose population they constituted somewhat over one-fifteenth, never more than one-tenth part.[1] The fact is that the statistics of Protestantism in France have always been exaggerated. Before the Revocation, the Huguenots were popularly reckoned at two or even three millions. In 1680, even an official document set down the Huguenots old enough to partake of the Holy Communion at one million seven hundred thousand souls, and supposed their total strength to be fully two millions out of the eighteen millions that France contained at that date. If this could be relied upon, the Huguenots would have numbered fully one-ninth part of the entire population of France.[2] Even in our own days the number of Protestants has been commonly represented as a million and a half, though the government census fails to show that the adherents of the Reformed church reach six hundred thousand souls.

In the membership of the Huguenot churches all ranks of society were represented. Persecution, however, had sifted out many of those who, in the initial stages of the history of the Reformation, attached themselves to it from interested motives —both the ambitious nobles who sought support in political contentions, and that restless and unruly class whom contemporaries styled "atheists and Epicureans," leaders in insubordination and iconoclastic exploits.[3] Yet if the lower populace was not now strongly Protestant, the Protestant nobles and

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[1] Bentivoglio and The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre, ubi supra.

[2] Letter of N. de la Mare, August 6, 1680, published from the MS. in the National Library, with comments, in the Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Prot. franç, xxxvii. (1888), 28–31. M. de la Mare, who was first a "procureur," afterward a commissioner in the Châtelet of Paris, and finally intendant of the house of the Count of Vermandois, obtained his information from the "procureur général," or attorney-general, to whom he had in conversation spoken of the large number of Protestants on the Isle du Palais. "Mais j'ay esté beaucoup plus estonné," he writes, "quand il [le procureur général] a eu la bonté de me dire que l'année dernière, il s'est faict un dénombrement dans le Roiaume, de tous ceux de cette religion en aage de participer à la Ceine, qui c'est trouvé monter à dix sept cens mil."

[3] Guillaume et Jean Daval, Histoire de la Réformation à Dieppe, i. 22 (under date of 1561).

The *noblesse.*

The middle classes.

Trade in the hands of Huguenot merchants.

gentry were still considerable in numbers and in influence. Many a church was composed almost exclusively of the best families of the region. In some places eighty or one hundred families of the gentry attended the weekly services for worship, coming from far and near, and sixty or eighty carriages might often be seen drawn up before the doors of the spacious "temple."[1] But in the large towns and cities the strength of the "pretended Reformed religion" lay in the great middle classes. Trade, foreign and domestic, banking, manufactures, came more and more to fall into the hands of the Huguenots. Excluded, as time passed on, from hope of preferment in the various departments of the royal service, they pressed into those callings in which men of all creeds meet substantially as equals. Later in the century, a Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Venier, in a report to his government, asserted that, at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Huguenot merchants transacted two-thirds of the business of the country. This was, doubtless, a gross exaggeration even then.[2] However this may be, there were many places where, as at Dieppe, the Roman Catholic merchants were few in number and of little wealth as compared with their Protestant townsmen.[3]

Long before the time of the abrogation of the Edict of Nantes, the greater material prosperity of the Calvinists had become matter of common report. I am not able to state precisely when the saying "Rich as a Huguenot" passed into a current proverbial expression; but the circumstance to which it pointed had long been noticeable. It can scarcely be doubted by the impartial observer that the superiority of the Protestants in average morality—their more general avoidance of the sins of drunkenness, lewdness, and gaming, and the other prevalent vices of the day—was the chief cause of the difference. But there was, besides this, an interesting fact, of which the late Mr. Charles Weiss has taken notice, that bears directly upon the point.[1] I refer to the greater industry of the Huguenot as affected by the much longer time he devoted annually to his trade or handicraft. The Roman Catholic artisan, although he did not observe the Lord's day as strictly as his fellow-workman of the other faith, had a far larger number of holidays, saints' days, and other times at which he was prohibited by his church from engaging in any manual labor. His days of idleness amounted to one hundred and five, or two days, on the average, in every week, but scattered at irregular intervals throughout the year. The Huguenot artisan observed only the weekly day of rest, ordained by the Almighty, and coming at the regular interval which experience has taught to be the most conducive to physical invigoration. Consequently the Huguenot had, at the end of the year, the fruits of three hundred and ten days' toil, as against the fruits of the Roman Catholic's two hundred and sixty days. If the two were equally laborious and thrifty, the Huguenot evidently gained upon his Roman Catholic neighbor every year at the rate of not much less than twenty per cent. of the latter's income—a great and cumulative difference, whether the whole was added to capital, or, as was more likely, a part was used in adding to the comforts and means of intellectual improvement enjoyed by the family.

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[1] Benoist, ii. 568 (referring to the date of 1637). "À la vérité les Reformez étoient encore considérables par leur nombre. Leur Églises de la campagne n'étoient presque composées que de Noblesse. Il y en avoit plusieurs où on comptoit quatre-vingts ou cent familles de Gentilshommes; et cela faisoit encore honneur à leur Religion, qu'on vît souvent soixante ou quatre-vingts carrosses à la porte du lieu de leurs exercises."

[2] "Il non poter sperar essi fortuna alla Corte, o alla guerra, l'essere dispersi nelle provincie più adattate al traffico, faceva che tutti i Protestanti vi contribuissero o col lavoro, o colli cambii, o colla navigazione. Si tiene che li due terzi del negozio fossero nelle loro mani." Relation of Girolamo Venier, July 4, 1689, in the collection of Venetian Relations appended to Ranke, Französische Geschichte, v. 317. Venier, no very trustworthy authority, I fear, speaks of the "continually increasing number of the Protestants."

[3] "Vu le petit nombre et peu de capacité des marchands de la religion Romaine, en comparaison d'eux." Daval, ii. 134 (under date of 1644).

The Huguenot artisan works more days in the year.

Whether many or few, the Protestants were loyal to the government of their country beyond all others. When, in 1647, in time of war, Louis the Fourteenth came to Dieppe, he had not with him a single Protestant of those accustomed to be of his suite; all were in his armies.[2] On the other hand, the Protestants had apparently lost little or

Loyalty to the crown.

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[1] Histoire des Réfugiés protestants, i. 35.

[2] Daval, ii. 156.

none of their old-time stanchness of principle. Upon this same visit to the flourishing seaport of Normandy, it was quietly suggested to the consistory that they should order the discontinuance of public religious services in the "temple;" the more so that by the royal edicts Protestant worship was forbidden within the distance of three leagues of the place of the king's sojourn. But the consistory declined either to intermit prayers and preaching, or to ask a permission that might be refused. Did the services at Charenton cease, said they, whenever the king took it into his head to go to the Bois de Vincennes, or were they suspended at Amiens during the three months of Louis's recent stay?[1]

Care for the poor.

The poor were well cared for. There were regular gatherings for their relief at the church doors. Annual collections were made from house to house. It might be said that scarcely ever was there a Huguenot will made which did not contain some gift, great or small, for the benefit of the destitute. In cases of urgent need, an assessment was made and each member paid his share. Then, too, boxes were placed in the shops to receive the free-will offerings of the charitable. The consistory made the wants of the impoverished artisan the object of their special solicitude, purchasing not merely food and clothing, but even the tools for the pursuit of his craft, and in time of famine obtained by loan the requisite relief funds.[2]

Even when, in the course of his unrighteous proscription, the king, shortly before the Revocation, seemed to forbid the Protestant consistories to raise money either for the support of the ministry or for relief of the poor,[3] Huguenot liberality could not be balked. At Easter, 1685, the members of the church of Mer, on the Loire, bringing, as usual, their gifts when coming to obtain the *méreaux,* or tokens, necessary for admission to the Lord's Supper, the elders that dispensed the tokens felt compelled to decline receiving the money. Thereupon the faithful, unsolicited, placed their gifts in a box hard by, whence the person whose duty it was subsequently took out the amount ordinarily appropriated to the poor, and paid the remainder to the two pastors, whose salaries were thus met.[1]

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[1] Daval, ii. 158, 159.

[2] J. P. Hugues, Histoire de l'Église Réformée d'Anduze, 564, 565.

[3] See " Arrest du Conseil du 11 Décembre, 1684, portant défenses à ceux de la R. P. R. de faire aucunes Impositions sans la permission expresse du Roi," in Edicts, Déclarations et Arrests, 171.

The consistories.

The consistory had a wide jurisdiction and exerted great influence. The members embraced the pastor or pastors, the elders, whose duties were chiefly spiritual, and the deacons, who had rather to do with the worldly concerns of the little community, although the functions of the elders and deacons seemed often in practice to mingle. In a large church, such as that of Anduze, which had two pastors, there might be as many as twelve elders and an equal number of deacons. The choice of elders and deacons was made annually by the consistory itself, a method of election that tended to give dignity to the whole body and to render it conservative. The first articles of discipline adopted by the Reformed churches of France had given to the consistory a character rather aristocratic than strictly democratic, by directing that in places where church order was not yet fully constituted the elders and deacons should be elected by the common vote of the people and their pastor, but that, discipline having been once instituted, the right to elect should be vested in the "senate" of the church, that is, in the elders and deacons themselves in conjunction with the minister. The appointees must, it is true, before entering upon their offices, be presented to the people for approval; but should there be any opposition, the matter was to be settled by the consistory, or, in the last resort, by the provincial synod. In no case were either elders or deacons to hold office permanently.[2]

In a leading church, such as that of Anduze, the influence of the consistory made itself felt over a wide district, or even an entire province. It reconciled differences between other churches. Sometimes it audited the accounts of provincial synods, and was the depository of their archives. In this case not less than two deacons must be present when the archives were opened, and no document could, on any pretext, be removed, save by a direct vote of the entire body. If there was a Protestant college in the place, the consistory had a special charge of it.[1]

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[1] P. de Félice, Mer; son Église Réformée, 152.

[2] Premier Synode National des Églises Réformées de France, tenu à Paris le 25 jour du mois de Mai, l'an 1559. Articles 24, 25, 26, 27. In Aymon, Tous les Synodes, i. 5.

Observance of the Lord's Day.

It watched over every member of the Protestant community. It enforced the observance of the Lord's Day by constant exhortation and censure. The shoemaker or tailor that worked at his trade during the holy hours, the dealer that kept open shop and scandalized his brethren, the laborer that received his wages, the farmer who gathered his fruit, even the person that frequented the public-house ostensibly to obtain a meal, were rebuked for their delinquencies, and, if they persisted in them, were not easily let off. The barbers, who were also surgeons, were warned that, though they might indeed keep their doors open and perform operations, they must in nowise trim a customer's beard. And Pierre Puech, better known by his surname of Renard, who confessed that he had gone out one Sunday to a plot of ground which he owned not far from Anduze, and had sown "a little beet seed," covering it in with his foot, despite the fact that when called to account he begged pardon of God and of the church, was gravely censured and was suspended from the communion for a time.[2]

Morals and discipline.

It is almost needless to say that on other points of morality and decorum the consistory was equally vigilant. It took cognizance of lewd behavior ot every kind, of dancing, masking, and the wearing of sumptuous apparel. Such unseemly practices as that of men and women sitting side by side in church, or promenading the streets on Sunday evening up to ten or eleven o'clock, met with appropriate animadversion.[3]

The "temples."

To the consistory belonged the custody of the church buildings of the Protestants, commonly called "temples," to distinguish them from the Roman Catholic places of worship. These structures usually stood upon ground to which full title had been acquired in virtue of a general amortizement granted by the king in favor of all lands occupied by Reformed churches upon payment to the holder of the fief of such an indemnity in a single sum as the royal commissioner should have fixed upon.[1] Where, for some reason or other, the Protestants would not or could not avail themselves of the general law, and the consistory consequently did not possess corporate rights, choice was made of a person—"*homme vivant et mourant*," in the terms of feudal jurisprudence—to represent them as holders of property in mortmain in their relation to the owner of the fief. In 1658, the church of Mer selected a boy of eleven years of age for this purpose, with the evident hope of deferring as long as possible the heavy seigniorial payment attending the transfer to his successor.[2]

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[1] Hugues, 553, 555.
[2] Ibid., 556, 557.
[3] Ibid., 569–572.

The "temple" of Quevilly (Rouen).

The "temples" were often difficult of access, for their enemies, the clergy, had taken good care that the places accorded to the Huguenots for their service should not only be far from any Roman Catholic church, but as distant as possible from the homes of the worshippers. But, if the inhabitants of Rouen, for instance, were compelled to cross the Seine and go several miles in the country to the village of Quevilly, they there found a large and commodious structure erected by their ancestors immediately after the publication of the Edict of Nantes. It was no Gothic edifice with long aisles into which a dim religious light is reluctantly admitted through windows of stained glass, but one of those compact buildings which the skilled architects of the Huguenots devised as best adapted to secure the comfort of the worshippers and to enable them to take part most fully in the services. A description of this may therefore serve to convey a general idea of the Huguenot "temple" of the seventeenth century. It was entirely constructed of wood, but so firm and substantial that Philippe

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[1] "Depuis le Roy ayant donnè un amortissement général pour toutes les places où sont batis les temples de la religion, le dit sieur Bouchard fut condamné par les dits sieurs commissaires, à ce deputés, en l'an 1612, et luy fut payè jusques à 80 liv., encore que la quittance n'en ait peu estre representée, pour avoir esté égarée." Daval, Hist. de la Réformation à Dieppe, ii. 109.

[2] Amounting, according to Paul de Fèlice, to a sum equivalent in value to about 2,500 francs of the present currency of France. See his interesting work entitled Mer: son Église Reformée, 64, 65.

Legendre, the last pastor that preached within its walls, lovingly declared, after it had stood the summers and winters of eighty-four years, that it bade fair to last as long as the French monarchy—which meant, we must presume, to the end of time.[1] The ground plan was a figure having twelve equal sides. The structure was nearly one hundred feet in diameter and over seventy in height. It was well lighted by sixty windows. The pointed roof rested solely upon the exterior walls, and had no need of pillars for additional support. It was capped by a lantern or belfry, and this in turn was surmounted, in token of loyalty, by a large *fleur-de-lis*, in place of the traditional cross. Within there was a double or triple gallery running around the edifice. Legendre tells us that it could easily contain seven or eight thousand worshippers, all of whom could hear the minister however low his voice, if only he spoke distinctly. Another writer increases its capacity to eleven thousand seven hundred persons.[2]

The "temple" of La Rochelle.

Few Huguenot "temples" were more spacious—for the membership of the church of Rouen was among the largest in France—but some were built of more substantial materials. The walls of the "temple" of La Rochelle were of dressed stones. The shape was that of an octagon, somewhat longer than it was broad, but the roof, a marvel of architectural skill in the eyes of contemporary travellers, was, like that of Quevilly, firmly supported, without any bearing columns.[1] It will be remembered that, at the fall of La Rochelle, this elegant Huguenot church was taken from its rightful owners and bestowed upon the Roman Catholics of the place, to become the cathedral of the new episcopal see which Louis the Thirteenth begged the pope to erect. Such it remained until consumed, in 1687, by the flames kindled by the great bonfires that celebrated the restoration of Louis the Fourteenth's health.[2]

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[1] Histoire de la persecution faite à l'Église de Rouen sur la fin du dernier siècle (Rotterdam, 1704), p. 2.—This rare and curious book has been reprinted in fac-simile, together with two views of the elevation and ground plan of the church, at Rouen in 1874.

[2] Ibid., 70, and the accompanying views. See also Farin's description in the introductory notice by Emile Lesens, p. xviii., and Jean Bianquis, La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à Rouen (Rouen, 1885), p. xx. The Protestants of Rouen worship at present in a fine Gothic edifice built in the sixteenth century, the church of Saint Eloi, given to them by the government in 1803. It has beautiful stained glass windows and a grand organ with carved work ascribed to Coustou. It was here that the French Protestant Historical Society held its annual sessions in June, 1887. It is an interesting coincidence that the curate of Saint Eloi was the chief instigator of the legal proceedings that ended in the demolition of the Huguenot church at Quevilly in 1685. Bulletin de la Société de l'hist. du Prot. franç., xxxvi. (1887), 281, where a view of the façade of the church is given.

Church expenses, how defrayed.

The expenses attending the maintenance of divine worship, including the salaries of the pastors, were at first met by voluntary offerings, but when the zeal of the faithful cooled, the amount was apportioned according to their wealth. The head of each family, at Dieppe, for example, received a statement of his share at the hands of the consistory when he presented himself, previously to each of the four great feasts, to obtain the "token" that would admit him to the communion, and of which I shall presently have occasion to speak.[3] The expenses were not heavy, if we may judge from the very modest salaries of five or six hundred livres generally paid to the highly educated ministers—a sum which may possibly represent the value of six times as many francs in our days, and will compare favorably with the amount now doled out by the government of the French republic to the pastors of the Protestant churches supported by the State.[1] The number of sermons delivered every Sunday varied in different places, according to the size of the Huguenot community and the number of pastors. In Dieppe there were customarily four (in 1596), at Anduze, only two.[2] The ministers wore in the pulpit the black Geneva gown.[3] The custom has come down to our days. Among the duties of the pastors the preparation and delivery of sermons naturally formed, next to their parochial duties, the most engrossing occupation. In the conduct of the devotional services on the morning of the Lord's Day, they had the help of the beautiful liturgy prepared by Calvin in the first instance for the French church at Frankfort, and subsequently modified for the use of the church of Geneva. Of this I have elsewhere given an account at considerable length.[4] It was a liturgy the use of which was not obligatory, and which might therefore be dispensed with for sufficient reasons. Yet it was so associated with the habits of a full century, that its noble exhortation and its confession of sins, hallowed by the use which confessors for the faith had made of it in the dungeon, and martyrs at the stake, or when suspended over the flames in the terrible "estrapade," were rarely omitted from the order of worship. Nor had the metrical psalms of Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze lost their hold upon Huguenot imagination and Huguenot devotion. They were sung in every public service. They were printed, generally with the accompanying music written out at length, in the volume that contained the New Testament, as "reviewed and compared with the Greek text, by the pastors and professors of the Church of Geneva," and the catechism and confession of faith. There was scarcely an incident of the life of the individual man, of the family, or of the community, scarcely an act of civil or religious life for which this storehouse of the pious thought of remote antiquity did not supply appropriate form of expression to men and

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[1] "Soutenue par deux clefs de bois d'une riche invention et artifice." Mervault declared that the roof, "as well for its size as for its admirable construction, is esteemed by those that behold it to be one of the most beautiful masterpieces that can be seen." Bulletin de la Société de l'hist. du Prot. franç., xxxvi. (1887), 221. Jodocus Sincerus thus describes it in his Itinerarium Galliæ (p. 118), written in 1616 and published in 1627, before the fall of La Rochelle: "Nunc in area vicina templum noviter excitatum elegans, figuræ ovalis. Ligneum opus lapideo impositum visu imprimis dignissimum: tignis ita invicem nexis, ut, etsi nullis in medio sustinentur fulcris, mutuo se solis muris imposita sustentent." A miniature view may be seen upon the map of La Rochelle in the history of the first siege, published at Maillé in 1621. This "grand temple" must be carefully distinguished from the "temple" subsequently erected in 1630 in the Pré de Maubec, and demolished in 1685, of which my brother has given four views in his History of the Huguenot Emigration to America, i. 276. The latter was a much less imposing structure.

[2] The populace ascribed the conflagration to the malice of a Protestant, vexed at the sight of a church built by his ancestors serving for the worship of an inimical faith. See the excellent article in the Bulletin, ubi supra.

[3] Daval, ii. 21.

Preaching.

The Geneva gown.

Calvin's liturgy.

The psalms.

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[1] Paul de Félice, 103.

[2] Daval, i. 152; J. P. Hugues, 558, 559.

[3] Daval, ii. 102.

[4] Excursus to chapter viii. of Book I., Rise of the Huguenots, i. 341-45.

women who had been familiar with it from earliest infancy. The constant use of the psalms set the Huguenots apart as a peculiar people. The devout Roman Catholic had received no similar training. The Roman Catholic populace had none but songs of a very different character to offer. Hence it was that Huguenot psalm-singing annoyed and irritated. Hence the frequent prohibition of psalm-singing in the streets, in the shop, or even in the private home, where the words or the familiar tunes might be heard and "scandalize" the hearer; especially in the vicinity of churches where they might break in upon the monotonous chant of the priest. Hence numberless popular conflicts. For the psalms were so ingrained in Huguenot nature, that they forced themselves upon the lips in season and out of season. It may, however, be doubted whether, at the later date of which I am writing, the Huguenots had not everywhere become so fully aware of the dislike in which these sacred poems were held by their Roman Catholic countrymen, that they would have refrained from imitating those Norman Calvinists who, in 1562, welcomed a friendly governor of the other faith, sent to them from Paris, with loud singing of appropriate psalms in lieu of a salute of fire-arms.[1]

The services. The clock.

The services, or more probably, the sermons, were apparently timed in some churches by a clock, such as that in the church of Dieppe, which ran but once around in an hour and then struck one—a circumstance that has come down to us because, in 1645, thieves broke in and carried off not only this, but the carpets and the copper boxes used in the collection of alms. These and other losses led to the lodging of the janitor in the building.[2] The Holy Scriptures were read systematically, and often many successive chapters on one Sunday.[3] The liberality of the churches was not confined to their own bounds, but went forth toward all needy communities of a like faith throughout the Christian world. In the records of one or two churches, I find references to money raised, in 1566, to be sent to the suffering Protestants of Avignon; in 1590, to collections for the city of Geneva,

Generous collections for foreign brethren.

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[1] Daval, i. 23.

[2] Ibid., ii. 148.

[3] Ibid., i. 122: "Ce jour là on acheva de lire le livre du prophète Osée."

reduced to straits by the incursions of the Duke of Savoy (and this at a time when the contributing church had scarcely been gathered together after its dispersion); in 1606, for the expelled Scotch pastors; in the same year and in 1610, for the refugees from the marquisat of Saluzzo.[1]

While admission to the public services was free to all, except in the time of violent persecution or of great civil commotion,[2] it was otherwise with access to participation in the holy communion. The consistory was wont to draw up a list of the persons whom it deemed worthy to commune, and to these, and to these alone, it distributed in advance the *méreaux*, or small leaden tokens,[3] required of all that presented themselves on the four great occasions at which the Lord's Supper was celebrated—Christmas, Easter, Pentecost or Whit-Sunday, and the first Sunday of September. Such as were deemed unworthy received a visit from the officer known as the "*avertisseur*," sent to warn them to absent themselves; and neighboring churches received notice of the exclusion. With these exceptions all communicants were expected to come, and, if they failed to do so, inquiry was made into the reason.[4] Baptism was administered and marriage solemnized in the church, the latter after publication of the banns.[5] While preaching and prayer always accompanied the administration of baptism, it was expressly forbidden to offer prayers at the burial of the dead, lest superstitious notions of the efficacy of supplications

The "méreaux," or tokens.

The "avertisseur."

The sacraments and marriage.

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[1] Daval, i. 64, 143, 176; P. de Félice, 81.

[2] Tokens were required in early times, when, through fear, the faithful met with secrecy in private houses; as at Dieppe in 1574. Also, in the uneasiness consequent upon the victory of Henry IV., at Arques, in 1590. Daval, i. 42, 120, 145.

[3] See The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre, ii. 220. M. Edmond Hugues has given in the second volume of Les Synodes du Désert, pp. 503–511, a very full and valuable account of the "méreaux" of the eighteenth century, together with a plate reproducing, by heliogravure, nearly a score of the most interesting specimens that have been preserved. Each church seems to have had its own design for purposes of identification.

[4] J. P. Hugues, ubi supra, 559, 560.

[5] At first with only one publication. "On marioit alors (1577) après une annonce faite." Daval, i. 121.

in their behalf should seem to be countenanced.[1] Many days of fasting were observed on special occasions.[2]

Internal difficulties.

The Reformed churches were not without their internal difficulties, arising sometimes from doctrinal differences, sometimes from other causes. Pastor Deschamps had serious trouble with his flock, being convicted of a number of grave offences against good morals, besides the crime of "intelligence and familiarity with the Arminians." The synod of Normandy forbade him the pulpits of all the churches of the province, but the minister obstinately refused to leave Dieppe, and succeeded in inducing a considerable party in the church to support him in setting the synod at defiance. Primerose, pastor at Rouen, and Civille Saint Mars, an elder from Bacqueville, were deputed to announce to the people the synod's decision. But at the second service which they held, a great tumult arose; for the factious minister brought together a great number of sympathizers, including persons who had been censured for scandalous behavior or had not contributed their quota to the church's expenses, with young men and girls whom it was not the practice to admit to such meetings, but who strenuously resisted the attempts of the elders to induce them to leave.[3]

Occasionally the plagiarism of some minister who ventured to preach as his own the sermons of Du Moulin or some other divine was brought to notice, and a consistory would propose to test the preacher's abilities by directing him to speak from an assigned text.[4] But for the most part it was the irrepressible zeal of the Huguenot minister that gave uneasiness to his brethren and to the church; as when one hot-headed controversialist, disregarding the injunction of the book of discipline to commit no work to the press without consulting his colleagues, brought out a book directed against the Roman Catholic church, and, imitating a very common practice of the day, substituted an imaginary for the real place of publication, the title-page bearing the imprint of *Leyden* instead of *Dieppe*.[1]

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[1] "Les ministres ne feront aucunes prières à l'enterrement des morts, pour obvier à toute superstition." Art. 15 of the Third National Synod (Orleans, 1562), Aymon, i. 26.

[2] E. g., Daval, i. 121, 122, 153.

[3] The recital of the matter takes up many a page of Daval, ii. 51–96, and the scandal occupied the attention of the province for two or three years.

[4] Ibid., ii. 24, etc., 64, 68.

The Huguenot ministry.

Yet as a general rule the pastors of the Huguenot churches of France were quiet and judicious men, characterized rather by the equipoise of their minds than by extravagance either of expression or of action. Of their literary and scholastic attainments evidence sufficient is found in the number and in the quality of their published works. More than one half of the twenty-four pastors of Rouen from 1557 to 1685 are known to have written treatises of greater or less importance.[2]

The Protestant *académies* and colleges.

I have elsewhere made mention of the *académies*, or universities, and the colleges, founded by the Huguenots for the purpose, above anything else, of furnishing facilities for the education of pious young men for the ministry.[3] The interval between the death of Henry the Fourth and the Revocation was the period of the greatest prosperity of these institutions of learning. It was also the period in which were developed the striking divergencies that characterized them. This was especially true of three or four of the number. The school of Nismes, otherwise not deserving to rank among the most important, was notable for its irenic tendencies. Its professors were more inclined than others to soften the differences of doctrine separating Protestants and Roman Catholics. From them came naturally those delusive projects of conciliation and reunion which only added to the reigning discord, and which were doomed in advance to inevitable failure. It was an almost necessary consequence that from this school came more examples of apostasy from Protestantism than from any other school. Yet the names of those who distinguished themselves as teachers, whether of theology, Hebrew, Greek, jurisprudence, philosophy, history, or eloquence, form no obscure list, from Pierre Viret, the reformer, and the first Jacques Pineton de Chambrun, in the sixteenth century, to Jérémie Ferrier, Samuel Petit,

Nismes.

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[1] Daval, ii. 178.

[2] See the list given by Bianquis, La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à Rouen, p. xviii.

[3] The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre, ii. 477.

Bénédict Turretin, and Jean Claude, in the seventeenth; not to speak of Jean de Serres, the historian, and Claude Baduel, who relinquished a professorship in the University of Paris to become the rector of the new college in his native city. Claude Brousson, lawyer and martyr, and David Martin, the reviser of the French Bible, were pupils of this school.

Saumur.

The foremost position among the Protestant *académies* was undoubtedly held by the school founded through the unremitting exertions of Duplessis Mornay, at Saumur. The wide personal acquaintance which the representative Huguenot of his age had throughout Europe with the men most distinguished for learning and intellectual ability, an acquaintance maintained and enlarged by means of a correspondence, unrivalled in interest, with all parts of the civilized world, enabled him to attract to the new institution on the banks of the Loire many of the ablest teachers of the times, not only in France, but in Scotland and elsewhere. Michel Béraud, Robert Boyd, John Cameron, Moïse Amyraut, Josué de la Place, Claude Pajon, and others of almost equal merit, illustrate the long catalogue of the instructors; while the very mention of the most famous among the multitude of the alumni would occupy far more space than could here be accorded to them. In short, no Protestant *académie* more speedily attained celebrity, more steadily retained its hold upon educated men, or was frequented by greater numbers of pupils. It was in keeping with the circumstances of its establishment that the professors of the School of Saumur early exhibited a disposition to teach a modified Calvinism, denounced by many as a serious departure from the theological views propounded by the fathers of the Reformed church, and that they thus came into collision with their brethren of other Protestant schools. The discussions were long and acrimonious; for the professors of Sedan and Montauban became the defenders of orthodoxy and in turn attacked with boldness and vigor a system which they viewed as differing little from the belief of Arminius, condemned by the decrees of the Council of Dort. As over against the eminent men that occupied chairs of instruction at Saumur, Sedan boasted the distinguished names of Pierre du Moulin, of Samuel des Marests, and of Pierre Jurieu, and Montauban the names of Daniel Cha-

Sedan and Montauban.

mier, Pierre Béraud, and Antoine Garissolles, while among the celebrated men who studied at the latter institution, were the theologian Jacques Abbadie, the great critic and philosopher Pierre Bayle, Élie Benoist, the historian of the Edict of Nantes, Rapin Thoyras, the historian of England, the eloquent preachers Pierre du Bosc and Paul Ferry, and the academician Paul Pélisson, destined to an unenviable notoriety as the founder of the "Caisse des Conversions," which will occupy us later.[1]

French Protestant preaching in the seventeenth century.

For a very full and thoughtful discussion of the character of French Protestant preaching in the times of Louis the Thirteenth and Louis the Fourteenth, I refer the reader to a work of Professor A. Vinet entitled "Histoire de la prédication parmi les Réformés de France au dix-septième siècle" (Paris, 1860). The eight preachers who may be regarded as representative are Pierre du Moulin, Michel le Faucheur, Jean Mestrezat, Jean Daillé, Moïse Amyraut, Raymond Gaches, Jean Claude, and Pierre du Bosc. To these De Superville and Saurin might be added, but they belong rather to the refugee church in the Netherlands than to their native land. I have already had something to say of Daillé, Amyraut, and Du Moulin. I shall in the sequel speak of Claude's resplendent abilities both as preacher and as controversialist. The notable scene when Du Bosc appeared before Louis the Fourteenth to plead the rights of the oppressed Huguenots will occupy our attention in a subsequent chapter. We shall then see the remarkable, but evanescent, impression which his words made upon the monarch. Despite the renown of Claude and Du Bosc, and perhaps not even excepting these eminent men, Professor Vinet regards the greatest of the Roman Catholic preachers as having excelled in brilliancy the greatest of the Protestant preachers. The prosperity of a country, however, is not gauged by the extraordinary wealth of a few persons, nor the intellectual superiority of a period or a set of men by the preeminence of a limited number of individuals. Apart from some great names, French Protestantism could boast of a far larger number of good preachers than French Roman Catholicism; and the discourses of the Protestant preachers of the seventeenth century well deserve careful study. In a purely literary point of view they were not the equals of their Roman Catholic rivals. They were at a disadvantage in two respects. There was a "*refugee* style" even before there were refugees. Keen critics detect in such pulpit orators, as Du Moulin and Le Faucheur, who still wrote in France, a certain lack of true French feeling.

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[1] See the admirable book of Daniel Bourchenin, Étude sur les Académies protestantes en France au xvi^e et au xvii^e siècle (Paris, 1882), and particularly the exhaustive lists of instructors and eminent pupils, on pages 463-472. Cf. also Michel Nicholas, Hist. de l'ancienne Académie de Montauban (Montauban, 1885), and, on the tendencies of the schools, the same writer's article in the Bulletin, etc., ii. 320 et seq.

The church to which they belonged was, as it were, a commonwealth by itself, with its usages, its traditions, and even its language—"a grave and simple language such as became a persecuted church." On the other hand, the Protestant preacher could not avoid controversy even in the pulpit; while the Roman Catholic preacher was only too happy to put controversy aside and let his hearers forget even the existence of Protestantism. But if less eloquent and emotional, the preaching of the Protestants was robust, scriptural, and cogent. It dealt in exhaustive analysis. The sermon was, for the most part, constructed with skill, compact and solid. It was intended for an audience that was not easily satisfied—an audience that might be said to be composed of theologians, sometimes of prospective martyrs. What strength, as Professor Vinet observes, must there not have been in the flock to endure such preaching on the part of the pastor! But the flock not only endured, it loved the sermons to which it listened. Those sermons were less conformed to the fashion of the day than were the contemporary Roman Catholic sermons. But form and fashion are always temporary and mutable ; and it is, perhaps, for the very reason that the Protestant sermons were once out of fashion, that they now strike the reader as more recent, fresher, less antiquated than the Roman Catholic sermons that were better liked at the time of the delivery.

CHAPTER VIII.

UNDER CARDINAL MAZARIN—THE LAST NATIONAL SYNOD.

From the hands of a prince of the Roman Catholic Church the chief direction of the political destiny of France passed almost immediately into the hands of another member of the pontifical consistory. Cardinal Giulio Mazarino, or Mazarin, who had entered the council of state at the death of Richelieu, became, on the death of Louis the Thirteenth, prime minister of the realm, through the favor of Anne of Austria. For that princess, when, by a bold stroke she annulled the testamentary dispositions of her husband, and induced the Parliament of Paris to acquiesce in her purposes, took from the board by whose advice her actions were to have been guided, the Italian churchman who owed his preferment in French politics to her arch enemy the Cardinal of Richelieu, and invested him with the full powers of government. Born of a noble family of the southern part of the peninsula, Mazarin early exchanged the army for the church, and found in diplomacy a promising and congenial occupation. He had been a papal internuncio before he came to France, and after coming to France, in 1630, and winning the confidence and esteem both of Richelieu and of Louis the Thirteenth, he was so fortunate as to obtain, through Richelieu's powerful advocacy at the court of Rome, first, the honorable post of legate of Avignon and then the scarlet robe itself. As ambitious of power as Richelieu had been, his was a mind less capacious of great designs and less resolute in the accomplishment of what he purposed. Yet if his will was less inflexible, he had, on the other hand, the advantage of being less violent, and more conciliatory. Not incapable of forming bold plans or of executing them with prompt decision, he wore for a time, at least, an air of greater consideration for the feelings and the opinions of others. He

Cardinal Mazarin.

knew also how to bow before the storm, reserving for himself the right to reclaim later every power of which he had temporarily divested himself. If he did not succeed so well as Richelieu in impressing the world with a sense of his intellectual or moral force, he surpassed all other prelates in the vast wealth which he laid up for himself in the course of a few years, and in the social position which he secured for his relatives. Few ecclesiastics of equal birth have ever enjoyed the honor of having so exalted a suitor for the hand of a niece as the future Charles the Second of England, or have committed the blunder of refusing so eligible an alliance.

The Edict of Nantes again confirmed, July 8, 1643.

Under Mazarin's rule the Huguenots did not experience any disastrous change from the administration of Richelieu. So far as assurances conveyed in royal declarations were concerned, the new reign opened auspiciously enough. Within less than two months from the accession of Louis the Fourteenth, there was published in his name a law confirming the tolerant legislation enacted in favor of the Huguenots. The most notable expression in this law was the sentence wherein the young king was made to intimate distinctly that the confirmation was in point of fact a work of supererogation, inasmuch as the Edict of Nantes and the laws connected therewith were themselves of permanent authority.[1]

Anne of Austria's promises.

It could not, however, be forgotten that it was a Spanish queen and a granddaughter of Philip the Second that was regent; and with Anne of Austria the Huguenots stood no higher in favor than they had with either Catharine or Marie de' Medici. Indeed, it is said that when the deputies of the clergy came to condole with her on the death of her husband, and to offer their congratulations upon the new authority into which she had come, Anne distinctly promised them that she would revoke all the laws that had been issued in the interest of the Protestants.[2] It is not astonishing, therefore, that the crown showed itself as arbitrary as ever in its dealings with the Huguenots. When the Marquis of Clermont, with little consideration for the interests of his constituents, placed in the king's hands his resignation of the office of deputy general of the Reformed Churches which he had held for some seventeen or eighteen years without procuring any sensible advantage to his fellow believers, the court, instead of waiting for the convocation of the approaching National Synod, and permitting it to nominate his successor, appointed the Marquis d'Arzilliers in his place. The synod, when it came together, saw no course open but to consent to the selection of a man who proved in the end more useful than his predecessor, while it petitioned in vain for a return to the original practice of associating a representative of the Third Estate with the deputy from the "noblesse."[1] In cases of this sort an arrogant government rarely recedes. The Protestants were never again permitted to have a commoner to watch their concerns at Paris, nor did they ever have a voice in the selection of the nobleman who should reside near the king. Moreover, the royal commissioner representing his majesty at the National Synod of 1644—the last but one of the national synods which the Huguenots were to be permitted to hold down to our own days[2]—had been carefully instructed in the art of vexatious meddling, and the address which he delivered at the opening session revealed unmistakably that the hand of the clergy of the established church had been concerned in the preparation. For he complained, among other things, of the injurious references to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion contained in two of the articles of the Confession of Faith of the Reformed Churches; as though their insertion was a new and audacious act of the Huguenots which they were ordered at once to recall. Their majesties, forsooth, the king and his mother, the regent, could not tolerate, in a formula which the national synods swore to observe, expressions

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[1] "Lesquels Édits bien que perpetuels, nous avons de nouveau, en tant que besoin est ou seroit, confirmez, et confirmons," etc. Declaration dated Paris, July 8, 1643. Text in Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, iii. (pièces justificatives) 3, 4.

[2] "La Reine promit formellement aux Deputez du Clergé, qui vinrent la complimenter sur la mort du Roi et sur la Regence, qu'elle révoqueroit les Édits." Benoist, iii. 7.

The king appoints the Marquis d'Arzilliers deputy general of the Protestants.

National synod of Charenton, 1644–1645.

Complaints of the royal commissioner.

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[1] Benoist, iii. 25, 26, 33.

[2] The twenty-eighth national synod, and the third that sat at Charenton, continued its sessions from December 26, 1644, to January 26, 1645. Its proceedings may be read in Aymon, ii. 620–706.

insulting to their religion and to the church whose head they styled the Holy Father, an ally of the French crown.[1]

Manly reply of the moderator, Antoine Garissoles.

The moderator, Antoine Garissoles, pastor and professor of theology at Montauban, was no weakling too timid to express his mind, but a Huguenot of the old heroic type. No sooner had Monsieur dė Caumont, royal commissioner and councillor of the king's council and of the parliament of Paris, concluded his offensive harangue, than Garissoles made, on the spur of the moment, a calm and intrepid reply. He gave the nobleman no reason whatsoever to expect that the venerable body over which he had the honor to preside would alter the expression of its doctrinal tenets, even in order to please the queen or the queen's advisers. "We very humbly beg their majesties to reflect," he said, "that our Confession of Faith was drawn up a hundred years ago or thereabouts, before any edict had been issued in favor of the adherents of our religion, and that they presented it to King Francis the Second for the purpose of giving him a reason of the hope that was in them, and of pointing out to him the abuses which they firmly believed to exist in the religion of Rome, and which therefore needed to be reformed. Consequently, our French Protestants have never changed, and cannot now change, without incurring the guilt of very gross betrayal of trust, that form of expression which was inserted from the very beginning in our Confession of Faith, by which they have sincerely and truthfully declared their common belief, which was authorized in 1561 [1562 new style] by the Edict of January and, later on, by the Edict of Nantes, granted to us by Henry the Great, and confirmed both by the late king and by his Majesty now reigning."[2]

These were brave words. The rest of Garissoles's address was not inferior to them in tact or in firmness. If he yielded some matters of trifling importance, it was only to take his stand with more decision upon points that were all-important, and to vindicate those rights and franchises expressly guaranteed by the Edict of Nantes, the loss of which would be the entire ruin of the Protestant subjects of the crown. He therefore insisted upon the right of Protestants to express themselves with clearness and without concealing their sentiments on all controverted heads of doctrine. He justified their aversion to the Jesuits by the judicial action set on foot by the University of Paris, their denunciation of the Council of Trent by the opposition made to its decrees by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, from whom Louis the Fourteenth was descended on the mother's side. He claimed for the French Protestant churches the same permission to send their students to study theology at Geneva, in Holland, or in England, which was so freely accorded to students from Geneva, Holland, and England to attend French universities, or to French parents to send their sons to Padua or to the republic of Venice. He was equally outspoken in claiming for his fellow believers immunity from molestation of their public worship in places where they were clearly entitled to hold it. To such words and so spoken the government could not but give a respectful hearing; and it may be that the Huguenots owed it to the tact and unflinching courage of Antoine Garissoles that their rights under the Edict of Nantes were treated with consideration for some years longer.[1]

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[1] For the full text of Caumont's harangue, see Aymon, Tous les Synodes, ii. 629–634. It is needless to recite the contents of the articles (the 24th and 28th) of the French Confession of Faith, which may be read in the Recueil des Choses Mémorables faites et passées pour le faict de la Religion et Estat (1565), 51–69, in the larger Mémoires de Condé, i. 411–433, and in the successive editions of the Huguenot psalter, where it is placed after the liturgy and the catechism.

[2] Aymon, Tous les Synodes, ii. 637.

At times, indeed, they were officially addressed from the throne with a courtesy of which they received scant measure from other quarters. The very national synod of which I have been speaking received a very kindly reply from the hand of Louis the Fourteenth to the congratulatory letter which it had sent, and this reply was directed: "To our dear and well beloved, the Pastors and Elders, deputies of the Pretended Reformed assembled by our permission in the national synod of Charenton."[2] It was amusing to see that the king himself freely addressed them by the very title of

Courteous treatment by the crown.

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[1] This is the opinion of Professor Michel Nicolas, Histoire de l'ancienne Académie protestante de Montauban et de Puylaurens (Montauban, 1885), 174.

[2] Letter of Louis XIV., January 4, 1645, in Aymon, Tous les Synodes, ii. 645.

pastors which the Huguenot ministers were subsequently forbidden, upon very heavy penalties, to apply to themselves.[1] Such are the occasional inconsistencies into which intolerance and persecution fall. Meanwhile, it was only some six months later that, in a writ issued by Argenson, royal intendant at Poitiers, forbidding a Scotchman, one Forbes, from teaching the Latin language at La Rochelle in one of the small schools which the Protestants were allowed by the Edict of Nantes to hold, the church officers were sneeringly designated as "*so-called* elders" of "the *pretended* consistory of those of the *pretended* Reformed religion" in that place.[2]

The "pretended religion."

It was no secret whence the prompting to such insults came. This very year there was another of the quinquennial assemblies of the clergy of France, at which the Archbishop of Narbonne, being called upon to address Anne of Austria as regent, indulged in the customary invective against the Protestants and their "pretended" religion. In order to find a plausible pretext for urging the denial to the Protestants of any additional favors, he accused the latter of having undertaken with arms in their hands, to re-establish their worship where it has been justly suppressed. Having had the audacity to advance so false a charge respecting events of a recent date, it is not strange that the prelate was bold to invent calumnies at will touching the misdeeds of the Protestants of the time of Henry the Fourth. That great king, forsooth, had been hard pressed by his Huguenot subjects and forced to grant them privileges contrary to his inclination. Thereupon, his indignation passing all bounds, his majesty once exclaimed, at the same time pointing with his hand to the dauphin, the future Louis the Thirteenth: "There is he who will some day avenge the insults you offer me and the violence you exercise over my mind. He will strip you, doubtless with justice, of what you are extort-

Calumnies of the archbishop of Narbonne

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[1] Benoist, iii. 32.

[2] "Soy-disans Anciens, et ayant charge du Consistoire prêtendu de ceux de la Religion prêtendue Réformée à La Rochelle." Ordonnance de M. d'Argenson, etc., signifiée le 10 juillet 1645. Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., xli. (1892) 470.

ing from me by importunity and what I reluctantly yield to you."[1]

We know with certainty that the Edict of Nantes was freely given by Henry the Fourth, from a sense of justice to his former fellow believers and to those faithful men who had followed him through a long period of adversity. The incident, however, even were it true, could have had no reference to the great charter of Huguenot liberties which was signed more than three years before the birth of Louis the Thirteenth.[2]

and of the bishop of Angoulême.

The same effrontery was exhibited in the harangue of Jacques du Perron, Bishop of Angoulême, a few months later, when, taking occasion to refer to the English Revolution, he represented it to be the chief end of the Parliamentary party, after destroying religion in Great Britain, to cross the Channel and destroy it in France. In fact, he drew a picture very flattering to the prowess of the Huguenots, both past and prospective. "If," said he, "the Huguenots, at the beginning, with the help of only a few heretical princes of Germany, soon became sufficiently powerful to set on foot prodigious armies, give hundreds of battles, win many victories, capture a great number of the best cities of the realm and occupy whole provinces, what may they not accomplish, if, beside the heretics of Germany—now incomparably more puissant—they shall be assisted by the Puritans of England, Scotland, and Ireland, incorporated in a republic the most formidable of Christendom." In his view, the Huguenots had no lack of evil intentions. "The Huguenots have been much enfeebled, but not wholly exterminated. They are as numerous, as full of animosity against us as ever. They have indeed had their towns and strongholds taken from them, but not their hatred nor their thirst for revenge. They await only the opportunity to manifest it; and no more favorable opportunity will ever present itself than will be offered by the establishment of a Puritan republic in England."[1] Then again, he added, shall be seen in France the spectacle of churches ruined, burial places profaned, bishops expelled from their dioceses, sacred virgins dishonored, priests and monks cruelly murdered.[2]

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[1] Remonstrance of the Clergy, presented by Claude de Rebé, Archbishop of Narbonne, attended by the Cardinal of Lyons and Cardinal Mazarin, July 27, 1645. In Recueil des Actes, Titres et Mémoires concernant les affaires du Clergé de France, v. 334 seq.

[2] It will be remembered that the edict was signed in April, 1598, and that Louis XIII. was born September 27, 1601.

Du Perron's harangue to the clergy tended to the same end as the remonstrances in behalf of the clergy handed in to the young king, some months later, by Gondy, the future Cardinal of Retz, very humbly begging his majesty "not to suffer the son of the bondwoman to be heir with the son of the free-woman."[3]

Loyalty of the Huguenots during the time of the Fronde.

Louis XIV. twice professes his intentions to execute the edicts favorable to the Huguenots, 1649, 1650.

To all the calumnies of Du Perron respecting the rebellious, treasonable intentions of the Huguenots the peaceable and loyal conduct of the Protestants during the troublous times of the so-called "Fronde," which began two years later, gave the lie direct. And it is an interesting circumstance that the Cardinal of Retz, who had in his "remonstrance" made much of the pretended "sacrilegious enterprises which the [Huguenot] rebels, disarmed by the victorious hand of Louis the Just, nevertheless were every day executing with so much audacity against religion," was the very prelate who, more than any other, may be truthfully called the instigator of the commotions that convulsed the kingdom during five years of the reign of Louis the Fourteenth. On the other hand, despite the solicitations of the unruly nobles that took part in the "Fronde," the Huguenots continued unshaken in their allegiance, and either remained quiet or assisted the regent and her minister. Not but that the court had at times some needless solicitude regarding their possible rising. Therefore it was that first in December, 1649, and again in April,

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[1] Charles I. was not beheaded until 1649, nearly three years later.

[2] Harangue de Messire Jacques du Perron, Évêque d'Angoulême (February 19, 1646) in Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., v. 347, 348.

[3] "Nous avons supplié très humblement Votre Majesté d'empescher que le fils de la servante repudiée, dont il est parlé dans l'Escriture, ne partage également dans vostre Royaume avec l'Enfant de l'Espouse véritable." Remonstrance du clergé de France assemblé à Paris, faite au Roy Louis XIV. en presence de la Reyne Regente sa Mère le 30 Juillet, 1646, par Illustrissime et Reverendissime Messire Jean François Paul de Gondy, Coadjuteur de Paris, depuis Cardinal de Rais. Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., v. 370.

1650, there were published royal declarations in the king's name, to the effect that Louis the Fourteenth purposed to execute to the letter every edict favorable to the members of the Reformed communion, and intended that they should be unmolested in their persons and their worship.[1] It was much the same, a year later (1651), when they were invited to join in the revolt of the Prince of Condé, with a fair prospect of making themselves felt and appreciated. In the general revolt of the province of Guyenne, Protestant Montauban was prominent in her fidelity to Louis the Fourteenth. As, in 1650, she had sent five hundred soldiers, levied at her own expense, to the siege of Bordeaux, so in 1651 she furnished the Marquis of Saint Luc with twelve hundred to serve in the reduction of Moissac, and Count Harcourt with five hundred to help in the rescue of the regiments of Champagne and Lorraine shut up in Miradoux.[2] Montauban thus earned the eulogy which Count Harcourt pronounced upon the Protestants when her deputies came to offer new assurances of readiness to serve his majesty. "The crown," said he, "was tottering on the king's head, but you have steadied it."[3]

The Huguenots secure Louis's tottering crown.

Nor did the loyalty of the Huguenots altogether escape the notice and commendation of Cardinal Mazarin, in whom even more than in Richelieu, the ecclesiastic was subordinated to the statesman. Referring to them on one occasion, he is said to have exclaimed: "I have no complaint to make of the little flock; for if it feeds on bad pasture, at least it does not go astray."[4] And he replied with the utmost cordiality to the address of the last national synod in 1659. "Gentlemen," he said, "your deputies have handed to me the letter you took the trouble to write me. I thank you for your civilities, and I may tell you that his majesty being fully persuaded, as indeed he is, of your inviolable fidelity, and of your zeal for his service, it was needless for you to make mention of the services I may have rendered you with his Majesty. I beg you to believe that I entertain a high esteem for you, as you deserve, being such good servants and subjects of the king." And the prime minister signed himself, "Your very affectionate servant, to serve you, Cardinal Mazarin." [1]

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[1] Declarations of December 23, 1649, and April 21, 1650. Text in Benoist, iii. pièces justificatives, 37, 38.

[2] See the petition of the Reformed of Montauban (in 1668 or 1669), printed in the Bulletin de la Société de l'hist. du Prot. français, xlii. (1893) 24, 25.

[3] "Le Comte d'Harcourt, Prince qui parloit peu sans accompagner ses paroles de quelque action significative, étant salué par les Deputez de Montauban, qui lui reïteroient les assûrances de leur fidelité, leur répondit, après avoir mis son chapeau en état de tomber s'il ne l'eût soutenu, et le remettant en suite dans une assiette plus ferme, *La Couronne chanceloit sur la tête du Roi, mais vous l'avez affermie.*" Benoist, iii. 154.

[4] "Mazarin disoit d'eux : 'Je n'ai point à me plaindre du petit troupeau ; s'il broute de mauvaises herbes, du moins il ne s'écarte point.'" Rulhière, Éclaircissemens historiques sur les causes de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes (1788), i. 19.

Mazarin's tributes to their loyalty.

The Protestant Hervart controller general of inances.

Of still greater practical importance was the fact that, appreciating the general trustworthiness of the Huguenots, in matters committed to their care, Cardinal Mazarin did not hesitate to employ them in the public service. Disregarding the outcry of the clergy,[2] he advanced Bartholomew Hervart to the very responsible post of Controller General of Finances. Hervart was thereby enabled to help his co-religionists. His liberality to the churches added to their external prosperity. "Never," observes Benoist, "had the ministers received better salaries or been more punctually paid. ost all the prominent churches increased the number of their pastors; inasmuch as there were few places in which there were not some families that entered into the administration of the finances and gave of their earnings to the churches by liberal contributions." The Duke of Sully, too, had once been intrusted with the chief management of the treasury, but, under so lukewarm a Protestant, his department did not become, as it became under Hervart, the asylum of the Huguenots who were excluded from appointment elsewhere. Now they entered into every

Numbers of Huguenots in the employ of the treasury.

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[1] Mazarin to the National Synod of Loudun. Aymon, ii. 739.

[2] See "Opposition faite par les agents généraux du Clergé, le 15 Fevrier 1650 à l'installation au Conseil du sieur Herval en qualité d'Intendant des Finances pour estre de la Religion Prétendue Reformée," in Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., du Clergé de France, vi. 356, 357. The foremost of the reasons alleged is the queen's own declaration that she would give the Protestants no greater advantages than they had enjoyed in the late monarch's reign.

department of the treasury and rendered themselves so indispensable that even Fouquet and Colbert were compelled to retain them.[1]

Louis XIV. again confirms the Edict of Nantes, and praises the Huguenots, 1652.

Louis the Fourteenth himself gave evidence of his satisfaction with the Protestants in a declaration given out shortly after the proclamation of his majority. In 1652, he again ratified and confirmed the Edict of Nantes and the attendant legislation, and he took occasion to express full confidence in those in whose interests the laws had been given. "Our subjects aforesaid of the Pretended Reformed Religion," he said, "have afforded us sure proofs of their affection and faithfulness, notably under the present circumstances, wherewith we are much pleased."[2]

This law was of the greater importance that Louis, in the abundance of his gratitude for the loyalty of his Huguenot subjects, not only set the seal of his approval upon the legislation of Henry the Fourth, but expressly declared null and void whatever might subsequently have been done to derogate from the rights of the Huguenots under that legislation. The words employed were clear and distinct, and admitted in all fairness of but one intrepretation. "It is our pleasure," said the monarch, "that our said subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion be maintained and protected, as in fact we do maintain and protect them, in the full and entire enjoyment of the Edict of Nantes, and other edicts, declarations, writs, laws, articles, and patents issued in their favor, and registered in the parliaments and chambers of the edict, particularly in the free and public exercise of the said religion, in all places where it has been granted by them, all letters and writs, as well of our council as of the sovereign courts and other decisions to the contrary notwithstanding." He ordered that all persons hereafter violating the edicts in question should be punished as disturbers of the public peace. There was not a word that hinted at any restriction of Huguenot rights under the law of Nantes; not a syllable implying that the present members of the Protestant churches or their ancestors had by any acts of theirs forfeited a part of their inherited prerogatives. Their signal services in the present had evidently obliterated from the memory of the crown any causes of dissatisfaction that might previously have existed.

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[1] Benoist, iii. 139, 140. On Herwart and his descendants see Agnew, Protestant Exiles from France, ii. 66, etc.

[2] Declaration of May 21, 1652. Text in Benoist, iii., pièces justificatives, 38. "Et d'autant que nosdits sujets de la Religion P. R. nous ont donné des preuves certaines de leur affection et fidélité, notamment dans les occasions présentes, dont nous demeurons très satisfaits."

Their consequent exultation.

The Huguenots were delighted, as well they might be delighted, at so official a recognition of their merit. They were thankful to heaven that now, by a formal decree, the young king had seen fit to put an end to their anxieties, by repealing the entire series of vexatious laws and interpretations of laws which tended to the gradual, but not less entire, overthrow of their prized liberties. The day of better things appeared to have dawned in France. The golden age had come. It may be that their joy was too exuberant. It may be that their exultation was imprudent, because it irritated a dangerous foe. It is not unlikely that they might have fared better had their trust in the honest intentions of the crown and in the justice of their own cause been less freely expressed by word and in action.[1] But, however this may be, the Huguenots, through their conduct and their misplaced confidence, paid Louis the Fourteenth more respect than did Soulier, the Roman Catholic historian of the Edicts of Pacification. At least they gave him credit for integrity of purpose, while Soulier tarnishes the king's fair name while apparently imagining that he holds the monarch up to the admiration of the world. "Inasmuch," he says, "as the prince had issued this Declaration only for the purpose of obliging the Calvinists to keep within the bounds of their duty during the divisions of his state, the civil wars having been happily brought to an end, he recalled it in 1656, together with everything that had followed it."[2] The superficial historian seems, indeed, to have based his calumnious statement upon the congratulatory address of the Archbishop of Bordeaux, of which I shall speak later, who saw in the kindly law of 1652 only "a prudent device of the king to check the wayward and factious spirit of the heretics" —a singularly absurd view, inasmuch as the Huguenots, so far from needing a curb to keep them from acts of rebellion, had resisted every solicitation to revolt and were active in the support of the king's cause.[1]

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[1] See Benoist, iii. 158 seq.

[2] "Mais parce que ce Prince n'avoit donné cette Déclaration que pour obliger les Calvinistes de se contenir dans leur devoir pendant les divisions de son État; les guerres Civiles ayant esté heureusement terminées, il la revoqua en 1656 avec tout ce qui s'en étoit ensuivy." Histoire des Édits de Pacification, et des

In point of fact, however, Louis and his ministers do not seem to have been guilty of the low cunning and duplicity which are laid to the monarch's charge by his apologists. I know nothing that proves that he was not moved in the publication of his first decree by some desire to recognize and requite the good services rendered to him in troublous times by the Huguenots of his kingdom. But if he attempted to do them justice by the law of 1652, he was determined to undo that just act when, four years later, he issued his Declaration of the eighteenth of July, 1656, wherein he recalled every gracious concession previously made.[2]

The Edict of Nantes "a singular work of Henry IV.'s prudence."

It is characteristic of the perversity of the French legislation of the period upon which we are now entering, that the preamble of the law which was to rob the Huguenots of a good measure of their rights, and, in particular, to strip them of the reward of their timely services to the crown, should contain the most distinct eulogy of the statute of Henry the Fourth. "We have always considered the Edict of Nantes a singular work of the perfect prudence of Henry the Great, our grandfather."[3] Thus began Louis a paper

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moyens que les Prétendus Réformez ont employé pour les obtenir. Par le sieur Soulier, Prêtre. Paris, 1682. Pages, 391, 392.

[1] The archbishop's remonstrance, delivered May 5, 1657, may be read in the Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., du Clergé, v. 431–39. See Benoist's remarks, iii. 245.

[2] Déclaration du Roy du 18 Juillet 1656, portant qui l'Édit de Nantes et autres édits, déclarations, arrests et règlemens donnez en conséquence seront observez selon leur forme et teneur, etc. Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., du clergé, vi. 33–35. Benoist, iii., doc. 38–40.

[3] "Nous avons toujours considéré l'Édit de Nantes comme un ouvrage singulier de la prudence parfaite de Henri le Grand notre ayeul."

in which he next set himself to dashing in pieces the hopes he had raised in the Protestants by his previous Declaration. Henry the Fourth had judged that it was not enough to have vanquished his enemies, but that it was necessary to remove forever the causes of the disasters that had spread over the realm from the reign of Francis the First until his own time. While waiting until God should incline men's hearts to forsake the new opinions that had found admission in France, contrary to the truth of religion, he deemed it advisable to leave the exercise of the Protestant religion free. He thought that there was reason to hope that, in a season of profound peace, the care which the prelates would give to the instruction and conversion of those that had separated themselves from the church, would produce more certain and assured results than could be reached by force of arms, which had until then effected only the ruin of both Church and State. It had turned out as Henry hoped. Division between his subjects ceased the moment the edict was published, and France enjoyed undisturbed quiet so long as God spared his life. His successor, Louis the Thirteenth, was assiduous in the maintenance of the edict in its entirety; nor did he make any change in it until a portion of his Protestant subjects having revolted and been reduced, he deprived them of some of the favors granted to them by the Edict of Nantes. Consequently, that edict could not and ought not to be observed save as conditioned by the laws promulgated for the pacification of the disturbances created by the Protestants. But various decisions having been made by the courts in cases between Roman Catholics and Protestants, and the latter having conceived the fear lest in the disorders of the late civil war some change should be made in the Edict of Nantes, the present monarch had deemed it fitting to publish his Declaration of May, 1652, for the maintenance of the adherents of the Pretended Reformed Religion in all that had been granted to them by that edict. "Inasmuch," continued the king, "as this has been interpreted contrary to our intention, and it has been thought that we revoked everything done since that edict, we have deemed proper to make known that our will was not to grant to our said subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion anything beyond what

Louis XIV. dashes Huguenot hopes by a new and cruel law, 1656.

is ordained in the Edict of Nantes, nor to derogate from the ensuing edicts, declarations, writs, and laws."

It would certainly be difficult for an unprejudiced person to reconcile these words with the explicit terms of the previous statute. The second law admitted that Louis the Thirteenth had subtracted from the original edict certain rights, or favors, as the monarch was pleased to style them, accorded by that document. The first law purported to "maintain" and "protect" the Huguenots in the enjoyment of the Edict of Nantes and the laws and letters patent therewith connected issued in their favor, all letters and writs to the contrary notwithstanding. The second law now asserted that the king's intention had never been to detract from the authority of any of the subsequent laws, or writs. The contradiction was self-evident, but unfortunately subjects have no opportunity to reason with an absolute monarch.

If we cannot find the source of the crown's tergiversation in a premeditated design of treachery, as suggested by Soulier, it is not impossible to discover the cause elsewhere.

The pressure of the clergy for the repeal of the law of 1652.

The Declaration of May, 1652, at once created an extraordinary ferment in the clergy of the dominant church. This ferment found its fullest expression in the "remonstrance" made to the king by the assembly of 1656, by the mouth of Gondrin, Archbishop of Sens and one of the primates of the kingdom.[1] This virulent paper is worthy of notice in more than one respect. The burden of the prelate's complaint is the "persecution" which the church is undergoing at the hands of the heretics. That church's entire destruction might be prognosticated did not Truth itself assure her a duration so long as the world shall last. Despite this persecution, the clergy refrains from asking, as it asked on some previous occasions, the repeal of the Edicts given to the Protestants, obtained as these edicts had been through force of necessity.[2] No, the clergy petitions only for

Speech of the Archbishop of Sens.

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[1] On the conflicting claims of the archbishops of Sens and Lyons to the primacy, see Rise of the Huguenots, i. 118.

[2] "Quoy que ce ne soit pas pour luy demander, comme faisoient autrefois nos Predecesseurs à vos glorieux Ancestres, la révocation de ces Édits, que les divisions d'Estat, et les pressantes necessitez du Royaume ont autorisez publique-

the repeal of "that deed of darkness" in which the king and his mother can certainly have had no hand—the Declaration of Saint Germain en Laye, of the twenty-first of May, 1652, which not only restores to the Protestants the unqualified enjoyment of the Edict of Nantes, but revives every other law favorable to them, while repealing every patent, every decision of council, every decree of parliament in the interest of the Roman Catholic church. The proof that the Declaration in question broke down all the barriers erected by Louis the Thirteenth to check Huguenot aggression, was sought in incidents which, had they been true, were too contemptible to deserve notice. A Reformed church had been erected at Pamiers in Foix, a second at Privas in Vivarais, in both of which places Reformed worship had been proscribed. Although the Huguenots were not allowed to have preaching services on fiefs dependent upon spiritual lords, they had instituted it in villages like Mérindol and Manosque, where a bishop or a commander of the Knights of Malta was entitled to feudal homage. The heretics were insolent enough to lay claim to an old church now in Roman Catholic hands, because, forsooth, some thirty-five years ago it had served "for the exercise of the profane worship of their errors"—whatever the archbishop might have meant by the expression. The Huguenots were taking upon them the functions of a body politic, and their deputy general, from being a private individual residing at his Majesty's court to look after their interests, had become a public personage at whose application orders were issued even by the royal council. The Huguenots, in defiance of law, dared to make collections for the distressed adherents of their religion. La Rochelle alone had raised twelve thousand livres for the Waldenses of the valleys of Piedmont; the churches of all France had raised more than half a million for the same object. The Huguenots actually dared to aspire to all sorts of offices—the prelate omitted to say that the Edict of Nantes expressly made them eligible to all offices—despite the fact that Louis the Thirteenth recognized the necessity of humbling that pride which is the real foundation of

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ment au grand regret, sans doute, des Roys mesmes, et de tous ceux qui aiment la Religion et la discipline."

Heresy. Nor was this all. The Huguenots of Castres had made unwonted objections to permitting the fronts of their dwellings to be draped on the festival of Corpus Christi; and, worse than all, their brethren of Parthenay had had the effrontery to start a funeral procession just at the hour when the Roman Catholics were carrying the holy sacrament with great solemnity through the streets, and the Roman Catholics were compelled to retire mournfully to their homes, "as if they were returning from the funeral obsequies of a dead man, and not from the triumph of an immortal God."[1]

The sum of the whole matter was that the orator "trembled" when he considered such perilous novelties as the attempt, for example, to allow the Protestants again to elect half the consuls of a municipality which of late had been exclusively Roman Catholic. And his appeal to the king found its climax in the exclamation: "Our religion, Sire, whose holy ceremonies these sectaries have scarcely ever dared to violate publicly, no longer finds itself in safety within your realm against their insolence and irreligion."[2]

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[1] It is almost cruel to spoil the effect of the archbishop's highly wrought phrases by interposing the remark that the reader will find by consulting Bayle's Dictionary (under the word Parthenay) that there was not a word of truth in the statement he made. Those who had the funeral in charge having brought the dead from a distance of two leagues and finding the street decked for the Roman Catholic pomp, did not proceed on their way until they learned by inquiry of the parish authorities that the procession would not start for half an hour. They remained in the cemetery until the procession was over and the hangings were taken down. There were no insults, as there was no encounter at all.

[2] "Cette religion, Sire, dont ces sectaires n'avoient encore presque jamais osé violer en public les saintes ceremonies, ne se trouve plus en seureté dans vostre royaume, contre leur insolence et leur irreligion." Remonstrance du Clergé de France, assemblé à Paris, faite au Roy Louis XIV. la Reine sa Mère presente, le 2 Avril 1656, in Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., du Clergé, v. 409–421. I confess that in reading this document, and some others of the kind, it has occurred to me that Molière might have taken useful hints from the utterances of the clergy for the composition of his comedy *Le Tartufe*, which was brought out eleven years later. The clergy *persecuted* by the Huguenots have a family resemblance to the hero of the play, in the best of health, with a ravenous appetite and an enormous capacity for drink, repeatedly commiserated by Orgon as *le pauvre homme*, so often as he is successively informed that Tartufe's unfortunate wife has had a fever that prevented her eating and a raging headache that could be relieved only by blood-letting.

The primate's speech was neither the first not the last of its kind. Bertier, Bishop of Montauban, had made a violent attack upon the Protestants, two years before (1654), at the time of Louis's coronation—an attack which has been characterized as the opening of the persecution which thenceforth continued with little or no intermission and culminated in the Revocation.[1] And when a year later (on the fifth of May, 1657) the Bishop of Bordeaux addressed a speech to Louis the Fourteenth, by way of thanksgiving for the repeal of the obnoxious law, he was scarcely less violent and not a whit less absurd. For he maintained that the Declaration of 1652 "ruined the greatness of the church and tended to her destruction," since it allowed the Huguenots, among other things, to build new churches, to obtain consulates and magistracies, and to found colleges in the towns—all which irregularities "destroyed the worship of God and dishonored the victories of the late king, his Majesty's father, of glorious and triumphant memory."[2]

The attacks of the Bishops of Montauban and Bordeaux.

It must not be supposed that these and other acts of injustice to the Huguenots passed without comment or remonstrance on their part. The speech of the Archbishop of Sens, in particular, occasioned the publication of a treatise setting forth the prelate's flagrant inaccuracies of statement and the gross injustice of his contention. Issued anonymously, it was known by few to be from the pen of the eminent pastor Drelincourt. Though it was convincing in argument, and as temperate in tone as the prelate's address was reckless and immoderate, the Huguenot reply met the fate of many another book whose chief fault was that it was but too true, and was burned by the public hangman, in pursuance of the sentence of the *lieutenant civil*.[3]

Reply by Drelincourt.

One prescription of the royal declaration of 1656 has been unnoticed. The king ordered that, with the view of securing a more exact observance of the Edict of Nantes and the other laws connected therewith, commissioners should be appointed and sent throughout all the provinces. To each province two were to go—a Roman Catholic and a Protestant—and their decisions were to be executed despite opposition or appeal.[1] It will be seen in the sequel with what disastrous consequences for Protestantism in France this apparently innocent arrangement was fraught. Meantime the execution of this portion of the law was deferred for about five years, and the injustice of which the Huguenots had reason to complain partook less of the character of persecution than of the nature of annoyances, hardships of one and another kind, and restrictions placed upon their clearly defined rights, rather offensive than positively harmful. For example, another royal Declaration suspended for the time being the seigniorial rights of Protestant noblemen. Patronage lay dormant or was transferred to the bishop, so long as the patron was a Protestant. However indisputable his title, the Huguenot lord was forbidden to place upon the exterior or interior walls of the church that band of mourning, together with his armorial bearings, which, had he been a Roman Catholic, he would have been allowed to put there, in token of honor to a deceased member of his family.[2] The royal council went out of its way, three or four weeks later, to prescribe that Protestant ministers should never presume to call themselves *pastors*, nor to speak of the adherents of the national church save as *Catholics*, nor to call the principal men of their congregations together for the purpose of consultation, nor to make collections, nor to sing psalms at the execution of a criminal, nor to hold services in any other place than that in which they were entitled to officiate, even in case of a visitation of the plague, nor to have meetings of colloquies, apparently for the reason that no royal commissioner could be expected to be present.[3]

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[1] Benoist, iii, 182 seq.

[2] Actes, Titres, etc., du Clergé de France, v. 433.

[3] I know the Huguenot reply only from the analysis of Benoist, iii. 208–212. It bore the title, "Lettre d'un habitant de Paris à un ami de la campagne."

Commissioners to be appointed to visit the provinces for the better execution of the edict.

Annoyances to patrons, etc.

Protestant ministers not to style themselves pastors.

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[1] See the Declaration of July 18, 1656, ubi supra.

[2] Declaration of December 16, 1656. Printed in the collection of pièces justificatives of Benoist, iii. 41, 42. The "*droit de litre*," comprehending the "*ceinture de deuil*," or "*ceinture funèbre*," was a highly prized privilege of the noblemen that were founders and patrons, or possessed the right of "*haute justice*." See the Dictionnaire de l'Académie, s. v.

[3] Arrêt du Conseil d'État, sa Majesté y étant, tenu à Paris, l'11. jour de Janvier 1657. Printed in Benoist, pièces justificatives, iii. 42, 43.

This legislation had not infrequently a comical side. To believe the preambles of the laws, the slightest irregularity in which the Protestants might indulge, was certain to be followed by momentous consequences. The established church would seem to have been in a very precarious situation, in the opinion of its supporters, and especially in the opinion of the clergy itself, whose hand was, for the most part, visible in every line of the laws. Thus, according to the action of the royal council to which I have just referred, such apparently trifling incidents as that Protestant ministers should assume the designation of "pastors," or Protestant laymen should claim burial in the cemeteries where their fathers or grandfathers were buried, were actually causing such great disorder and abasement of the church, "that, unless prompt measures be taken to check them, they may entail the total ruin of the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church."[1] The force of absurdity could no further go.

In the city of Alais, where the Reformed constituted the great majority of the population, they were nevertheless, as usual, excluded from the office of first consul. Hence, as the inhabitants were divided into different grades, the Protestants of the first grade were shut off from all part in the municipal administration, unless they should be elected, as had come to be the practice, from the second grade to the office of second consul. Their enemies now succeeded in obtaining from the royal council an order forbidding this practice for the future. It was forsooth "an insufferable domination," because it trenched upon the vested rights of the citizens of the second grade.[2]

Marquis Henry de Ruvigny appointed deputy general, 1653.

Against the progress of hostile legislation a new deputy general of the Reformed churches had within a few years been called to make opposition. On the death of the Marquis d'Arzilliers, in 1653, Louis the Fourteenth, again without consultation of the Protestants, appointed as successor Henry de Ruvigny, who had done good service in the royal armies and had attained the honorable rank of lieutenant general.[1] His predecessor had deserved well of the Huguenots by his earnest and successful efforts in their behalf, crowned by the favorable declaration of 1652, which he had a principal share in obtaining from the crown. It has been commonly asserted that the Marquis of Ruvigny and his son did not fall behind D'Arzilliers in earnest and efficient advocacy of Protestant rights, through the long term of two and thirty years, during which the office remained in the hands, first, of the father, and, afterward, of the son, ending only at the Revocation, when the office of Protestant deputy at Paris became superfluous. I regret greatly to say that a careful examination of the course of the elder Ruvigny, as recorded in his own letters, as well as in the pages of the historian of the Edict of Nantes, prudent as the latter deemed it necessary for him to be, reveals the new deputy in a somewhat different light. A pliant courtier, with whom private advantage counted for more than religious convictions, he was able to maintain himself steadily in the king's good favor by the same means through which he had ingratiated himself. With the more politic members of his own communion he stood well, and he earned their loud plaudits; but the more loyal majority of the Huguenots saw through his pretence of zeal and distrusted his motives. His shameful betrayal of the unfortunate Marcilly, to which I may have occasion to refer later on, could scarcely fail to open the eyes of all but those wilfully blind.[2]

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[1] "Toutes lesquelles choses causent un si grand desordre et abaissement de l'Église, qu'il s'en peut ensuivre la ruine totale de la Religion Catholique. Apostolique et Romaine, s'il n'y est promptement remedié et pourvu." Arrêt of January 11, 1657, ubi supra, iii. 43.

[2] Arret du Conseil d'État, qui ordonne que l'on ne pourra élire pour second

His character and services.

Consul de la ville d'Alets que des habitans du second rang. Dated December 7, 1657. Text in Benoist, pièces justificatives, iii. 49.

[1] Aymon gives the king's commission, dated August 3, 1653, as well as the action of the National Synod of Loudun in 1659, approving the conduct of Ruvigny during the six years that he had already acted, formally electing him and administering to him the oath of office. Tous les Synodes, ii. 732, 733. The Bulletin of the French Protestant Historical Society, x. (1861) 119, publishes the letter by which Louis IV., announced Ruvigny's appointment to "Our dear and well-beloved, the *Pastors* and *Elders* of our subjects professing the Pretended Reformed Religion of our province of Burgundy in the Church of Lyons," etc. See Benoist, iii. 161, 264, etc., 312.

[2] See the important article of C. Pascal in review of the work of A. de Galtier de Laroque, in Bulletin de la Société de l'hist. du Prot. franç., xlii. (1893) 46, etc.

Meanwhile the wisest of counsellors would have been impotent to stem the resistless current setting in against the French Protestants. On the third of September, 1658, the great Protector of the English Commonwealth was taken away by death, and in his tomb were buried all Cardinal Mazarin's fears of British intervention in behalf of the objects of the hatred of the French clergy. With Oliver Cromwell was lost, for the time, all the weight of England in the affairs of Europe. Tyranny was able once more to breathe freely; for never again would the eloquent pen of John Milton be employed in the protector's name to hold up to the execration of Christendom the atrocities perpetrated upon the defenceless Waldenses of the valleys of Piedmont. The control of the foreign policy of England was now to fall into the hands of men who cared little for the noble sentiments that had inspired the diplomacy of the Commonwealth.

Death of Oliver Cromwell.

Meanwhile, the events that occurred at Montauban foreshadowed with distinctness the violence which the Huguenots might, from this time forward, expect to be exercised toward them under the forms of law.

Disturbance at Montauban.

That ancient city which so reluctantly accepted the terms of the so-called Edict of Grace, thirty years before, still remained the centre of Protestantism in the south. The population was for the most part of the Reformed faith; the upper and more influential class was almost exclusively Protestant. Although the inhabitants were obliged, in 1632, to consent that one-half of the consuls and one-half of the general council should be Roman Catholics, the change did not affect the relative social distinction of the adherents of the two faiths. The place was wealthy and prosperous. The loyal conduct of the citizens, during the period of the Fronde, had induced the government to wink at, if not positively to authorize, the rebuilding of the formidable bastions and other fortifications demolished in 1629. The *Académie*, or University, as well as the College, attracted studious youth from every part of the French realm and even from Switzerland, Scotland, and the Low Countries. The fame of the present professors was scarcely inferior to that of the great men—Béraud, Chamier, and Cameron—who lectured to the students of a previous generation. True, the Huguenots had been compelled to give up one-half of the building erected at their own expense, to the Jesuit fathers; but while the Jesuits found it difficult to muster more than a small company of scholars, over five hundred young men thronged the part retained by the Protestants. It was the joint occupancy of the college buildings that gave rise on the fifth of July, 1659, to the trifling incident which well nigh proved the ruin of Protestantism in Montauban.

The Jesuit fathers encouraged their pupils annually to take part in a dramatical performance, and for this purpose a stage was erected in one of their lecture-rooms. This year it had been reared in the common courtyard, and, indeed, in such a position as to close one of the entrances. In consequence, a quarrel arose between the Roman Catholic and Protestant students, in the course of which the offending platform was torn down. The Roman Catholic lads, inferior in number, came off worse in the fray and took refuge in the belfry. The disturbance would doubtless soon have spent itself, had not the besieged party been so ill advised as to ring the tocsin. At the sound, the consuls of both religions hastened to the spot for the purpose of restoring order. They would have succeeded, had not the bishop also undertaken to send a body of determined men, under the conduct of Canon Lebret, who, without warrant of law, apprehended and carried off to the castle one Gellius, a student and a candidate for the Protestant ministry. It needed no more to inflame the minds of students jealous of their traditional privileges. They rushed to the castle and, finding the doors closed, burst them in and rescued the prisoner.

It is interesting to see how so paltry a quarrel was magnified into an affair of transcendent importance. On the very day of its occurrence Bishop Bertier wrote to Cardinal Mazarin, complaining and demanding exemplary chastisement of Huguenot insolence.[1] Three days later he despatched another communication exaggerating the offence and calling for a retribution sufficient to make amends, not only for this crime, but for all the previous seditious movements at Montauban, none of which, he averred, had ever been punished. Accordingly, he begged that the college and the *académie*, the source of all these evils, be removed to some other place, where, if the students must serve an apprenticeship in rebellion,[1] they might, at least, be under better restraint than at Montauban. He even suggested that the fortifications be torn down, and that a citadel be erected to accommodate a permanent garrison of soldiers, without which the Roman Catholics must surely leave the city. They were only waiting, detained by him he said, until Cardinal Mazarin could be heard from.[2]

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[1] Letter signed by Bishop Pierre de Bertier, Canon Lebret, and the Roman Catholic consuls, July 5, 1659, printed from the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. français, xlii. (1893) 11.

Strange to say, the bishop's demands were carried out to the very letter. A judicial investigation was made by the Parliament of Toulouse, and that tribunal found no trouble in involving many of the most reputable of the Protestants in a crime of which they had never dreamt. The king's privy council, thanks to the active zeal in the affair displayed by the queen mother, ordered the transfer of the Protestant university and college from the important city to whose prosperity they had greatly conduced, to the insignificant town of Puylaurens, and, contemporaneously, commanded the bastions of which Montauban was so proud to be levelled to the ground. Soon after the Jesuits entered into possession of the entire college.

It is robbed of its university and college,

This was by no means the end. A meeting of the Protestant citizens was summoned after the customary order by the three consuls of their faith. It sent a deputation to wait upon the intendant and request him to defer the execution of the king's instructions until they might have an opportunity to inform his majesty more accurately of the true state of affairs. The petition was both natural and innocent. The college had been built with Huguenot gold and belonged to the Huguenots. But no account was taken of this. The meeting was represented as a revolt, the request as a seditious demand. Not only did Louis grant no reprieve, but four or five thousand soldiers, horse and foot, with the Marquis of Saint Luc at their head, were sent to be quartered on the unfortunate place. The citizens were disarmed, that they might be the easier prey. So far from finding the citizens of Montauban guilty of sedition, history can condemn them only for too supine a submission to their oppressors. For a true persecution now set in, and lasted, with little intermission, for several years. Every Protestant truly or falsely accused of participation in the popular assembly was indicted. Some were sentenced to death, others to the galleys, others to banishment from the province. Most of these fortunately made good their escape, but two were publicly hung. A few houses were torn down, and upon the sites, pyramids, or pillars of infamy, were erected. Great numbers of Protestant books were consigned to the flames. The incipient "dragonnade" bore fruit. Some Huguenots, despairing of other release from the intolerable burden of supporting in their homes a great number of soldiers, went to the parish churches and made an insincere profession of Roman Catholicism. In the course of two years the Protestant consuls were removed from office and their places given to Roman Catholics. Two years more passed, and, on the most absurd and iniquitous of pretexts, the Reformed church was robbed of the larger and more commodious of its edifices, the "temple neuf," of which the Protestants had been in peaceable possession for over a century.[1] Such were the chief events of the four or five years succeeding the interruption of a play of the pupils of the

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[1] "Ils y font apprentissage de rébellion et désobéissance sous des maîtres qui leur font faire essai sur nous de ce qu'ils leur ont enseigné."

[2] "Nous ne saurions plus être libres que par une citadelle ou une garnison, et si quelqu'un de ces moyens ne nous aide, il faudra que les catholiques quittent la ville, il le voulaient tous faire en cette occasion, mais j'en ai suspendu la résolution jusques aux ordres de Votre Éminence." Letter of Bishop Bertier, July 8, 1659, from the same Archives, in Bulletin, xlii. (1893) 11,12.

and, later, of its Protestant churches.

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[1] According to Benoist the worst features of the later dragonnades were wanting in this case; for the prudent magistrates had, by timely and liberal promises to the officers, secured the enforcement of good discipline among the soldiers. But when, after several months, some of the less resolute Protestants consented to go to mass, the troopers quartered upon them were removed and sent to the houses of their more constant neighbors. Thus a man who had patiently endured the annoyance and expense of three or four unwelcome guests, began to waver and, possibly, succumbed when the number was increased to twelve or fifteen.

Jesuits—events that served as a fit prelude to the scenes enacted, a score of years later, at the Revocation. Such was still the situation of the Huguenots of Montauban in 1668, when again they petitioned, but in vain, for the recovery of their political rights, for their church, for a quiet life unmolested by their enemies—with no representation in the municipal government, although they still numbered more than three-quarters of the population and still paid yearly six-sevenths of the taxes; compelled to worship in a church building that would hold barely two thousand five hundred worshippers and could not be enlarged, while there were ten or twelve thousand worshippers to be accommodated.[1] Thus did Louis the Fourteenth avenge on the children the repulse which Louis the Thirteenth had sustained from their fathers at the gates of Montauban.[2]

Twenty-ninth and last National Synod, 1659–60.

I have been obliged to anticipate the course of events. I now return to 1659. In this year the Reformed Churches of France were at last permitted to hold their twenty-ninth National Synod, at Loudun, in Poitou. Fifteen years had elapsed since the last similar convocation, and the court, which had found reasons in the political relations of France for putting the Huguenots off, reluctantly yielded to their importunities. The government was resolved that this should be the last gathering of the kind. Accordingly, the royal commissioner took an early occasion to inform the delegates that it was the king's desire that the practice of holding national assemblies be discontinued, and that the provincial assemblies be empowered to decide all matters in last resort. The alleged reason was the expense involved. It was noticeable that, while his majesty proposed to take away from the Protestants themselves the right to meet for general conference upon their common interests, he distinctly reserved for himself the right to call them together should the occasion arise. He thus provided for the emergency, in case he should at any time be able to secure a majority of delegates favorable to the dangerous scheme of a reunion of the Roman Catholic and Reformed churches. The contingency, indeed, never arrived, and the twenty-ninth national synod proved to be the last of the series of French national synods that were convened until that which, under very different auspices, met in Paris, within our own days and under the modern republic. The provincial synods, representing the great bulk of the Protestant population, stood firm and stoutly declined to entertain the insidious proposal that a false peace should be gained by the complete surrender of the principles that led the Reformers of the previous century to abandon the Roman Catholic Church. They were not doubtful in their utterances.

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[1] See the petition of the Reformed of Montauban, without date but belonging later than December 1, 1668, in the Nat. Library at Paris, and printed in the Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. franç, xlii. (1893) 24–26. I have followed in this account M. C. Garrisson's excellent article entitled "Les préludes de la Révocation à Montauban," ubi supra, xlii. 7–23, and especially Benoist, iii. 345–354, 600–603, here as ever truthful and well informed. See, also, Bourchenin, Les Académies Protestantes, 136, and Nicolas, L'Ancienne Académie Protestante de Montauban, 46. Even as late as in 1676, when the Roman Catholic population had been so much increased, in consequence of the transfer of the Cour des Aides from Cahors, as to approximate to the Protestant population, "the greater part of the gentry and of the principal burgesses almost all the merchants, and many of the artisans" were of the Reformed church. They held almost all the lands, and paid nearly nine-tenths of the taxes—61,140 livres out of a total of 69,800. "Advis donneé à S. M. par le sieur Foucault," November 28, 1676. MS. in National Archives, printed in Bulletin de la Société de l'hist. du Prot. français, x. 393.

[2] Benoist, iii. 354.

A synod of Languedoc, meeting at Nismes, in May, 1661, denounced the project as culpable, and declared that all who might entertain it would deserve exemplary punishment, in view of the impossibility of reconciling light with darkness, God with Belial. The synod of the Cévennes and Gévaudan, held the next month, at Anduze, was equally outspoken. Both synods, consequently, incurred the displeasure of the government, which not only issued orders of council annulling the proceedings, but took revenge upon the moderators that had presided at the meetings, by depriving them of their pastoral charges and commanding them to leave the province of Languedoc within two months. The moderator at Nismes was the pastor Jean Claude, destined to become the most influential and celebrated of French Protestant ministers. The council's order was the occasion of bringing him from Nismes, and from a position of comparative obscurity, to Paris, where he entered on a brilliant course, first as a controversialist in answer to the Jansenists, and then as one of the pastors of the great church at Charenton.[1]

In the present circumstances there seemed, it is true, little to be gained for Protestantism by the holding of national synods—scarcely anything beyond the opportunity to make ineffectual protests against the successive infringements of the great Edict. Even those protests must be made with caution. The great Daillé, who presided over the national synod of Loudun, discharged his responsible functions with firmness and tact. He calmly made reply to the royal commissioner's address. That address was full of the old injunctions to obedience to the king's authority, full of the old warnings to the Protestant ministers to avoid in their sermons all references to the pope as Antichrist, to the Roman Catholics as idolaters, all use of such words as "scourge" and "persecution," in speaking of the treatment to which their flocks were subjected, full too of the stale accusations, suggested to the king by the clergy, of Huguenot audacity and Huguenot presumption. But not content with meeting at every point the commissioner's complaints and giving assurance of the disposition of Huguenot pastors to preach obedience to the powers that be, so long as their commands do not run counter to the commands of the King of kings, Daillé insisted upon the continued grievances of his fellow-believers, pleaded earnestly for the privilege of holding every three years the synods whose contemplated discontinuance had been announced, for the permission to send Protestant youths to study abroad in the great universities, and, in general, for the right of the Protestants to employ such language as was necessary for the expression of their religious views. "As to those words *Antichrist*, found in our Liturgy," he said, "and *idolatry* and *deceit of Satan*, found in our Confession of Faith, they are the expressions that declare the reasons and the foundation of our separation from the Church of Rome, and the doctrine which our fathers maintained in the most cruel times, and which we are

The moderator, Jean Daillé, defends the Protestant confession and practice.

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[1] The orders of the royal council (of August 6 and September 30, 1661) are reprinted by Benoist, iii., pièces justificatives, 84, 85. Compare that author's remarks, pp. 422–425.

resolved, following their example, by God's grace, never to forsake, but to preserve faithfully and inviolably to the last moment of our lives."[1]

Vinet has aptly remarked that Daillé's remarkable speech well depicts the situation of affairs, a false and violent situation which in the nature of things could not last. One part of the nation consigned to perdition the other part, whose religion was reputed to be the religion of the state. If this fact, he observes, does not justify the recall of the Edict of Nantes, at least, it explains it; and yet twenty-five years more were required for the fall of that edict.[2]

After a session covering exactly two months, the last national synod of the Huguenots adjourned on the tenth of January, 1660.[3] It left the Marquis of Ruvigny to battle single-handed in a combat far exceeding in difficulty his expectations and his powers; for although it did not neglect to nominate for the office of deputy-general from the Tiers État, three persons, and among them M. des Galesnières, noted for his rare familiarity with all the legislation connected with the Edict of Nantes, the court took no notice of their candidature, and left the office unfilled.

The adjournment of the synod of Loudun marks the close of the period during which the Huguenots of France enjoyed a good degree of quiet and prosperity in the more or less full enjoyment of the advantages guaranteed to them by the Edict of Nantes. A period of a widely different character was now to ensue.

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[1] Aymon, Tous les Synodes, ii. 725. The whole of this reply, which was a long one (pp. 724–731) deserves a careful perusal.

[2] Histoire de la Prédication parmi les Réformés de France au dix-septième siècle, par A. Vinet, 192.

[3] Besides the long official account in Aymon, ii. 707–813, we are so fortunate as to possess the minutes published for the first time in the Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français, viii. (1859) 145–219.

BOOK THIRD

THE EDICT UNDERMINED (1660-1685)

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CHAPTER IX

GROWING PERSECUTION

On the very day upon which Louis entered upon his fourteenth year and became in the eye of the law a grown man, he held what was styled a *lit de justice*, to proclaim his own majority. Here, in the presence of the Parliament of Paris, he was addressed by Omer Talon, the advocate-general, esteemed to be the chief light of the French bar. The great lawyer took the opportunity to tell the young prince some sober truths. Many of his Majesty's predecessors, he informed him, had nothing royal about them save their birth and the good-will of an obedient people. Among all the emperors of Rome, scarcely three or four can be picked out that have left a savory reputation. This results from a mistaken notion entertained by the majority of sovereigns and of their courtiers, that all their undertakings are just, all their caprices lawful, their very dreams true. Imagining themselves to be gods on the earth, they regard the people as created for the sake of the kings, and not the kings for the sake of the people. "Sire," he continued, "all men are born to have dominion over the earth, or, at least, to be free. The words *lordship* and *obedience* are barbarous in their origin, and contrary to the principles and es-

Omer Talon on the rights of men.

sence of our nature. The audacity of the stronger introduced them. Time and necessity have rendered them legitimate."[1]

Louis XIV. and parliament.

It could not, therefore, be said that Louis the Fourteenth never heard a candid, almost radical, exposition of the relation of the ruler to his subjects. How slight the impression the exposition made upon his mind was seen, barely six months later (1652), in the reception he gave to the grave magistrates sent by parliament to bear a remonstrance against the recall of Cardinal Mazarin to power in violation of Louis's own promise. On this occasion the boy king snatched the document from the hands of the judge who was reading it, and, when the latter tried to explain to him the functions of the highest court of judicature in the land, grew red with anger, and twice exclaimed: "Begone! gentlemen, begone!"[2]

The personal reign of Louis the Fourteenth cannot be said to have begun until after the death of Cardinal Mazarin, which took place on the ninth of March, 1661. Then, for the first time, the young king, in the twenty-third year of his age, took the reins of government into his own hands. It is proper that we should look for a moment at the natural endowments and character of a prince destined to play so important a part in the affairs of Christendom, and ascertain, if possible, what were at this time his disposition and intentions toward his Huguenot subjects.

Personal appearance of Louis XIV.

Of Louis the Fourteenth when a boy of fifteen the Venetian ambassador Morosini has drawn a flattering portrait. "An angel for beauty," with a clear white complexion, his eyes gracious, of excellent carriage and great agility, he bade fair to become with years as tall and well proportioned as could be desired.[3] The promise of boyhood was not borne out in the sequel, for the king's stature was somewhat below the average; but the constant study which he made to acquire an air of command invested him with a certain grandeur of mien. This was further heightened by the habit of wearing a dress well comporting with the dignified appearance to which he aspired. He impressed subjects and foreigners favorably by his courtly manners.

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[1] "Sire, tous les hommes naissent pour commander sur la terre, ou du moins pour être libres; ces noms de domination et d'obéissance sont barbares dans leur origine, et contraires au principe et à l'essence de notre nature." Address of Omer Talon to the king, September 7, 1651, in Isambert, Recueil des anciennes lois françaises, xvii. 59, 60.

[2] "Retirez-vous, messieurs, retirez-vous!" Remonstrances of parliament, March 23, 1652, in Isambert, xvii. 281 seq.

[3] "È per verità un angelo di bellezza, bianco di carnagione, gratioso negli occhi," etc. Relation of Sier Michael Morosini, 1653, in documents of Ranke, Französische Geschichte, v. 294.

His mental abilities were not extraordinary; indeed, they were barely respectable. The Duke of Saint Simon states with emphasis that the intellect of Louis was by nature below mediocrity, yet it was an intellect capable of being formed, polished, and refined. He could borrow from others without seeming to imitate. And, if Louis was not himself brilliant, it was his good fortune to live all his life in a society of men and women of uncommon brilliancy.[1]

Intellectual abilities.

Upon one point there is substantial agreement on the part of the greater number of authorities. Louis's early education had been neglected to a deplorable extent in some directions. Engrossed in the pursuit of selfish interests, neither Anne of Austria, his mother, nor Cardinal Mazarin, who governed under her authority, concerned themselves much for the intellectual discipline of the future king. It is true that the learned Bayle controverts the statement that Louis was "badly brought up," and instances in proof of his position the fact that in youth the king was sparingly supplied with money, that he was early taken to the provinces and was allowed, when sixteen years of age, to go to the seat of war in Flanders at the time of the siege of Arras. He affirms that the prince was well trained in bodily exercises and in arms, that Villeroy, his governor, was one of the best wits of the kingdom, that his tutors were good, and that his preceptor the Bishop of Rodez made it his study to form his royal pupil on the model of Henry the Fourth.[2] However this may be, there can be little or no doubt that the attention paid to Louis's physical culture was altogether disproportioned to the care devoted to the culture of his mind, or

Neglected education.

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[1] Mémoires du Duc de Saint Simon, xxiv. 62, 73.

[2] Nouvelles de la République des Lettres (Œuvres diverses de Mr. Pierre Bayle. La Haye, 1737), 12, 13.

that in the latter department he proved an inapt scholar. Of many branches of polite learning he was throughout life shamefully ignorant. His knowledge of the history of the nation over which he ruled was very imperfect. How far this want of familiarity with so essential a matter was due to the negligence, and how far to the interested designs of his teachers, is open to doubt.

Conceit of his own importance.

There was one lesson which Louis the Fourteenth had thoroughly learned—the lesson of his own importance. From the beginning, his consuming ambition was to rule by himself, and as soon as he was emancipated from the control of the cardinal whose will his mother had implicitly followed, he manifested his resolution that no Richelieu or Mazarin should again grasp an authority royal in all but name. To the end of his days he deluded himself with the belief that he had succeeded in this great purpose of his life.

Love of adulation.

Affecting superiority to the foibles of other men, he was more than usually open to the attacks which the shrewd aim at the weak points of kings. Adulation was the very food upon which he fed. The grossest flattery did not seem to him excessive, because of the persuasion that he deserved every word of praise lavished upon him. The more servile the abasement of those who approached him, the more appropriate did their attitude appear. A courtier in order to earn his regard must assume at all moments a look of admiration and dependence, must seem to cringe at his feet, above all, must aspire to be and to have nothing but through his gracious pleasure.[1] Statesmen, poets, preachers, all supplied fuel for the flame of his self-esteem, in unmeasured panegyrics which ministered to him infinite delight. Destitute of a voice and with no knowledge of melody, he sang in private the must adulatory parts of musical productions composed in his praise, and hummed them in public when the tunes were played.[2] It delighted him to have statues and triumphal arches erected in his honor in every part of his dominions, and fawning intendants and obsequious municipalities vied with one another in seeking permission to rear them. The king, of course, selected the spots which he graciously allowed to pay him this homage.[1]

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[1] "La souplesse, la bassesse, l'air admirant, dépendant, rampant, plus que tout l'air de néant sinon par lui, étaient les uniques voies de lui plaire." Saint Simon, xxiv. 75.

[2] Ibid., xxiv. 76.

As great in small things as he was small in great things, there was scarcely anything so insignificant that he did not wish or expect to excel in it. A simple incident shows how well his courtiers understood this peculiarity of his character. Going on one occasion to inspect the grand fortifications erected for him at Luxemburg, the king took it into his head to leap over one of the parapets, instead of waiting for the stool which some one had run to get. Louis was in his forty-ninth year, tolerably corpulent and not over agile; moreover he had just recovered from a serious illness. It could scarcely have been a difficult feat that he performed, but the great lords of his suite expressed profound astonishment. Nothing would do but that each in turn should try to do the same thing—and fail! Not a man succeeded. The perfect courtier knows quite as well what not to be able to do, as what not to see.[2]

Imperturbable equanimity.

It was a part of his assumed elevation above the rest of his kind, that Louis the Fourteenth affected an equanimity which no accident of fortune, no dispensation of Divine Providence could disturb. The Venetian Foscarini chronicles with wonder the manifestations of an excessive self-love that made the French monarch appear hard-hearted. When the recovery of the Dauphin was despaired of, Louis, to hide his anxiety respecting an event that might mar all his plans, gave express orders to have instrumental music performed that very evening, in one of the saloons of the palace. After the death of the queen, he paid a brief tribute of tears to her memory, and then composed his countenance to cheerfulness. Neither at the death of his mistress nor at the deaths of his illegitimate children and of his ministers could it be perceived that he ever stepped out of the "magnanimous indifference" which he professed. In prosperity there was the same studied imperturbability.[1]

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[1] "Je ne doute pas que le roy ne choisisse la ville de Pau pour y faire mettre sa statue." Foucault to Gassion, Poitiers, October 27, 1685. Soulice, L'Intendant Foucault, pièces just., 142.

[2] The incident occurred in May, 1687. See the Mercure historique et politique, Parma [The Hague], 1687, ii. 832.

His purpose respecting the Huguenots.

It concerns the subject of this history more nearly to inquire into the intentions entertained by Louis the Fourteenth, at the beginning of his personal rule, respecting the treatment that he should accord the Huguenots of his kingdom. We possess some information on the point in the Memoirs purporting to have been dictated by the monarch himself, and written by Paul Pélisson, a personage of whom I shall have something to say farther on. The memoranda jotted down by Pélisson were confessedly a very rough draft which the courtier set himself to the task of elaborating with all the agitation and diffidence which the subject of so great a king must of necessity feel, or affect.[2] Yet apart from some embellishment of style, they, doubtless, express the thoughts of Louis the Fourteenth with virtual accuracy. It was, apparently, about 1666 that the monarch made a trial of committing his recollections to paper; but the Memoirs, as we have them, date from 1670 or 1671, being prepared for the instruction of the Dauphin, to whom they are addressed.[3] From them it is clear that no immediate Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was then contemplated. Louis did not intend to resort to violence; for violence, it is expressly stated, had always proved useless. He purposed, on the contrary, to avoid pressing the Huguenots at all by means of any new and rigorous procedure, and to observe every law which they had obtained from his predecessors. But he was equally determined to confine the execution of these earlier grants within the narrowest limits permitted by a regard for justice and decency.[1] Meanwhile, he settled upon the policy, from which he never subsequently swerved, of granting the Huguenots no favors. Thus, rather by kindness than by harshness, he endeavored to compel them to consider for themselves, from time to time and without violence, whether they had any good reason for voluntarily depriving themselves of advantages which they might otherwise enjoy in common with all the rest of the king's subjects. This, together with a judicious use of rewards for those that might be more docile than their fellows, with an attempt to incite the bishops to labor for their instruction, and with a determination henceforth to fill all high offices at the disposal of the crown with men of learning, industry, and piety, capable of repairing by their exemplary conduct the disastrous effects of the lives of their predecessors—is the plan which Louis tells us that he had in mind.[2]

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[1] Relation of Sier Sebastian Foscarini, returned ambassador from France, March 22, 1684. Sent from Madrid. Ranke, Französische Geschichte, v. (documents) 311.

[2] "Mais au fond," says the skilful flatterer in a note to his work, "ce n'est qu'une ébauche, qu'en achèvera quand on aura conçu tout-a-fait l'intention de sa Majesté, quoiqu'il n'y ait personne sans exception, qui ne doive trembler quand il écrit pour elle." Mémoires de Louis XIV. (Paris, 1806), i. 145.

[3] Ibid., editors' notice, i. 19, 20; and Louis's own remark page 37, that it was now the *tenth* year that he had been pursuing the course adopted — informing himself of everything, giving orders, treating directly with foreign ministers, drawing up some of his despatches, giving to his secretaries the substance of others, etc.

His estimate of justice and decency.

One that is familiar with the story of persecution which I am now to narrate, a persecution growing more and more intolerable for the next score of years, may be inclined to hold that the event proved the falsity of Louis's statement of his early purpose—so far was he from observing either "justice" or "decency" in his treatment of the Huguenots, so violent were the encroachments upon their guaranteed rights. Such an one I should beg to observe that the notions of justice and decency conceived by a monarch that regards his own will as the sole arbiter of the destiny of his subjects, probably differ materially from the definitions which the world at large lays down; and that the possessor of despotic power has entered upon a course of action more dangerous to his own integrity than he is apt to understand, whenever he undertakes to measure the amount of equity to be meted out to a hateful people with so exact a hand that they shall not receive a particle more than the amount to which they are entitled according to a strict construction of the law. In point of fact, however, we are not left to conjecture what was that line of conduct that commended itself as right and proper to the moral sense of Louis the Fourteenth. The king himself proceeds to describe it. "To this end," he says, "I named that very year commissioners for the execution of the Edict of Nantes. I everywhere put an end to the enterprises of the adherents of that [Protestant] religion; as, for instance, in the Faubourg Saint Germain [at Paris] where I learned that they were beginning to establish secret meetings and schools of their sect; at Jamets, in Lorraine, where, although they had no right to assemble, they had taken refuge in great numbers during the disorders of war and were holding their services; at La Rochelle, where only the old inhabitants and their families were permitted to dwell, and yet these had gradually and insensibly attracted a large number of others, whom I compelled to leave."[1] What all this signified to the unfortunate Huguenots I must now explain.

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[1] "Je crus, mon fils, que le meilleur moyen pour réduire peu à peu les huguenots de mon royaume étoit, en premier lieu, de ne les point presser du tout, par aucune rigueur nouvelle contr'eux . . . mais de ne leur rien accorder au-delà, et d'en renfermer même l'exécution dans les plus étroites bornes que la justice et la bienséance le pouvoient permettre." Mémoires de Louis XIV. (Paris, 1806), i. 86, 87.

[2] Ibid., i. 87, 88.

The commissioners of the edict sent out, 1661.

I referred on a previous page to the provision of the royal declaration of 1656 for the appointment of commissioners to visit every province of the kingdom and rectify any abuses that might have arisen in connection with the Edict of Nantes. I also stated that for about five years there was no attempt to carry this provision into effect. A beginning was made in the year 1661.

It was an ancient custom for the sovereign to appoint trusty servants to investigate upon the ground the fidelity with which his edicts were executed, and either report the result of their examination to the minister, or themselves apply the remedy to existing evils, by virtue of the extensive powers intrusted to them. The father of Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné received such a commission in the sixteenth century, at the close of the first civil war.[2] Such commissioners were in particular sent out to see to the execution of the Edict of Nantes itself, immediately after its promulgation; and they performed their responsible duties, for the most part, with commendable fidelity and satisfactory results. One reason of this was that although one of the two commissioners was in each case a Roman Catholic and a man of higher rank than his Protestant colleague, he was purposely selected, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, from among those equitable officers whom the Huguenots could count upon to show them fair play.[1] The appointment of commissioners, in 1661 and in succeeding years, would not therefore have occasioned any special alarm, had the law that directed the choice betrayed less distinctly a spirit of hostility which the lapse of five years had not softened down, and had not the real intent of the present nomination been made manifest by a series of suggestions put forth by the clergy to serve in the inquest for the discovery of alleged breaches of the royal edicts. From these suggestions it was clearly no part of the scheme to seek out any infractions save those of which the Protestants might have been guilty. Nothing could at first sight seem more equitable than the arrangement by which two persons, representing respectively the Roman Catholic and the Protestant religions, were sent forth together to visit every part of the realm. Their powers were ostensibly equal; their joint conclusions had the force of law and admitted of no appeal; only in case of their disagreement could the matter be brought before the king's council for final adjudication. In point of fact and in practice, the measure worked the greatest possible injustice.

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[1] Mémoires de Louis XIV. (Paris, 1806), ubi supra.

[2] See Mémoires d'Agrippa d'Aubigné, 474.

The Roman Catholic commissioner was uniformly an officer of high standing in the administration, one of those royal *Intendants* respecting whose establishment and authority I shall presently speak, a man from his rank and by force of habit accustomed to command and to make himself obeyed. The Protestant commissioner had no similar advantage, for he figured by the side of his colleague much as an inferior sitting by his superior in the capacity of an assessor or adjunct. In many cases he had been chosen by his Roman Catholic colleague, and was in a measure dependent upon his favor. The patent had been issued to the intendant with a blank to receive the insertion of the name of such a Protestant as he might see fit to choose. It was natural for the intendant to select for the purpose some irresolute, timid, or lukewarm member of the Reformed church, a person who, possibly, had a lawsuit pending before some Roman Catholic tribunal, a man, in short, who gave his fellow-believers every reason to fear. Yet, despite these adverse circumstances, it is remarkable that by far the greater number of the Protestant commissioners acquitted themselves in a manner that met the reasonable anticipations of their brethren in the faith. It would appear that out of thirteen whom the industrious and well-informed Benoist mentions by name, seven proved themselves not only faithful but really excellent. Of the remainder, three might, indeed, be reckoned weak and too complaisant. Only three seem to have betrayed their trust by collusion with the enemies of their religion. In all honesty, moreover, history must record the fact that some of the intendants, no strangers to the higher instincts of our nature, made it a point of honor to consult the Reformed churches of the provinces respecting the person to be named as the Protestant representative, and that they cheerfully accepted the Protestant nomination. In the end the Huguenots lost little by the ruse of those who strove to make them instruments of their own destruction.[1] Unfortunately the same end could be compassed by other means. Where the privilege of Huguenot worship was in question, the opinions of the two commissioners were with strange uniformity arrayed against one another, and when the *partage*, or tie, was brought before the royal council for final decision, the verdict of the intendant rarely failed to be endorsed, however unsatisfactory the reasons which he alleged in support of it.

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[1] Benoist, i. 298, 340, 360, etc.

The Protestant commissioner.

It is necessary to consider very briefly that important change which had come over the administration of France by the institution of the *Intendants* to whom I have just referred; for without these obsequious servants of the crown, scattered over the entire surface of the kingdom, and empowered to execute the royal will, without regard to ancient custom or local privilege, it would scarcely have been possible that the persecution of the Huguenots, in the fifteen or twenty

Establishment of Intendants.

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[1] Benoist, iii. 414, 415.

years immediately preceding the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, as well as in the century following that disastrous event, should have assumed so different an aspect from that presented by the persecutions of an earlier date.

The governors of provinces in the sixteenth century.

During the sixteenth century the authority of the king was represented, outside of the capital, above all by the governors of the provinces. The more remote the residence of these officials from the city of Paris, the greater was, for the most part, the power which they grasped and exercised. A dignity so exalted as that of the governor of a province was rarely conferred upon any other than a noble of high family and great influence. The weakness of the last kings of the Valois race compelled them to seek the support of the representatives of the great houses, and to acquiesce in the principle, that the dignities enjoyed by the father were no less the hereditary right of the son, than the lands and titles which he held of the crown. Thus a revived feudalism rapidly spread over France. So strongly did the governors of certain provinces intrench themselves in their domains, that only by a direct conflict of arms could they have been removed. There were some cases in which the designation of sovereign seemed to be all that was wanting to complete their independence. During the reign of Henry the Third, the Duke of Damville-Montmorency was often styled, with more truth than usually accompanies such jests, "the King of Languedoc." Gladly as Henry would have dislodged him, in order to make room for one of his own favorites, the Valois, after a fruitless attempt, was fain to desist from the undertaking, and distinctly recognize the authority of his insubordinate vassal.[1] The governors of cities and important places imitated this instructive example, and to a certain extent threw off the yoke of subjection to the crown.

From a state of things which threatened the entire disintegration of the kingdom, the strong hand of Cardinal Richelieu freed France. But it was reserved for Louis the Fourteenth to carry out the policy of the great prelate to its ultimate consequences. This he did by the annihilation not only of the liberties of the communes and municipalities, but even of all semblance of independent authority intermediate between the subject and a monarch who claimed to dispose absolutely of the lives and property of the inhabitants of the realm intrusted to him by the Almighty. In 1662, he took a decided step in this direction. "It was in this year," he himself writes, in the memoirs intended for his son the dauphin, "that persisting in my purpose to diminish the authority of the governors of cities and provinces, I resolved henceforth to confer no vacant governorship for more than three years. I reserved for myself, however, the right to prolong this term by a new appointment, as often as I might deem it proper." He informs us that this policy, consistently carried out, had been followed by two good results: the governors ceased to endear themselves to those over whom they ruled, and, being entirely dependent upon the king for a continuance in office, were much more submissive to his will.[1] Nor was this all. Louis the Fourteenth found no difficulty in making the governors understand that they were to regard their appointments merely in the light of liberal pensions with which he had seen fit to gratify them, and that they were expected in their turn to make the court their usual place of residence, and to regard an order to repair to their provinces as a positive disgrace and a punishment little short of a decree of banishment.[2]

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[1] In October, 1584. Lestoile, i. 179. So much, observes the chronicler, for showing one's teeth.

Louis XIV. makes appointments for only three years.

The powers wrested from the hands of the governors, and much greater powers too, were conferred upon the Intendants. The practice of occasionally sending judicial officers, *maîtres des requêtes*, on circuits through the provinces, was not a new one. It had been resorted to as early as the reign of Henry the Second, and, more systematically in the reign of Louis the Thirteenth.[3] The outcry against the

Powers of the Intendants.

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[1] Mémoires historiques et instructions de Louis XIV., in Œuvres (Paris, 1806), i. 197, 198.

[2] I have here followed Sismondi, Histoire des François, xxix. 509, etc.

[3] Édit de création des intendans. Neufchâtel, May, 1635, in Isambert, Anciennes lois françaises, xvi. 441–450. According to M. de Saint Aulaire, quoted by Isambert, this creation, while securing order, celerity, and economy, entailed the ruin of three thousand treasurers who had bought their offices and counted upon handing these down to their children.

abuses with which it was said to be attended, led to the abandonment of the plan in 1648; but it was revived five years later, and the protests of parliaments, as well as the remonstrances of individual judges, proved futile. Under the title of "Intendants of Police, Justice, and the Finances," the new-comers usurped, one after the other, nearly every function belonging, by law and by immemorial custom, to the various departments of the administration. They were usually ambitious men, aspiring to higher positions, who, because they looked for promotion only from the monarch, had but the single desire to please him. What to them were the privileges to which the inhabitants of the provinces appealed as the most precious of inheritances from the time of their fathers? Unacquainted with the provisions of the local charters, or, if acquainted with them, not reluctant to violate them when assured that the breach of law would be condoned by the king as a mere excess of praiseworthy zeal—persuaded in short, that an order could at any moment be obtained from the privy council, enjoining the courts of justice from attempting to mete out deserved punishment—they knew no rule of conduct but blind obedience to their secret instructions, no law but the will of their master. No wonder that Louis the Fourteenth could soon dispense altogether with the meetings of the provincial estates, even when such estates had the sole right to levy new taxes or to increase old ones.[1] For, in defiance of all codes, written or unwritten, the intendants proceeded to impose fresh burdens on the people and to exact mercilessly the moneys called for by the ministers at the capital.[2] If they did not actually supplant the parliaments and the other judicial bodies, the inten-

They encroach upon the functions of provincial estates and parliaments.

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[1] For example, the States of Normandy met only twice during the first twelve years of this reign, and finally met not at all. Floquet, Histoire du Parlement de Normandie, v. 546, etc. This author's remarks upon the new and despotic institution of the intendants are just and forcible. Ibid., v. 537, etc.

[2] Every year, says Piganiol de la Force, the king in his council of finance makes a statement of the sums which he will have the twenty "generalities" of his kingdom that are subject to this form of tax, pay for the *taille* of the ensuing year. Every generality is divided into "elections." The intendant visits each election in his generality, and there, in the presence of all the officers of the election, etc., apportions the quota of all the parishes. Nouvelle Description de la France, i. 239, 240.

dants, none the less, encroached seriously upon the jurisdiction and embarrassed the action of these tribunals. At times, they called in a judge of the royal presidial court to sit with them; at other times they made bold to act without one. In either case, they made inquest, and tried, and passed sentence in causes which had heretofore been reserved for the cognizance of judges learned in the law, jurists by profession, familiar with the customs of the kingdom, and trained to weigh evidence. The lack of qualifications of this kind, however, made little difference. The intendant occupied the place he held, not so much that he might administer justice, as that he might represent the interests of royalty. This was his leading characteristic; everything else was accessory. "Every generality," says a Description of France which dates from about the end of Louis the Fourteenth's reign, when the realm proper was divided for financial purposes into twenty-five generalities, according to this authority—"Every generality has an intendant who is sent thither to regulate whatever relates to justice, police, and the finances. Sometimes, even, intendants are sent into districts where there is no generality, as in Alsace and Franche Comté. The intendant is properly speaking *the king's man*, who is sent to watch over his interests, and to have a care for those of the people."[1]

The intendant the king's man.

Is it wonderful that, when the affairs of the Huguenots came before the intendants for adjudication, the Huguenots found themselves the victims of signal injustice? On the contrary, it would have been a marvel had they been treated equitably. For there was scarcely the pretence of following the rules of judicial procedure and judging according to the merits of the case. The good pleasure of the monarch and the written orders of his ministers were motives far more influential than all the dictates of pity for the unfortunate, than all the respect due to the sanctity of the bench.

Among the first to experience the effects of the new system of administration were the Huguenots of the bailiwick known as the *Pays de Gex.* The history of their treatment will serve to illustrate the operation of the inquisition into the enforcement of the Edict of Nantes made by the new commissioners in other parts of the kingdom.

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[1] Piganiol de la Force, Nouvelle Description de la France (Amsterdam, 1719), i. 239. "The intendants," adds the writer, "are almost always taken from the number of the maîtres des requêtes, though there are examples of a few that have not been invested with that dignity."

The "Pays de Gex."

The district in question, roughly described as five or six leagues in length and two leagues and a half in breadth, bordered the territory of the city of Geneva on the northwest and, according to the Roman Catholic theory, formed a part of the diocese of the titular bishop of that city, now and long resident at Annecy. Gex had become Protestant and had been seized by the Canton of Berne in 1536. Twenty-eight years later the Bernese ceded it to the Duke of Savoy, who solemnly pledged himself to maintain the inhabitants in the undisturbed enjoyment of their religious rights, until such time as a free œcumenical council should determine the form of religion for Christendom. At the capitulation of Gex to Sancy, acting as lieutenant-general of the armies of Henry the Third, in 1589, a similar stipulation was made. And when by the treaty of Lyons, on the twenty-seventh of January, 1601, the Duke of Savoy formally surrendered his claims upon Gex and other lands, in exchange for the marquisate of Saluzzo or Saluces, the rights, privileges, and immunities of the inhabitants were specially guaranteed by Henry the Fourth. These privileges and immunities had been respected ever since.[1] The Pays de Gex, now attached to the province of Burgundy, continued to have a population almost exclusively Protestant. The Protestants numbered seventeen thousand souls, and they had twenty-four "temples," or churches. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, could count up only four hundred adherents, but they were possessed of not less than twenty-five parish churches, served by seventeen curates.[2] It is easy to see that the complaint of the clergy was well founded, that these poor curates were, for the most part, shepherds without a flock. In some parishes there was but one parishioner, in some the curate and his household comprised all the worshippers. In one there were two members, in another there were ten. In no case did the Roman Catholics compare numerically with the Protestants, and the language of the priests was less extravagant than usual, when they declared that the Protestants outnumbered their followers in the ratio of forty or sixty to one.[1]

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[1] See the summary of the arguments of the Protestants of Gex contained in the famous order of the royal council of August 23, 1662, ubi infra.

[2] Lettre d'un gentilhomme du Balliage de Gex escritte à un de ses amis. Gex, February 20, 1662. See also the Order of Intendant Bouchu of November 24, 1661, in Claparède, 106, 107.

The case of the Roman Catholics in so thoroughly a Protestant region might have been deemed hopeless. The clergy, and especially the bishop of Annecy (Jean d'Aranthon, who had succeeded Charles Auguste de Sales in 1660) thought otherwise. They drew up a memorial and despatched it to Paris to be laid before the privy council. They begged that the nine officiating Protestant pastors be forbidden to preach outside of the villages where they resided. This would necessarily cut off fourteen or fifteen villages from the privilege of worship.[2] They particularly requested that Protestant services be interdicted in the principal village of Gex, where there was a new "temple" recently built. The petition was favorably received. It was to no purpose that delegates hastily sent to the capital by the churches which were menaced, endeavored to show the injustice of the proposed action. The royal council promptly (on the twenty-seventh of June, 1661) instructed the commissioners already appointed for Burgundy to do their office in the Pays de Gex, and meanwhile granted the full demands of the clergy. The Prince of Condé, as governor of the province, no less promptly gave orders for the execution of the council's decree.[1]

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[1] The "Factum" of the clergy presented to the privy council speaks of "dix-sept pauvres curés qui sont à la pluspart des pasteurs sans trouppeau pour aucun qu'un seul paroissien, les autres dix, autre deux, ne pouvant résister aux Religionnaires, qui sont soixante contre un." In Claparède, Histoire des Églises réformées du Pays de Gex (Geneva, 1856), page 105. Loride (Estat de l'affaire pendante aux Conseils du Roy, 11) refers to "telle paroisse où il n'y a que le Curé et ceux de sa famille que en soient, tout le surplus faisant profession de la R. P. R." Also quoted by Claparède, ubi supra. The reader may be reminded that the three capitals R. P. R. were a customary abbreviation for *Religion Prétendue Réformée.*

[2] The churches of Gex formed a separate *colloque*, or presbytery. By the list of pastors and churches drawn up in 1620, at the time of the national synod of Alais, there were thirteen distinct churches and eleven pastors whose names are given (Aymon, ii. 232). The same number of pastors was reported, six years later, at the synod of Castres (ibid., ii. 418). Aymon, as usual, blunders strangely in his spelling of the names both of places and persons.

Fit instruments were at hand. Some months before, the two commissioners had been appointed. They were, as usual, a Roman Catholic high in official standing and a Protestant of insignificant influence. The contrast appeared in the titles they bore. The one was "Monsieur Bouchu, councillor of the king in his councils, master of requests in ordinary of his house, intendant of justice, police, and finance in Burgundy, Bresse, Bugey, Valromey, and Gex." The other was plain "Marc Chevalier, Sieur de Fernex, gentleman of the Pretended Reformed Religion." It could not be doubtful which of the two would have his own way—the owner of a paltry castle, or the "king's man," strong in the consciousness that he had at his back the favor and support of the court of Versailles. Nor did the sequel disappoint expectation. The triumph of the Roman Catholic church was a foregone conclusion. The commissioners proceeded promptly to the town of Gex (November), and there gave audience to the vicar of the Bishop of Geneva and the titular provost of the cathedral of Saint Pierre in that city, as well as to the seventeen curates of the bailiwick. To their united complaints that the Edict of Nantes and the laws consequent upon it had been violated, all the ministers and elders of the district were summoned to make answer. Upon this hearing Intendant Bouchu rendered his decision. Since his Protestant colleague refused to sign it, Bouchu not only signed it alone, but ordered its immediate execution. The decision was not a mere concession of all that bishop and clergy had demanded. It went beyond their petitions and the royal council's concession. Of all the places of worship which the Reformed had enjoyed in the bailiwick, they should retain only two—the one at Sergy, the other at Fernex—and these only provisionally, until his majesty's good pleasure were known. The exception made in favor of these two was of the less account, for the reason that in neither place was there, properly speaking, a church edifice. The place of worship was

The intendant Bouchu.

His decision against the Protestants.

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[1] See the statement in the council's order of August 23, 1662, printed in Benoist, iii., pièces just., 98.

in each case simply the small and contracted chapel in the castle of the lord of the village. Yet the two chapels were to be the sole provision for the religious wants of seventeen thousand worshippers. Nor was this the full extent of the intendant's arbitrary action. By other writs, he prescribed that no foreigners, even from the neighboring city of Geneva, should be suffered to preach, that two schoolmasters must suffice for the instruction of the children of the whole district, that Protestant burials could take place only by night, and be attended only by a small number of persons, that the Protestant consistory should invite to worship no persons that attended the services of the Roman Catholic church. All this was accompanied by the threat of death directed against any converts to that church who should relapse and return to their ancient heresy.

Confirmed by the royal council.

The Protestants appealed from these violent decisions, and the privy council at first committed the consideration of the matter to two *maîtres des requêtes* for fuller examination; then changed its mind, and, without waiting for the report of its own appointees, without hearing the parties or reading their written pleas, fully confirmed Bouchu's judgment, and indeed added to its severity. This was on the sixteenth of January, 1662.[1] Instantly upon receipt of this intelligence, the intendant again started from Dijon "to finish what he had so well commenced." Scarcely had four weeks elapsed before he gave his final decree, not only settling the fate of the Protestant places of worship, but ordering the arrest of seven pastors who had continued to preach in spite of his previous proclamation. The condemned churches were to lose their bells and benches, and, pending the question of their ultimate destination, the portals were to be walled with solid masonry. That very day (the thirteenth of February, 1662) Bouchu superintended in person the work at the portals of the Protestant "temples" of Gex and Cessy; on the morrow, at Grilly, Divonne, Seny, Creset, and Chevrier; on the third day, at all the remaining places. The contempo-

Summary execution.

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[1] Arrest du Conseil d'Estat du 16 Janvier 1662 portant plusieurs Règlemens sur les enterprises des Religionnaires du Bailliage de Gex. Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., du Clergé, vi. 454–457.

rary letter-writer who jubilantly recounts these bloodless exploits of his hero, warms up and becomes almost eloquent in describing the zeal displayed by the intendant's wife in helping to stop up the entrances of the modest buildings in which Calvinists had for generations been wont to come together for the purpose of hearing God's word, of singing psalms in His honor, and of seeking comfort and strength to bear the sorrows and trials of their earthly lot. "I should wrong Madame Bouchu," he writes, "did I fail to tell you of her rare piety. In supplying materials for the masons, she built for herself a fair theatre of glory. In helping to close the door of a *temple*, she opened for herself the doors of grace and of paradise. And I doubt not that the stones which she furnished the workmen will one day change into precious pearls to enrich her heavenly crown."[1]

In such terms of panegyric did a correspondent write of an event which, in his estimation, derived its chief significance from the circumstance that, like the fiery comet of late seen hanging over the neighboring city of Geneva, it seemed distinctly to portend the ruin of that Babylon which, for the last six-score years, had served as a harbor for all the scoundrels of Europe.[2] "Would that the king might recognize the insolence, the malice, and the feebleness of Geneva," adds the writer, who scarcely succeeds in disguising his clerical hand—"her insolence in still believing that she can defy all the sovereigns and make herself sovereign of Europe; her malice in being the source of every tragedy enacted in the last one hundred years, even to the death of the king of England, planned and resolved upon in a consistory (for she cannot tolerate monarchy which she deems less favorable to her religion); her feebleness in that her party in France is very small and is daily becoming smaller."

It was not enough to have closed Protestant churches, to have sentenced Protestant ministers, to have carried off even the bells that once called the faithful to worship. On the ab-

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[1] Lettre d'un gentilhomme du Balliage de Gex, page 4.

[2] "Il y a apparence que cette Babylone, qui depuis six vingt ans a servy de Retraitte à tout ce qui il y a de Scelerats dans l'Europe, tombera."

Discharge of debts for three years.

surd plea that the Huguenots were planning to *persecute* their fellow citizens of the other faith by exacting the obligations which the latter owed them, the king, upon the representations of the intendant, gave out another order in council whereby all Roman Catholics were for three years discharged of the payment of their debts.[1]

Insolence toward Geneva.

Respect for the rights of the republic of Geneva lay as light upon the intendant, as did regard for the liberties of his subjects upon the monarch. Having had the audacity to include among the Protestant churches that were walled in, one that actually stood upon Genevese territory (at Chalex), and having now succeeded in his project to defraud Genevese creditors, Bouchu had next the effrontery to make a personal visit to the magistrates of Geneva. At the hearing granted him, he presented a *lettre de cachet*, and preferred a modest request for three villages, on the confines of the district of Gex, of which it was important for the king's interests, and for the interests of the bishop of Geneva (Annecy), that Louis the Fourteenth should have possession, and that he re-establish the mass therein. To this the grave magistrates, for all answer, replied that it was in the interest of Geneva not to surrender them. The discomfited intendant withdrew to confer with the expectant bishop a few hundred paces from the city on Savoyard territory; then went off with vague threats of writing to the court.[2] To such insolence had the pride of Louis the Fourteenth and the presumption of his servile followers attained, that, forsooth, all Europe must bow to his demands.

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[1] Abbadie to Brenwald, Geneva, February 10, 1662, speaks of interest as well as principal—" défenses de trois années de leur payer aucunes debtes, soit en somme soit en revenu." The Lettre d'un gentilhomme, on the other hand says: "Le Conseil a rendu un second Arrest du 26 de Janvier dernier, par lequel le Roy dêcharge pour trois ans lesdits Catholiques du payement du Principal de leurs debtes, en payant l'Interest au denier de l' Ordonnance seulement, et deffend ces rigoureuses poursuittes qui tendoient à une ruine inevitable des Catholiques." The text of the order which Benoist prints in his collection of documents (iii. 102) proves that the latter is correct, and shows that the unfortunate creditors were persons " of the neighborhood of Geneva," and presumably not subjects of Louis XIV. An attempt to collect the sums due them would have cost the creditors the forfeiture of the principal, and the officers who might have attempted to enforce payment, the loss of their places and a fine of fifteen hundred livres.

[2] Lettre du ministre Abbadie à Monsieur Brenwald, Genève le 10 Février, 1662. Inedited MS. printed in Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist du Prot. franç, i.

The king's order in council.

A few months later, the king, sitting in council, published an order which is of special interest from the circumstance that it details every step and gives every plea in the iniquitous procedure. In this order Louis commands the demolition of all the Protestant churches heretofore walled in, and formally declares that the Edict of Nantes and its provisions, save only in the matter of personal religious liberty of conscience, does not apply to the "Pays de Gex," incorporated in the kingdom since the promulgation of that Edict.[1] It had almost been more creditable to the king to rob the unhappy Protestants of their privileges by one act of bold and despotic tyranny. He would at least have cleared himself of complicity in the petty quibbles with which the present order abounds. Nor would he have endorsed by implication, for example, so absurd a statement as that by the free œcumenical council until the rendering of whose decision upon matters of faith the Protestants of Gex received a promise, in 1664, to be maintained in the exercise of their religion, was evidently meant the Council of Trent, which had adjourned in December of the previous year.

Francis de Sales's successor wishes the Protestants compelled to be converted.

Even now the bishop of Geneva (Annecy) was not satisfied. I have before me a letter of this worthy successor of the persecuting Saint Francis de Sales, in which the prelate begs Louis the Fourteenth to strip the Protestants of Gex of the solitary privilege his decree had left them, by compelling them to be converted. The document is a foretaste of the arguments used by the clergy, twenty years later, in persuading the same monarch to recall the Edict of Nantes. Gex would never be thoroughly French and loyal until thoroughly Catholic. The Huguenots were wavering in their faith. Surprising conversions daily took place among

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469. Bouchu stayed at Geneva from Friday, February 3, to the following Monday.

[1] Arrest contradictoire du Conseil d'Estat, du 23 Aoust 1662, par lequel Sa Majesté déclare que l'Édit de Nantes n'a lieu au Bailliage de Gex, comme ayant esté reuny à la Couronne depuis cet Édit, etc. Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., du Clergé, vi. 199–209. Also in the collection of documents of Benoist, iii. 94–102.

them. Many had acknowledged that fear of their fellows alone restrained them, and had expressed a strong desire that Louis should command them all to go to mass and profess his religion. In that case the movement would become universal. "It is an unavoidable conclusion," said the bishop, "that your majesty can with justice, and without affecting the freedom of conscience conceded in the rest of your kingdom, oblige your subjects of Gex to profess the Catholic religion."[1] The king has already proclaimed the fact that the Edict of Nantes does not apply to Gex, and the inhabitants have by their disobedience rendered themselves unworthy even of the favor of having the two places of worship at Sergy and Fernex. "Moreover," adds the bishop, "your majesty may find an example in the other bailiwicks near to Geneva, from which Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, banished Calvinism, revoking, at the persuasion of the blessed François de Sales and under the pretext of a trifling act of disobedience, the favor he had done them in granting them three churches.[2] If your majesty acts in like manner, I am certain not only that you will meet with no resistance, but that in addition you will draw down infinite blessings upon your reign, strike terror into Geneva, and spread the fame of your zeal and religion throughout all Europe."[3]

The bishop was premature in his demands. Neither the king himself nor France was ready as yet for the execution of so radical a design. Although Gex had still new acts of injustice to experience,[4] it was reserved for a later time to witness the complete proscription of Protestantism within its borders.[1]

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[1] "Il est inévitable, Sire, que Vostre Majesté peut avec justice, et sans intéresser la liberté de conscience dans le reste de son royaume, obliger ses subjects de Gex à professer la religion catholique."

[2] "Outre que V. M. trouveroit l'exemple dans les autres baillages qui sont proches de Genève, d'où Charles Emmanuel, duc de Savoye, bannist le calvinisme, révoquant à la persuasion du bienheureux François de Sales et soubs prétexte d'une légère désobéissance la grâce qu'il leur avoit faicte de leur accorder trois temples" On Saint François de Sales as a persecutor, see the Huguenots and Henry of Navarre, ii. 472, 473.

[3] Letter of the Bishop of Geneva (Annecy) to the Very Christian King, Gex, June 28, 1663, printed in Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. franç., i. 471, from the Kirchhoffer MSS., Schaffhausen.

[4] See the king's order in council of September 19, 1664, in Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., du Clergé, vi. 479–491, and Benoist's collection of documents, iii. 156–165.

The incidents which I have narrated affecting a single remote corner of the realm may serve to illustrate with sufficient distinctness the leading features of the crusade of intolerance to which the Huguenots were now subjected. Had this crusade taken the form of declared war, by open measures, upon all the privileges guaranteed by the Edict of Nantes, the task of recording its progress would be comparatively easy. But our history has now to deal with a labyrinth of writs and decisions, judicial and ministerial, given out in bewildering variety by tribunals of justice, of higher or lower grade, by parliament and by the royal council, and affecting the most diverse departments of civil and religious life. Yet all these documents, however diverse, had but one common end. While pretending to respect the provisions of the Edict of Nantes, every order, from whatever source it might emanate, was in violation of the spirit of that law, and was directed against some one of the privileges expressly granted or necessarily implied in the statute of Henry the Fourth.

A labyrinth of writs and decisions against the Huguenots.

Happily it is not necessary to attempt the formidable and barren task of describing the minute details of the attack. A few words may suffice to convey some notion of its complexity.

From one point of view we are struck with the vexatious interference of the courts, at the instigation of the clergy of another religion, with the particulars of Huguenot worship, with the times and places of holding the synods and colloquies, with the hours of burial and the number of persons that may be present at funerals, or with the seasons of the year at which Huguenot marriages shall be celebrated. The

Vexatious interference.

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[1] Upon the entire Gex episode, see, besides Benoist's account and the documents published by him and in the Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., du Clergé, the important volume of Théodore Claparède above referred to; the monograph by A. Crottet entitled "Les préludes de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes dans le pays de Gex," in the Bulletin of the French Protestant Historical Society, i. 292-301, and his particularly valuable pièces justificatives, ibid., i. 464-475; the "Lettre d'un gentilhomme du Balliage de Gex escritte à un de ses amis," dated February 20, 1662, an apparently rare document of seven pages, which I judge, from the copy in my possession, to have circulated as a newsletter.

funeral can only be at dusk or at dawn, and not more than ten of the friends of the deceased may attend.[1] The wedding must not occur either in Advent or during Lent, because these are seasons prohibited by the established church.[2] Ministers in their sermons must not speak even euphemistically of the "misfortune of the times," much less refer to the "persecution" to which the churches are subjected.[3] Their relations to their flocks are rudely disturbed. The five pastors of Castres, secretly accused, no one knows by whom, of being the authors of intrigues and of arrogating to themselves some superiority over their brethren, are not heard in their defence, but the king by an act of sheer despotic authority, and in violation of all ecclesiastical order, summarily commands them, on a single day's notice, to exchange parishes with five other ministers of the environs at no inconsiderable distance, whom he directs to take their places.[4] An eastern despot could not have acted more unjustly than the king of civilized France. At another time the monarch in council of state deems it not beneath his dignity to meddle with the very costume worn by the Huguenot pastor. The pastor must not wear a cassock (*soutane*), nor a gown with sleeves. He must not appear outside of the Protestant church in "a long coat," on penalty of three hundred livres.[5] If he visits a prison, he must not preach, but he may "console" a prisoner, if only he speak in low voice.[6] A few years later, the king having thus settled what a Protestant minister must not wear outside of the *prêche,* tells us what cannot be worn or seen within one. The Protestant judge, magistrate or consul shall not don his robes of office, or the hood designating his station, nor shall the *fleurs de lis* or royal coat of arms occupy any place within the heretical conventicle, upon the walls and woodwork, or on the glass of the windows. No benches higher than the rest shall be there, reserved for the accommodation of any officer of the king or of the municipalities.[1] Such were some of the trifles upon which the king sitting in council did not think it beneath his dignity to expend care and thought.

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[1] "Dès le matin à la pointe du jour, ou le soir à l'entrée de la nuit." Orders of Council, August 7 and November 13, 1662. Benoist, iii., documents, 107, 108.

[2] Order of Council, January 16, 1662. Benoist, iii. 479.

[3] Order of Council, October 3, 1663, ibid. iii., documents, 134.

[4] Order of the king in council, April 2, 1663, ibid., iii., doc. 135. The five places named are Mazamet, Revel, Avianes, Vabres and Caussade. For Avianes we must evidently read Viane. These places are situated respectively—Mazamet, southeast, Revel, southwest, Viane and Vabres, northeast, and Caussade, northwest of Castres, at distances varying from ten to over fifty miles. Benoist informs us (iii. 546) that the Bishop of Castres was shrewdly suspected of being the instigator of the order, and that five or six years elapsed before the pastors were permitted to resume their former charges.

[5] Order of the king in council, June 30, 1664, in Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., du Clergé, vi. 165.

[6] Ibid., vi. 164.

At another time, blind and unjust prejudice against the Reformed Religion displayed itself in the precipitate haste with which decisions were rendered. It was thus that, in the incredibly short space of about two hours, the royal council disposed of some two hundred cases in which the Roman Catholic and the Protestant commissioners had failed to agree, in almost, if not in quite every instance, siding with the former. One order alone passed upon forty-six distinct matters.[2] This haste gave some ground for the suspicion that such matters were managed much as the *lettres de cachet,* in which a blank was left for the insertion of such name as the king's officers might deem proper to write.[3]

Now new and stringent laws were issued against "relapsed persons and apostates." The immunity from prosecution afforded by the edict of Henry the Fourth to Protestants who, after having abjured the faith in which they were reared, subsequently returned to their first religion, as well as to priests and monks that renounced their vow of celibacy and married, was, by a perverse system of interpretation, limited in its application to the past. All persons who, since the publication of the Edict of Nantes, had relapsed into heresy, all who had abandoned the so-called "religious" life and contracted matrimonial obligations, were pronounced fit objects of the most severe application of the king's ordinances.[1]

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[1] Order of the king in council, St. Germain en Laye, February 19, 1672, in Benoist's collection of documents, v. 79.

[2] Arrêt du Conseil d'État qui vuide les partages faits par les Commissaires en Languedoc, Vincennes, October 5, 1663, ibid., iii. 120–125. See also the text of Benoist, iii. 531.

[3] Benoist, iv. 4, 5.

Exclusion from trades and profession.

Blow upon blow fell on the professional and industrial pursuits of the Huguenots. In order to crush Protestantism it was generally believed that no more efficacious means could be adopted than the enactment of measures excluding its adherents from all the trades that might supply them a livelihood. Here, it is true, a conflict of forces made itself felt. While the more bigoted of their opponents were indefatigable in efforts to shut the door of one calling after another against them, Jean Baptiste Colbert, a statesman whose great abilities Cardinal Mazarin had been the first to discover, saw in the activity of the less favored part of the population, one of France's most promising sources of wealth. He therefore exerted himself to thwart a suicidal course. For the time he succeeded in keeping open to the Huguenots the trades most essential to the great manufacturing industries of the nation, while the clergy had their own way in regard to many of those that were of less conspicuous importance.[2] It was thus that the great minister of Louis the Fourteenth was able to delay, if he could not in the end prevent, the great emigration of skilled workmen who were later to carry abroad the knowledge of those processes that enriched Germany, the Netherlands, and Great Britain at France's expense. As yet, however, the restraints placed upon Protestants were partial and sometimes more ludicrous and annoying than positively intolerable. The "*marchandes et maîtresses lingères*" undertook to prevent any woman from entering the ranks of the linen-drapers who was not a professed member of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman church, and petitioned the king to sanction their regulation, on the ground that their corporation was founded in the days of that exemplary king Saint Louis. The king granted their request.[3] Sometimes a regard to a due proportion between the adherents of the two religions was affected. When of the score of notaries at Montpellier about two-thirds were Protestants, the king in council ordered that no Protestant should be admitted to serve until the number of Roman Catholic notaries equalled the number of those of the other faith.[1] The reasons were that Protestant notaries omitted from the wills which they drew up such customary marks of devotion as the invocation of the Blessed Virgin and the saints, and that they diverted, or even suppressed, gifts intended for pious works. Generally the ratio of Protestants tolerated in any trade was still smaller. The parliament of Rouen ordained that the number of Protestant jewellers should be reduced until they did not exceed one-fifteenth of the entire number of jewellers.[2] It was the same with the mercers[3] and with the physicians in that city.[4]

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[1] Déclaration contre les Relaps et les Apostats, April, 1663. Ibid., pièces justificatives, iii. 109–111.

[2] See the remarks of Benoist, iv. 26, 27.

[3] Order of the king in council, August 21, 1665. Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., du Clergé, vi. 379. Also in Benoist, v., pièces just.

In so general and indiscriminate an assault upon Huguenot interests, it was not to be expected that Huguenot institutions of learning, special objects of aversion to their opponents, should escape. The colleges of Castres and Nismes were the first to suffer. Reared solely by the Reformed, and at the expense of the Reformed, they had belonged solely to them. Now, after one-half of their buildings had first been arbitrarily taken from them and given to the Roman Catholics, the latter were next put in control and the Protestants virtually placed at the mercy of their implacable enemies.[5]

Institutions of learning.

The rights of the family were particularly invaded by orders of the king in council, which permitted Protestant children—boys at the age of fourteen and girls at the age of twelve years—to make profession of the Roman Catholic religion, and then gave them the power of choosing whether they would live with their parents, as before, or would go elsewhere and demand a support proportionate to the means of the family, to be paid in regular quarterly instalments.[6]

Age of conversion.

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[1] Order of the Council of State, March 24, 1661. Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., du Clergé, vi. 373.

[2] Order of Parliament of Rouen, July 13, 1665. Benoist, v., pièces just., 12, 13.

[3] Order of the same, July 15, 1664. Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., du Clergé, vi. 375.

[4] Order of Council of State, May 15, 1663. Benoist, iii. 560, and pièces just., 141.

[5] See Benoist, iii. 618, etc.

[6] The royal Declaration of October 24, 1665, sets forth the successive steps in this iniquitous legislation. Édits, Déclarations, et Arrests, 12, 13.

Churches interdicted and torn down.

Nowhere else, however, did the war upon the Huguenots rage with such intensity as about their beloved places of worship. Church after church was interdicted and its demolition ordered on the most frivolous of excuses. All the Protestant churches in the entire diocese of Luçon, in Poitou, were closed and destroyed by the violent intendant of the province, in order to gratify his brother the bishop of Luçon. The rest of the province of Poitou fared scarcely better; for, if the right to assemble for the worship of God according to the rights of the Reformed church, was confirmed in a small number of places, in a far greater number it was sacrificed to the persistent application of the clergy.[1] It was so throughout the whole realm. Where the Protestant commissioner was loyal to his constituents and made a determined opposition, as in Languedoc, there was a long list of cases which had to be carried up to the royal council, and the blow against many a church was deferred, if not finally warded off. Where, as in the generality of Soissons, he was weak or corrupt, he instituted but a feeble resistance and the struggle was short.[2] When an unrighteous decree had been rendered, however clear the proof might be, it was impossible to obtain a reversal of the sentence and to secure a decided victory for the right. Even where the royal council seemed to be convinced of the injustice of a decision rendered against Huguenot places of worship, the decision was rarely, if ever, annulled. The king found it more convenient to suspend the execution of the sentence for an indefinite time. The decision remained in force and could be called up at any moment.[3] We shall see how, before many years, the work was to be carried out so fully, that, at the formal Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, there remained to be destroyed but a comparatively small number of churches, whose claims rested on such clear proofs that their enemies had been ashamed or afraid to call them in question. Of eight hundred and thirteen edifices consecrated to the worship of God according to the rites of the Reformed church, Louis the Fourteenth was said to have sanctioned the interdiction or demolition of not less than five hundred and seventy, upon one pretext or another, between the years 1660 and 1684.[1] Meanwhile, the first effect of the removal of so many of their places of worship in Poitou and elsewhere, was that immense crowds of Huguenots, in order not to be deprived of the public exercises of their religion, flocked to the few spots that still remained to them. It was not rare to see ten or twelve thousand worshippers at a single service; and, as, in the insecurity of the roads, a good part carried arms for defence against robbers, it was no wonder that some apprehension was felt of what the Huguenots might be led to do, if inflamed by the sense of the wrongs they suffered.[2]

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[1] Benoist, iii. 593, 594.

[2] Ibid., ubi supra.

[3] Letter of Ambassador Brisbane (in Schickler, Églises du Refuge en Angleterre, ii. 270), who speaks of it as a customary trick.

Multitudes at public worship.

When we look about for the causes of so extraordinary a paroxysm of persecuting zeal, we are confronted with the fact that, since the illness of Cardinal Mazarin, and especially since his death, there had been a systematic attempt to stimulate the reluctant and to inflame the lukewarm. There could be little doubt respecting the source of the impulse, and as little respecting its aim. As yet, indeed, the recall of the Edict of Nantes was not mooted. The assemblies of the clergy of the established church had not even ventured to suggest it. Indeed, it is the sober judgment of Élie Benoist, a calm and judicial historian, that the published memorials of the clergy clearly show that that body had not as yet turned its thoughts to the Revocation, and that only the unexpected success attending its first efforts encouraged the prelates to conceive the design of bringing about that consummation of all their desires.[3] For the present it was content to contribute its part to the work of making the best of a hateful law. While the Jesuit Meynier wrote a manual to serve in an interpretation of the Edict of Nantes that might render its provisions for the benefit of the Huguenots as nearly nugatory as possible, one Bernard

Meynier's manual and Bernard's maxims.

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[1] See Schickler, ii. 271. According to Benoist, v. 735, the decrease was still greater, from 760, besides the *églises de fief*, in 1598, to 50 or 60, in 1684.

[2] Benoist, iv. 15.

[3] "Il n'est pas malaisé de reconnoître en les lisant, que le Clergé n'avoit pas encore porté ses vues jusques à la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes," etc. Benoist, iii. 367.

soon after published his twenty-six "maxims" bearing upon the course to be pursued in the matter of the "*partages*," or ties of votes, of the Roman Catholic and Protestant commissioners —a very handbook of chicanery.[1]

General law of 1666.

The cup of persecution meted out to the Huguenots seemed full to the brim: a few drops more and it would run over. Again it was reserved for the "archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastics deputed to the general assembly of the clergy" to suggest to the monarch and his ministers the perilous addition. Of orders of the king in council and orders of "chambers of the Edict," there had confessedly been no lack of late years. But such orders were apt to be little known save by those whom they immediately concerned. They acquired the force of general laws only when embodied in royal edicts or declarations, and recorded upon the books of the parliaments of the realm. It would be in the interest of economy, for it would obviate needless litigation, said the king's spiritual advisers, to gather all the sparse decisions in matters affecting the Protestants into one comprehensive law. It would also, they suggested, be opportune to make a few additions. Thus much we learn from the preamble of the famous royal Declaration of the second of April, 1666, respecting the circumstances under which it was compiled.[2]

We have seen that as often as such a law was drawn up under clerical inspiration, it was sure to contain hypocritical professions of attachment to the Edict which its authors hated, and whose kindly provisions they were endeavoring as far as possible to defeat. The law of 1656, which robbed the Huguenots of every reward for their loyalty in the troublous times of the Fronde, opened with the words: "We have always regarded the Edict of Nantes as a singular work of the perfect prudence of Henry the Great, our ancestor." The present law, in like manner, was prefaced by this statement in the name of Louis the Fourteenth: "The greatest care we have had since our accession to the crown has been to maintain our subjects, whether Catholics or of the Pretended Reformed Religion, in perfect peace and tranquillity, observing exactly the Edict of Nantes and that of 1629." [1]

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[1] Benoist, iii. 484–518, 568–582, and pièces justif., 145–151.

[2] Déclaration du Roi du 2 Avril 1666, qui régle les choses que doivent observer ceux de la R. P. R. In Benoist, v. documents, 16–21. Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., du Clergé, v. 700–712.

Visitation of the sick.

The law was not a very long one. Each of its fifty-nine articles, for the most part the repetition of previous orders in council, briefly expressed some unjust decision. I shall notice particularly only the forty-eighth article, perhaps the most iniquitous of all, wherein permission was granted to the curate of any parish to go, accompanied by a magistrate, *échevin*, or consul of the place, to the house of any sick Protestant, and learn from his own lips whether or not he desired to die in the profession of the Pretended Reformed Religion. No obstacle was to be thrown in the curate's way. Thus, after having disturbed the life of the Huguenot almost to their hearts' content, the priests of another faith were allowed to break in upon the quiet of his dying hours, and obtain from his weakness, or fabricate at will, the profession of a desire to become a Roman Catholic. This profession would serve either to justify a charge of apostasy, should the patient by any chance recover and resume his Protestant faith, or to secure the control of his children should he die.[2]

Not unnaturally did the Abbé de Caveyrac in his famous Apology for Louis the Fourteenth regard this law as a first essay of Revocation.[1] Even did not the preamble reveal who they were that instigated its publication, a comparison of the statute's provisions with the demands of the assembly of the clergy just held, and a perusal of the violent address made to the king in the clergy's name by the Bishop of Uzès, would sufficiently betray it.[2] But the voice of the clergy was this time reinforced by the last injunctions of the king's mother, who died on the twentieth of January, 1666. For, unmindful of the benefits that she had received at their hands, Anne of Austria is said to have besought the monarch her son to exterminate the Huguenots from France.[3]

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[1] "Le plus grand soin que nous avons eu depuis notre avenement à la Couronne a été de maintenir nos sujets Catholiques et de la R. P. R. dans une paix et tranquillité parfaite, observant exactement l'Édit de Nantes et celui de 1629." The text as given by Benoist reads "de 1669," which is, of course, a typographical mistake. Drion, who also gives the law entire (Histoire chronologique de l'Égl. prot. de France, ii. 96, etc.) makes it "de 1643." But there was no important edict of that year. Evidently the "Edict of Grace" is meant.

[2] This article was indeed modified by the 41st article of the law published three years later (February 1, 1669), which forbade the curates and monks from going without previous invitation, or unaccompanied by magistrate, etc. See Édits, Declarations et Arrests, 24. But, as Jurieu observes (Derniers Efforts de l'Innocence Affligée, 51), a subsequent law virtually granted the priests all they desired. It was made the duty of the judges to visit every Protestant whom they learned to be dangerously ill, and in the presence of two witnesses to inquire into his desires. In case he professed a wish to be instructed in the Roman Catholic religion, the priests must be sent for without delay. Royal declaration of November 19, 1680, in Édits, etc., 68, 69.

Anne of Austria's dying injunction.

The general law of 1666 had not been published to the world for many months, before the king received from an ally at least one manly remonstrance against the injustice with which he was treating his subjects of the Reformed faith. It was Frederick William of Brandenburg, usually known as the Great Elector, and author of the future grandeur of Prussia, who undertook the bold and humane task of influencing the proud monarch of France, now almost at the zenith of his power and renown. Pleading in behalf of men with whom he professed a common faith, he reminded Louis that the chief bond that had united his majesty's ancestors to the Protestant princes of the Empire was the liberty of conscience which the kings of France had granted in many edicts and confirmed by their royal word. If this knot of concord were rudely cut by the violence everywhere reported to be exercised against the persons of the French Protestants and the churches conceded to them, it could scarcely be but that the effects would be seen in the altered disposition of his allies, some of whom had, out of regard for him, accorded freedom to the adherents of

The Great Elector of Brandenburg remonstrates.

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[1] "On voyoit alors sans nuage, ce qu'une fausse prévention avoit obscurci, et la nécessité conseilloit de détruire ce qu'elle avoit forcé d'établir ; Louis XIV. en forma la résolution et mit vingt ans à l'exécution. Sa déclaration [du 2 Avril] 1666 fut comme l'essai d'une si grande entreprise ; on y voit le monarche enlever d'une main prévoyante des privileges dont ses sujets calvinistes ont abusé." Caveyrac, Apologie de Louis XIV., 222, 223.

[2] In Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., du Clergé, v. 454–463.

[3] Benoist, iv. 63.

his religion. The great elector professed so implicit a confidence in Louis's sense of justice and clemency, that he dared affirm that these cruel acts were committed without the knowledge of the king, whom the multitude of his affairs did not permit to take cognizance of the concerns of these poor and oppressed people. The writer stated that his previous complaints to M. Colbert on the destruction of so many churches had been met with a denial that any church had been cast down that had not been erected since the publication of the Edict of Nantes; but the king need only inquire of disinterested persons to discover that this assertion was quite contrary to fact. He assured Louis that in this intercession he had not been solicited by the Huguenots; but he begged him not to think it strange that, allied as he was with them in one and the same faith, he should plead for them and entreat the French monarch either to accord or to preserve for them their liberty of conscience, as well as places where without exposure to insult they might assemble for the purpose of invoking the name of Almighty God.[1]

Reply of Louis XIV.

Louis's reply was in a tone of affected surprise and condescension. Were it another prince, he said, a prince for whom he did not entertain the esteem he felt for the great elector, he would not in a matter of such a nature have permitted him to write, or, at least, would not himself have replied. To the letter of his German ally he made answer under four heads. First, he declared that of affairs of the kind referred to by the elector nothing, be it great or small, occurred within the realm of France which was not perfectly well known to him, nay, which was not done by his command. In the second place, he gave the elector credit for being moved purely by compassion for the alleged wrongs of the French Protestants; but he intimated that Frederick William had been misled by the false representations of evil-minded persons respecting affairs of which he could have no knowledge. Thirdly, none of the churches of the Protestants had been torn down, except those built since the time of the Edict of Nantes, in defiance of the royal authority, and by taking advantage of the minority of kings or of civil wars. Lastly, observed Louis, "It is one of my chief aims to secure for my subjects of that religion, in all matters and in all contingencies, the maintenance of everything belonging to them, by reason of the concessions of the kings my predecessors or by my own concessions, in virtue of our edicts, without suffering them to be violated in any respect. This is the line of conduct which I prescribe for myself, as well that I may deal justly by them, as that I may bear witness to the satisfaction which I feel in regard to their obedience and their zeal for my service since the last pacification in the year 1629. Everything that you may hear contrary to my statements, you must believe to be devoid of all foundation. Meanwhile, you will take the little I tell you as one of the greatest marks of consideration that I could show you. For, as I have already declared to you, I should not have entered into the discussion of this matter with any other prince than you."[1]

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[1] Inedited letter of the Great Elector to Louis XIV., Cleves, August 13, 1666, printed in the Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Prot. franç., xiii. (1864) 147.

We are not informed that the great elector believed the asseverations of Louis the Fourteenth, nor indeed, so far as I know, did he again write him in the interest of the persecuted Huguenots. On the other hand, not only did he make good the warning of his own letter, and from an ally become a formidable enemy of the king, but when the Edict of Nantes sealed the truth of his assertions and the falsehood of the assertions of the French monarch, he threw open the doors of his dominions to the Huguenot refugees, offering them, in his famous Edict of Potsdam, the most hospitable of welcomes, and enriching his states by the industries of an honest and God-fearing people who had preferred principle to worldly advantage.

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[1] Inedited reply of Louis XIV. to the Great Elector, Vincennes, September 10, 1666, printed ubi supra, xiii. 248. It must be noticed that an extract purporting to be made from this letter, and dated September 6, 1666, was inserted in the documents accompanying Benoist's fifth volume, page 7. The divergencies are so considerable, that I can account for them only by supposing that some one who had seen the genuine letter, or had heard it read, subsequently wrote out this portion from memory. This would appear from the latter part of the extract, which runs after this fashion : "Car je prens soin qu'on les maintienne dans tous les privileges qui leur ont été concedez, et qu'on les fasse vivre dans une égalité avec mes autres sujets. J'y suis engagé par ma parole royale, et par la reconnaissance que j'ai des preuves qu'ils m'ont données de leur fidelité pendant les derniers mouvemens, où ils ont pris les armes pour mon service, et se sont opposez avec vigueur et avec succès, aux mauvais desseins qu'un party de rebellion avoit formé dans mes États contre mon autorité."

Other hostile legislation.

As if the general law of which I have been speaking were not enough to satisfy for a time the most relentless enemy of the Huguenots, I find that Louis the Fourteenth was induced, on the very same day, to issue not less than six other papers, taking the form either of "declarations" or of "orders," all with the same general purpose. One removed the cases in which "new converts" to the Roman Catholic Religion were concerned, from the Chamber of the Edict at Castres to the corresponding chamber at Grenoble, on the plea that the former was too hostile to the converts to do them justice. A second gave the "new converts" of Languedoc a term of three years in which to pay their debts. A third altogether removed the cognizance of the crime of relapsed persons, apostates, and blasphemers from the Chambers of the Edict. The fourth forbade Protestants from maintaining academies for the training of young nobles in the accomplishments becoming their rank. The fifth prohibited the levy of money by Protestants upon their brethren for the support of the ministry and for other purposes. The last ordered the commissioners to inquire into divers alleged violations of the laws; as a specimen of the character of which violations it may be mentioned that some Protestant noblemen had ventured to put stationary benches, fastened to the walls, in some of their seigniorial churches, thus giving them the aspect of places for the *public* exercise of the Reformed religion. There was a dreary uniformity of purpose in all this. There was also a remarkable similarity in the phraseology of the preambles of most of the laws. Each of the orders in council began with words significant of the source from which the attack emanated—"Inasmuch as it has been represented to the king being in his council, by the archbishops, bishops, and other beneficed clergymen, deputed to the general assembly of the Clergy of France"—or expressions to the same general effect.[1]

Inspired by the assembly of the clergy.

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[1] See Benoist, pièces justif., v. 21–25.

The first considerable emigration of the Huguenots to foreign lands, a prognostic of the greater losses that France was at a later time to experience, dates from the publication of the laws which Louis gave to the world on the second of April, 1666.[1]

The first emigration.

As months passed by, the situation of the Protestants became only the more discouraging. Every place of worship seemed doomed to destruction. Already out of eighty places in Guyenne where the Huguenots enjoyed the right to hold public services, they had, by 1668, been robbed, on some pretext or other, of all excepting three. In Normandy they retained only the "places de bailliage" secured to them by the Edict of Nantes. Nor did remonstrances made through the deputy-general of their churches, or through special delegations to court, avail them. One of their deputations failed to receive attention because the king was about to set forth for the scene of war, and later, when he had returned, it was equally difficult to gain the monarch's ear, because unless peace were made all Europe seemed ready to fall upon his armies.[2] At length on the second of May, 1668, the treaty of Aix la Chapelle was signed, and for four years France enjoyed a period of external quiet.

A fresh assault upon the provisions of the Edict of Nantes was the occasion of bringing into greater prominence than before one of the ablest of the Huguenot ministers. Pierre du Bosc, pastor of the flourishing church of Caen, in Normandy was a man of rare erudition and of still more exceptional abilities as a public orator. Ten years before, when he was barely thirty-five years of age, the fame of his eloquence having reached Paris itself, Charenton sought in vain to add his name to the names of its distinguished pastors. The flattering invitation of Turenne proved as powerless as the still more flattering and urgent solicitations of Pélisson (later to obtain an unenviable celebrity after his apostasy), to draw him away from a church which he loved with an affection as ardent as that with which he was himself cherished by it. Nor were

Pierre du Bosc.

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[1] Rulhière, Éclaircissemens historiques sur les causes de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes, ii. 342.

[2] Benoist, iv. 98.

the Protestants of the capital more successful, when, on a later occasion, their entreaties were supported by the personal efforts of the great Jean Claude and of La Fontaine, and when their enemies displayed such apprehension of the disastrous results that might be expected to flow from his sermons, should he accept the call, that the Archbishop of Paris spoke to the king thrice in a single week, with a view to prevent his coming; or when, still later, both the Marquis of Ruvigny and his son wrote urging him to accept another call to the capital, and conveyed to him the grateful information that Louis the Fourteenth had acquiesced in the transfer, accompanying his consent with the gracious words that he had heard nothing but what was good of Du Bosc—he was an honest man and a loyal subject.[1] If Pierre du Bosc was famous for his eloquence, he was scarcely less noted for his wit and tact. It was told of him, that being at one time sent into temporary exile from his church by a *lettre de cachet* of the king directing him to repair until further orders to the city of Châlons, he was very hospitably received by the excellent bishop of the place, by birth a nobleman of the house of Herse Vialart, who repeatedly entertained him at his own episcopal palace. One day his courteous host, while showing him the magnificence of his home and its appointments, somewhat maliciously asked Du Bosc what he thought of it, and whether this grandeur appeared to him to be very *apostolic*. To this embarrassing question the Huguenot pastor, who would neither be rude to a kind friend nor untrue to his own profession, promptly replied: "Your lordship has two titles of rank in this city. You are both count and bishop of Châlons, and your dignity as count confers upon you rights and privileges quite distinct from those of the episcopate. I see nothing in your house that transcends the magnificence becoming a peer of France."[2]

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[1] La Vie de Pierre du Bosc (Rotterdam, 1694), 7–12, 78, 101.

[2] Ibid., 36. The judgment of the author of the Vie de Pierre du Bosc, who was his son-in-law, Pierre Le Gendre, and who styles him (page 1) "a star of the first magnitude," and "one of the most brilliant luminaries that have enlightened the Christian world since the Reformation," might be received with a suspicion of partiality, were it not fully corroborated by the favorable estimates of others not open to any such imputation. Not to speak of his contemporary,

An opportunity now presented itself for the display of Du Bosc's address, as well as of his eloquence, in the interest of his fellow-believers.

Project to abolish the "Chambers of the Edict."

In 1668 the suggestion was offered by the same advisers that were responsible for his entire course of oppressive legislation respecting the Huguenots, that Louis should abolish the two "chambers of the edict" sitting the one in Paris and the other in Rouen. It was represented to him that grave abuses had grown up in connection with these exceptional tribunals. Not to speak of charges of venality on the part of the judges, and of the immoderately long vacations in which the judges were said to indulge themselves, it was alleged that the course of justice was not unfrequently much delayed by the transfer of cases to them by appeal, when the parliaments were on the point of rendering definitive decisions. Moreover, the king was assured that the Protestants would suffer little or no practical loss in their privileges through the contemplated measure. It was well known that Henry the Fourth originally intended that the Chamber of the Edict at Paris should consist of ten Roman Catholic and six Protestant judges. The clamor of Parliament and of the clergy prevented this equitable arrangement from going into effect. Instead of six Protestant judges, the chamber as actually constituted contained but one Protestant judge, the other five counsellors of the same religious faith being assigned instead one to each of the *chambres des enquêtes*.[1] It was not difficult to persuade Louis the Fourteenth that the Huguenots

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the historian Benoist, who affirms that, without flattery, Du Bosc may be said to have possessed all the gifts requisite for a Christian orator (Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, iv. 99), A. Vinet, no mean judge of the comparative merits of the great preachers both of former centuries and of our own age, while hesitating to assign him the rank of an orator of the first order, places him among the most interesting and even the most captivating of preachers, and devotes to his life and works fully one-sixth part of his admirable work, "Histoire de la prédication parmi les réformés de France au dix septième siècle" (Paris, 1860), pp. 350–471.

[1] In like manner, in the Chamber of the Edict at Rouen there was but one Protestant among the twelve judges, though there were two other Protestants who had seats in other chambers. See preamble of the Edict of January, 1669, Benoist, v., documents, 31, and Benoist's own remarks, i. 379.

would be subjected to no substantial injustice by being deprived of a special tribunal in which they were so slightly represented, especially as they were still to retain their representation in each of the *chambres des enquêtes.*

Du Bosc selected to remonstrate with the king.

Not so thought the Huguenots themselves, and they petitioned the monarch for permission to plead their cause in his own presence. Their request was granted. Choice was made of Pierre du Bosc as deputy. Louis deigned to admit him to a private audience. He even condescended to signify his good pleasure that the Huguenot should not be required to present the claims of his fellow-believers kneeling the while before his august majesty, as even the deputies of the national synods, at least toward the last, had been compelled to do, but that he be permitted to stand. And when Du Bosc entered the royal cabinet, Louis, who received him standing with his back to a window and with his head uncovered, beckoned him to draw near, and listened to what he had to say not only with attention, but, as the orator waxed warm with his subject, with eyes and countenance that seemed to show that he was favorably inclined.

His eloquent harangue.

The harangue was a masterpiece of persuasive oratory. After the customary words of loyalty and devotion—words too submissive and fulsome to suit our age, but quite in keeping with the spirit of the age in which he lived, Du Bosc advanced to the main point in his argument. He would not enter, he said, into the details of the sufferings of the Protestants, because his majesty had named commissioners to inquire into these, and from these commissioners he hoped for a faithful report. He would confine himself to a consideration of the proposal to suppress the "chambers of the edict." At a moment when the Huguenots were anxiously awaiting a remedy for their wounds, what words could express the surprise and consternation created by the receipt of a mortal stab that struck them to the heart and rendered all hurts incurable. He reminded Louis that his public declarations, even down to the painful declaration signed at Saint Germain in 1666, had given assurance to the whole world of his unalterable determination to observe strictly the Edict of Nantes. But it would be impossible to maintain that edict while abolishing the chambers so solemnly established by it; inasmuch as the erection of those chambers constituted the most essential portion of a law which its illustrious author designated as perpetual and irrevocable. To repeal this important provision, the very terms of whose enactment showed that it was to be no temporary arrangement but a permanent safeguard of the public quiet and concord, could only convey to the Roman Catholics the impression that the monarch's intention was to destroy his Protestant subjects. As to the latter, the edict was regarded by them as a dike reared for their defence. "But when," exclaimed Du Bosc in prophetic tones, "when they shall see so great a breach made in this embankment, they will look for nothing short of an outburst of the waters and a general inundation. Then, in the reigning confusion and fear, every man will doubtless consult his safety by flight. The kingdom will be depopulated by the withdrawal of more than a million souls, inflicting a notable injury upon commerce, upon manufactures, upon agriculture, upon the arts and trades, upon the prosperity of the realm in every direction."[1]

The beauty and pathos of the peroration made a deep impression on his royal hearer. Louis replied by assurances that he would deal justly by the Protestants. He had lent an ear, he said, to the plan for the abolition of the "chambers of the edict," because he had thought that the loss of these would inflict no real damage upon his Protestant subjects. It was otherwise with the proposition that had been broached to do away with the "*chambres mi-parties*." "I saw distinctly," said the king, "that this the measure would not be equitable. These chambers are necessary to you. Consequently, I have not consented to their suppression, nor shall I consent."

The king's patience in listening to the proofs laid before him to make it clear that the "chambers of the edict" were intended to be perpetual, unconditional, without limitation of time, emboldened the Huguenot to declare what he believed to be the worst feature of the proposed abrogation. The time selected for effecting it was that inauspicious moment when the

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[1] Du Bosc's remarkable speech may be read in his Life, pages 51–59, in the pièces justificatives of Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit, v. 27–30, or in Vinet, Histoire de la prédication parmi les réformés, au dix-septième siècle, 354–362.

Protestants were overwhelmed with alarm and consternation by reason of the ill treatment of which they were the victims throughout all the provinces of the realm of Louis, good king as he was. "We are everywhere driven to extremities. Our condition is made not only calamitous, but positively unendurable. Our places of worship are taken from us. We are excluded from trades. We are deprived of all the means of gaining a livelihood, and there is no longer a person of our religion that is not thinking of withdrawing from the kingdom. If therefore your majesty shall proceed to strike this final blow, at so wretched a time, there will remain no means of reassuring men's minds, and all your royal power will be impotent to allay the fright and the terror with which all the members of our communion will be seized. Every man will try to escape. Thenceforth it will be only a confused and promiscuous flight.[1] Do me the favor, Sire, of believing that I do not say this as a minister. I am not allowing my profession or my religion to shape my speech; I state matters as they are. You hold the place of God, and I act before your majesty as if I beheld God Himself, of whom you are the image. I solemnly protest in your presence that I state the truth as it is."[2]

The intolerable condition of the Huguenots.

The king appeared still more moved by these last words, and before he gave Du Bosc leave to retire, he exclaimed, "Ah! I shall think of the matter. Yes, I promise that I shall think of it." And, as he passed out of his cabinet into an adjoining chamber, where a goodly company of nobles was in attendance upon Queen Maria Theresa, he was heard to remark to her, "Madam, I have just been listening to the man who of all the speakers in my kingdom is the best." Then turning to the courtiers, he repeated his favorable opinion: "It is certain that never before had I heard any one speak so well."[3]

Louis's eulogy of Du Bosc.

Yet, so far as any advantage to accrue to the Huguenots was in question, the impression made upon Louis was evanescent.

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[1] "Chacun tâchera à se sauver ; ce ne sera plus qu'une débandade universelle."

[2] Vie de Pierre du Bosc, 51–59.

[3] Ibid., 63, 64.

Suppression of the Chambers of the Edict. January, 1669.

Huguenot persistence justified.

Du Bosc and his fellow Protestants held subsequent conferences with the king's ministers, which came to nothing. They took good care to propose no conditions, lest it should afterward be said that they had consented to their own undoing. None the less did the king persist in the iniquitous course in which he was engaged. By his mandate of January, 1669, he formally suppressed the "Chambers of the Edict" of Paris and of Rouen, depriving the Huguenots at one stroke of the pen of a good measure of the benefits of his grandfather's great enactment for their protection—the edict which Du Bosc had described as "the grandest work of his exquisite wisdom, the sweetest fruit of his labors, the principal foundation of the union and concord of his subjects and of the the re-establishment of his state, as he himself expressed it in the preface of that solemn law." One tires of repeating the paltry excuses, unworthy of the name of reasons, alleged by Louis for the repeal. It had almost been more charitable to the Huguenots to inform them brutally that the king was resolved to wrest from them their cherished privileges by main force, than to justify the robbery by the repetition of arguments every one of which had been anticipated and had been shown to be of no force, in the memorials handed in by the Protestant deputies.[1] It should not escape our notice here that the king was made by his advisers unconsciously to justify the persistence with which the Huguenots, at the commencement of the reign of Louis the Thirteenth, insisted upon the restoration of the Edict of Nantes to the form in which Henry the Fourth originally signed the law, by the removal of those modifications that were made with the view of securing its registry by the parliaments. And if, as Louis the Fourteenth said, the Protestants derived no benefit from the establishment of these exceptional tribunals which they could not get just as well from the *chambres des enquêtes*, in each of which then sat a single Protestant judge, the true remedy for this state of things was to be found not in the discontinuance of the Chambers of the Edict, but in massing the Protestant judges, as was first contemplated, in a court where their votes would be of some avail.[1] If the single Protestant judge was of no more account in the Chamber of Edict at Paris among fifteen judges of the other communion, the dictate of common sense, no less than of equity, would have been at once to revert to the first purpose of Henry the Fourth, and increase the number of Protestant judges in the tribunal specially erected for their benefit to *six*, by withdrawing them from the five *chambres des enquêtes*, where for the same reason their influence was so insignificant. I need scarcely say that such an idea never seems to have entered the mind of Louis the Fourteenth, and that the Protestants knew too well with what disfavor he would receive any suggestion looking to the increase of their privileges to think of suggesting it. The bigoted monarch thought that he had done his full duty to his Protestant subjects in providing that, when the cases in which they were interested came before the "grandes chambres" of the parliaments, they should enjoy the privilege of challenging two among the judges who were in Roman Catholic orders and might be supposed to be incapacitated by reason of partiality from treating reputed heretics with sufficient justice.[2] In point of fact, however, it was subsequently remarked as a circumstance highly creditable to the honor of these clerical judges, that when the frenzy of persecution seized men of all ranks of society, and when in particular the highest judges of the land were not ashamed, in their servile deference to the will of the monarch, to violate the clearest dictates of natural justice, as well as the plainest prescriptions of law, in order to condemn the guiltless, the ecclesiastics proved less pliant than their lay colleagues upon the bench to the arbitrary commands of the court of Versailles. Some years later, the ministers of Rouen, in the suit brought

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[1] See Moyens de remédier aux abus pour lesquels on parle de supprimer les Chambres de l'Édit de Paris et de Rouen; in Benoist, v. pièces justificatives, 30, 31.

Fairness of the ecclesiastical judges.

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[1] See the 30th article of the *original* Edict of Nantes, as given by Anquez, Histoire des Assemblées Politiques des Reformés de France, Appendice, p. 466. It may be compared with the modified article as published, in the Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, in Benoist and elsewhere.

[2] Édit du roy portant suppression des Chambres de l'Édit des parlemens de Paris et de Rouen. Janvier 1669, in Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., du Clergé, vi. 395–399, Benoist, v. p. j., 31–33.

against them on the eve of the Revocation, with the intent of securing the demolition of their place of worship at Quevilly, declined to challenge any of the ecclesiastics sitting in the "grande chambre" of the Parliament of Normandy. "They fared the better for it," observes a contemporary; "for the ecclesiastics were the fairest of their judges."[1] The Abbé Ferrare, the Abbé of Argouges, and especially the Dean of Grenonville, the senior judge, opposed as flagrant iniquity the prosecution of men whom the court recognized to be innocent of any evil intention, and this merely with a view to the destruction of the Protestant "temple." "The king," openly said the dean, "the king is master in his kingdom and possesses full power to command that the edifice be razed to the ground, without our being obliged, for the purpose of compassing this end, to commit an act of injustice that will cover us with shame."[2]

Louis the Fourteenth was not prepared as yet to face the consequences of pressing his Huguenot subjects too far. The remonstrance of the Great Elector had possibly made some impression upon a prince who might in future have need of Protestant allies. The warning of Du Bosc was not altogether forgotten. The considerable loss which the industries of his kingdom had sustained in consequence of the recent emigration spoke with an eloquence quite its own. A daring project had, moreover, been discovered, set on foot by a French Protestant named Marcilly, or Marsilly, for the purpose of arousing the northern powers of Europe and Great Britain against Louis, because of his persecution of the Huguenots. The plot indeed had failed, and its author, kidnapped on foreign territory, had been brought to Paris and expiated his temerity by being broken on the wheel; but the impression was not wholly effaced.[3] Somewhat alarmed by the results of his own

Marcilly's project.

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[1] "Ils s'en trouvèrent bien : car ce furent les plus équitables de leurs juges." P. Legendre in Vie de Pierre du Bosc, 69.

[2] Ibid., 69, 70.

[3] The part played in this affair by the Marquis of Ruvigny, the Huguenot deputy-general, but recently sent by Louis XIV. to England in order to influence Charles II., was, to say the least, not creditable to him. Benoist, iv. 126, seq. See the documents relating to the examination and execution of Claude Roux *dit* Marsilly, of Nismes, in Depping, Correspondance administrative, iv. 311-318.

law of 1666, desirous, also, to soothe the irritation of the Huguenots, caused by the abolition of the "Chambers of the Edict," the king, on the first day of February, 1669, published another "Declaration," by which he formally revoked that which he had given out nearly three years before, and undertook to place the fabric of legislation on an essentially new foundation.[1] The moral effect was good. The Protestants were overjoyed; for they inferred that equity had once more entered into the spirit of the laws. Again they dreamed of a return to the golden age of Henry the Fourth.[2]

Louis XIV. recalls his edict of 1666 (Feb. 1669).

The clergy of the established church were correspondingly annoyed and disappointed. In their next assembly the prelates complained of "so extraordinary a change." They loudly protested that the law of 1669 had been issued without consulting any of their representatives, whereas the law it repealed was an action deliberately taken after due investigation,[3] in fact, a digest of decisions of the king's council rendered in cases of difference of opinion between the commissioners—"decisions obtained by the Catholics at inconceivable trouble and expense."[4]

Annoyance and protests of the clergy.

It would seem, however, that the Huguenots might have spared themselves somewhat of their rejoicing, and the clergy of the Roman Catholic church their wail of disappointment. For, if the law alleviated the condition of the adherents of the Protestant faith, the improvement in most regards was more apparent than real, more temporary than permanent. The law restored to them none of the churches that had been torn down in the past, and gave them no sure guarantees of a secure enjoyment of the churches that remained. It failed to accomplish much that it pretended to effect. If it seemed by one of its articles to admit the Protestants to all kinds of trades, and dispensed them from everything that might be contrary to their consciences, it accompanied this grant by restrictions that almost completely nullified the advantages they might otherwise have gained therefrom. It still continued to be the fact that in certain parts of Languedoc where there were ten Protestant inhabitants to one Roman Catholic, the regulations in force forbade that there should be more than one Protestant artisan to two Roman Catholics.[1] Such substantial advantages as the law conferred were lost in the course of time. For, although the law, unlike its predecessor of 1666, was formally, though reluctantly, registered by the parliaments of the kingdom, it was not long before a new series of orders in council began to narrow down the privileges of which the Huguenots could boast.

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[1] Déclaration du Roy, du premier Février 1669, portant Règlement des choses qui doivent être gardées et observées par ceux qui font profession de la Religion prétendue réformée. Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 14–26. Drion, Histoire chronologique, ii. 111–117. Benoist, v. pièces justif., 33–38.

[2] Benoist, iv. 125.

[3] "Avait été donnée en connaissance de cause."

[4] "Lesdits arrêts contradictoires ont été obtenus par les catholiques avec des peines et des frais inconcevables." Cahier of the Assembly of 1670, in Lièvre, Du rôle que le clergé catholique de France a joué dans la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes, 29, 30.

Speech of the Bishop of Uzès.

The "remonstrances," or addresses, of the prelates to the king, in behalf of the assemblies of the clergy, illogical, extravagant, and incendiary as they seem always to have been, are always instructive. For, like the more formal "cahiers," or petitions, of the same bodies, they indicate the subjects that chiefly occupied the minds of the ecclesiastics, and they distinctly point out the particular privileges of the Huguenots against which the next attack will be directed. The violent speech of the Bishop of Uzès shows that no provisions of law then in force were more obnoxious to the Roman Catholic hierarchy than the regulation in accordance with which Protestant parents could feel that their children were safe from the seductive arts of the professed "converters" until the boys were fully fourteen years of age and the girls twelve. Scarcely less do the prelates appear to have been annoyed that the king had not yet seen fit to accede to the request made some time since by the provincial estates of Languedoc, to take away from Roman Catholics the liberty to become Protestants. It was "an odious privilege," the bishop declared, "a detestable liberty," which the faithful of the kingdom had never asked for and which they would only be too glad solemnly to renounce, following the glorious example of their brethren of Languedoc.[1]

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[1] For a discussion of these facts, and for an elaborate and exhaustive comparison of the laws of 1666 and 1669, I must refer the reader to Benoist, iv. 110–122.

It was about this time that, by one of those singular turns of affairs which both amuse and surprise the student of history, the court was seen voluntarily offering to the Huguenots a privilege long denied to their requests, and the Huguenots found themselves declining the gift they had ardently desired. When the National Synod of Charenton assembled in 1659, the Protestants were distinctly given to understand that they must not expect permission to hold any more gatherings of the kind, unless it should suit his majesty to convene them for purposes of his own. This contingency had now arisen. While the public project of reducing the Protestants by open attack was in progress, there was a secret and more dangerous plan of bringing them over by means of a so-called "religious reunion." From the days of Cardinal Richelieu the idea of a compromise whereby, through some trifling concessions, the adherents of the Reformed religion might be enticed to return to the fold of the established church, had perhaps never been abandoned. Recently the project had gained a new lease of life. Fresh negotiations, in the course of which the court sounded the sentiments of a great number of the Protestant ministers of France, led the advocates of the measure to the conclusion that there were good reasons to believe that, were a general convocation to assemble, the friends of the movement would be found to constitute a clear majority of the delegates. Under these circumstances the churches were informed that the government consented to grant them permission to hold another of their highly prized national synods. But the same reasons that had led the crown to desire the convocation, forced the Protestants to look upon it with distrust and to reject the offer. After a little, their confidence got the better of their fears and suspicion, and they signified their willingness to accept; but now it was the government's turn to withdraw.

Secret project of reunion.

Louis proposes to allow a national synod to meet.

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[1] Remonstrance du clergé de France faite en l'année 1670, par illustrissime et révérendissime Messire Jacques Ahemar de Monteil de Grignan, Evêque et Comte d'Uzès . . . contre les entreprises de ceux de la Religion Prétendue Réformée. Recueil des Actes, Titres, etc., du Clergé, v. 728–783.

The synod was never permitted to come together. But for several years the effort to win proselytes was not abandoned.

A rough sketch of the basis of union proposed found its way into circulation and has come down to us—a paltry attempt to meet a grave religious crisis by politic make-shifts—a series of twenty-five articles wherein not a single great doctrinal question is touched, but which propose to secure peace by means of a confession of faith drawn up in general terms, including only the doctrines upon which the Roman Catholic and the Reformed religions are in agreement, and not touching upon any points respecting which they are at variance. The matter of the papacy, according to this paper, was to be solved by the institution of a patriarch dependent upon the king alone; that of celibacy, by denying the right to marry to the patriarchs and bishops, and conceding it to the curates. The Protestant ministers were to become curates with independent parishes, or as colleagues of the priests of the other religion. Confession was retained, but images were to be abolished. The liturgy was to be "reformed," and to be mainly in an intelligible tongue, but a few hymns or psalms in Latin might be retained at vespers. It was so on to the end of the chapter. Communion was to be administered under both species, and the communicants must kneel before the host, but no one could be compelled to kneel before it at any time but at the communion. Baptism and the Lord's Supper were to be "the two greatest sacraments;" but in view of the guarded language of the articles it was somewhat difficult to make out exactly how many more sacraments there were to be.

A more clumsy attempt to entrap the Huguenots had never been made.[1] For even had it been possible to secure the majority of the members both of an assembly of the clergy and of a national synod, in favor of so ill-digested a scheme for the reconciliation of religious differences, it is very certain that the laity of neither the Reformed Church, nor the Roman Catholic would for one moment have acquiesced. The history of "the churches of the Desert," only a few years later, proved that the Protestant people loyal to its convictions and well trained in theological questions, should it be deprived of its ministers, was quite capable of raising up for itself religious leaders taken from the ranks. And, on the other hand, a recent incident that had occurred in Paris itself showed conclusively that the populace of that intensely Roman Catholic city was by no means ready to renounce any of its beliefs or superstitions, even at the bidding of ecclesiastical superiors. The Archbishop of Paris and other prelates, it would appear, regarding the number of feast-days as excessive, and the observance as detrimental to trade and agriculture, ordered the suppression of a certain number of these feast-days, and, at the same time, directed the removal of some sacred pictures and images in public places whose presence led the people to neglect their work and congregate around the shrines for worship. But the laity, instead of obeying the mandate, closed their shops, and, abandoning all business, flocked noisily and excitedly to the spots which they had been in the habit of frequenting. An attempt to arrest the ringleaders of the disturbance, so far from intimidating, only infuriated the mob; and, in the end, the civil magistrates and the clergy, to avoid bloodshed and pillage, thought it the part of prudence to restore to the people both their objects of devotion and their coveted holy days.[1]

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[1] See Projet pour la Réunion des deux Religions, la Catholique et la Protestante, inserted in P. Jurieu, La Politique du Clergé de France (Amsterdam 1682), 258–262. Also, in Benoist, v., pièces just., 87–89.

Provincial synod of Charenton, 1673.

The project of religious reunion received its death-blow at the provincial synod of the Isle de France, held in Charenton (May, 1673), where a wise and resolute body of pastors and elders succeeded by their shrewdness in pronouncing against it as ill-advised and unlawful, in spite of the royal commissioner, whose efforts to prevent an expression of their sentiments were respectfully met but conspicuously foiled.[2]

Meanwhile the condition of the Huguenots had not sensibly

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[1] The incident rests upon the authority of a short contemporary Protestant paper which Jurieu has inserted in his Politique du Clergé de France, 266. Benoist, iv. 260, supplements the details of an affair which was of common notoriety.

[2] Benoist, iv. 263–269, gives a full and very interesting account of the adroitness with which the discussion was managed.

The book "La politique de France."

improved with the nominal repeal of the ordinance of 1666. Every year brought new infringements of their rights, with the prospect of still greater evils yet to come. The number of churches sacrificed to the malice of their enemies steadily increased. Hitherto a Protestant place of worship had perhaps never been destroyed, save where the commissioners agreed in decreeing its title to be faulty, or where the commissioners being divided in opinion, the king in council approved the decision of the Roman Catholic commissioner. For the first time, in 1672, the order was given to destroy a Protestant church, in consequence of the solicitations of the clergy, where both of the commissioners had found the rights of the Huguenot worshippers to be well grounded.[1] Of personal insults and acts of injustice, not infrequently arising from the desire to exclude Protestants from even those professions and occupations to which the law still admitted them, there was no lack.[2] And the minds of men were becoming accustomed to the idea of still more heroic measures for the extirpation of the Reformed religion in France than any hitherto employed. The Marquis de Chastelet made some noise by the publication of a book entitled "A Treatise on the Policy of France," in which he boldly maintained that, on the simple ground of national expediency, the present monarch should apply himself to the glorious work of cutting off the last remaining head of "the Hydra of Heresy" in France. There is reason to believe, he said, that his majesty will have more than one hundred thousand enemies in the heart of his states, so long as there shall be Huguenots in France, who, perhaps, are only awaiting an opportunity to rise. Thus they are perpetual obstacles to the plans that might be formed. Though they are weak, they are yet to be feared, because we know what their animosity is.[3] Whereupon the marquis proceeds to suggest to the king not less than fifteen measures whereby the good work of overthrowing Protestantism in France may be consummated, without expelling its adherents from the kingdom. "I shall not waste time and pains," retorted a Protestant writer, who replied to Chastelet's book, "in making remarks on the fourteen [fifteen] methods he proposes for the purpose of harassing us and of making us weary of our religion, our country, and our lives. More methods have been discovered than he suggests. And because the king has within the last four years had many complications to unravel with the court of Rome, it has been a part of the policy of France, as often as an affront was done to the pope, to treat us at the same time with some extraordinary severity, so as to exclude the suspicion of heresy."[1]

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[1] Benoist, iv. 218.

[2] For an aggravated case, see the story of the surgeon of Aix, Lieutard by name, of which an account was given in a petition presented to the king in 1671. Ibid., iv. 203.

[3] Traitté de la Politique de la France, par Monsieur P. H. Marquis de C. [Paul Hay, Marquis de Chastelet.] Avec quelques reflexions sur ce traitté par le Sr. L'Ormegregny, pages 68, 69. My copy is of the second edition, Cologne, Pierre du Marteau, 1677. The first edition appeared in 1669. See an article by Léon Féer, "Un chapitre de la polémique entre protestants et catholiques au dix-sep-

Louis entreated to slay the "Hydra of Heresy."

The imprudent author of the "Politique de France," was thrown into prison, whether for the reason that he had incautiously betrayed the secret designs of the ministry, or because he had dared to write at all upon matters of state. But he was not the only person that advocated heroic treatment of the "Hydra of Heresy." That old and bitter enemy of the Huguenots, the Bishop of Uzès, now become Coadjutor of the Archbishop of Arles, had much to say of the same fabulous monster, to the existence of which he begged Louis the Fourteenth, like another Hercules, to give the finishing stroke.[2] And as he spoke in the name of prelates insatiate and peremptory in their demands, his suggestions and theirs easily became laws. The Huguenots, especially in Languedoc, had endeavored to make up for their losses in public places of worship by new places of a less ostentatious character, such as the Edict of Nantes permitted Protestant nobles of high rank to institute upon estates within the bounds of which, according to feudal law, they enjoyed the right of the so-called *haute justice*. There were parts of the country where for a time

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tième siècle," in Bulletin de la Société de l'hist du Prot. franç., xxx. (1881), 3, etc.

[1] Reflexions, ubi supra, 151.—The author was Pierre du Moulin, son of the famous pastor of Sedan, who, at the time he wrote these remarks, was chaplain of Charles the Second and prebendary of Canterbury.

[2] The address was delivered August 17, 1675. Benoist, iv. 296.

these new *places de fief* more than compensated for the number of churches recently destroyed. Fresh explanatory ordinances, interpreting the law of Henry the Fourth to suit the desires of the clergy of France in the time of his grandson, three generations later, robbed the Huguenots of their newly acquired comfort, by forbidding the provincial synods to assign any ministers to hold service in feudal castles or towns.[1] A curious circumstance came to light during the investigations that ensued when the Protestants vehemently protested against the new act of oppression. Respecting one of the orders in council of which the Protestants particularly complained, both the king and his advisers professed entire ignorance. The document in question was at first treated as a myth; but an examination of the records revealed the fact that such an order existed. It had been drawn up by Le Tellier without consulting the king, and a secretary had certified by his signature to the presence of Louis, although that monarch had attended no such meeting. The words "Done in the king's council of state, the king being present," were false in point of fact.[2] Thus were matters managed when the Reformed were concerned.

Protestant girls not to be *forced* to see their parents before abjuring.

There was unfortunately little or no doubt that Louis the Fourteenth was present and consenting when another order in council was given, which provided that Protestant girls received into the House of the Propagation of the Faith at Sedan should not be forced to see their parents before abjuring! The Protestants, as the document itself tells us, urged that to deny the parents access was "a rigor equally opposed to equity and to nature, which gives to fathers and mothers the right to inquire as to what becomes of their children, and to learn from the mouth of their children the true motives of their withdrawal, but chiefly if that withdrawal has been free and purely voluntary." In reply to which unanswerable plea, founded upon the rock of natural justice, the clerical voice that speaks in the king's name can only say that the monarch has made an investigation and finds that the admissions are always voluntary, after purpose expressed, so that the "affected precaution" of the parents can only pass for an artifice to endeavor to shake the resolution of their children and move them by tears, it may be, even by reproaches and threats. Only thus much would the legislator provide, that the girls be fully twelve years of age, and that the mother superior at once upon their reception notify the lieutenant-general of the bailiwick. The latter was thereupon directed to proceed in company with the king's attorney, and, having ascertained the age of the child and her motives for entering the conventual house, to communicate the facts to her relations or guardians. "Meanwhile, however, His Majesty orders that the said girl cannot be forced to see her said parents until she shall have made her abjuration."[1] Yes, and if, after that, she drew back, she made herself liable to the punishment meted out to *relapsed* persons, and must be banished from the kingdom for life, with no room left for mercy on her judges' part.[2]

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[1] See the documents of December 27, 1675, and April 15, 1676, among the pièces justificatives of Benoist, v. 91.

[2] Benoist, iv. 309.

Conversion of the Prince de Tarante and Marshal Turenne.

Protracted and annoying as were the vexations to which the Huguenots of France were subjected, they had hitherto brought about few conversions, even of the superficial kind which Louis the Fourteenth began to seek, and with which the clergy seemed content. To no small extent they were offset by frequent accessions to the Protestant churches from the ranks of their Roman Catholic neighbors. The most noticeable gains were among the nobles, especially such as looked to the favor of the court for advancement. Two families, whose representatives in former generations were among the most stanch supporters of the Huguenot party, had lately been lost, wholly or in part, to their ancient faith. The Prince de Tarante, grandson of Claude de la Trémouille, abjured Protestantism; and his example was followed by all his children, except his eldest daughter, who persevered in her religious views and married the Protestant Prince of Oldenburg. The case of Marshal Turenne was more remarkable. Though he is said never to have exhibited any great zeal for the religion of his ancestors, he resolutely rejected for many years all the seductive offers made, first by Cardinal Mazarin, and afterward by Louis himself. He might have been governor of the dauphin at the price of consenting to be converted. Later the king labored with him in a private interview and made him the most tempting proposals. He turned a deaf ear to them all. Yet not long after, apparently of his own accord, and for reasons which he never divulged, the marshal submitted to the instruction of the clergy and professed himself convinced of the truth of the Roman Catholic religion.[1]

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[1] Order of Council, August 28, 1676. Isambert, Anciennes lois françaises, xix. 163, 164; Benoist, v. (pièces just.) 93.

[2] By the law of June 20, 1665. See the preamble of the law of March 13, 1679, in Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 36.

Some more expeditious method of proselyting was called for, and the fertile brain of Paul Pélisson suggested it to the king in a proposal to establish a fund of money for the purchase of conversions.[2]

Paul Pélisson and the "Caisse des conversions," 1676.

Paul Pélisson, or Pélisson Fontanier as he called himself from the name of his mother, was no ordinary man. Born in Béziers, in 1624, of Huguenot parentage, he pursued his studies with distinction at Castres, at Montauban, and at Toulouse. His precocity was such that he was scarcely of age before he published a learned translation of the Institutes of Justinian. His literary style was so brilliant that, by the time that he was thirty, he had been elected a member of the French Academy, without his solicitation and in defiance of the rules of that body. Another Huguenot, Conrart, the father of the Academy, was his patron. The famous Madeleine de Scudéry was his warm friend. Unhappily the eyes of Fouquet, the corrupt Superintendent of Finances, fell upon him, and seeing in the man who wielded so graceful a pen a person that could become a valuable assistant, Fouquet enticed him into his service. If Pélisson imitated his master's peculations on a comparatively modest scale, he was none the less a defaulter to the amount of two hundred thousand livres. At Fouquet's fall he was thrown into the Bastile. To his credit it may be said that he used his rare literary abilities in defending the fallen minister, where many would have sought to secure personal advantages by deserting a patron now in disgrace. This was in 1661. Five years later, having by skilful flattery secured the favorable regard of the king, he obtained his release from prison, not only without being compelled to make restitution of his ill-gotten gains, but with a certain eclat, as a man whom the prince and the prince's favorites delighted to honor. Fénelon would have us believe that Pélisson left the Bastile "a humble child of the church," and certainly it is a fact that, in view of the abjuration which he had engaged to make, but from motives of decency took good care to adjourn for a time, he was at once appointed historiographer and received a pension from the king. More substantial rewards followed the fulfilment of his promise, in October, 1670. Pélisson, converted to the Roman Catholic faith, became a "maître des requêtes," and the holder of numerous lucrative positions at the disposal of the crown. To secure the priory of Saint Orems of Auch, the abbey of Bévenent and other benefices, yielding many thousands of livres in annual income, he went so far as to enter the ecclesiastical ranks.[1]

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[1] Benoist, iv. 128–130.

[2] It may remarked, however, that Benoist (iv. 350) is inclined rather to give credit for the invention of this new method of converting the Huguenots to the Bishop of Grenoble, created cardinal by Innocent XI., and known later as the Cardinal de Camus. He was certainly the first prelate to put the plan into execution, and his efforts served, as will be seen, as a model for others.

It was in November, 1676, that, with the king's approval, the "Caisse des Conversions" was established—a true Pandora's box, according to the Protestants. Never had money been more impudently put to base purposes; rarely had the attempt been made to accomplish so much by niggardly expenditures. Louis at first placed at Pélisson's disposition the income of the two abbeys of Cluny and of Saint Germain des Prés. The results were so encouraging that he soon added one-third of the *économats*, or the revenues of the vacant bishoprics, abbeys, and other benefices of the kingdom, and occasionally some special gifts of his royal bounty, besides rewarding the inventor of the scheme with a liberal sum of money. The bishops were made the agents of the distribution. Pélisson urged them by letter to exercise the utmost activity, accompanied by the utmost economy, and permitted them to draw upon him for all necessary funds. His correspondence, if we may judge from the specimen which Jurieu has preserved for us in one of his timely treatises, was a model of cautious finance. He impressed upon the bishops that the money was to be used strictly as an incentive to conversion, and not as a reward to any persons that might already have consented to be converted. No one need apply to him in behalf of the latter class of persons. "I have solemnly renounced, and as it were by contract, the right of proposing to the king on my own account any other expenditure than that for conversions yet to be made."[1] There was in Pélisson's correspondence a quaint and curious sort of piety which might not have been expected in connection with plans for the promotion of the most repulsive and demoralizing form of bribery ever invented. After encouraging the prelate whom he addressed to call for still greater sums of money, if these sums would buy more conversions, Pélisson added: "Should you ask me how this comports with the slenderness of our resources, and with our purpose of prosecuting the work in the same manner throughout the entire kingdom, I shall place at the head of my account Him who makes the widow's oil and meal to increase and who multiplies the five loaves."[2] Scriptural illustrations have rarely been more singularly employed.

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[1] See the article of M. O. Douen, "Le Fondateur de la Caisse des Conversions," Bulletin de la Société de l'hist. du Prot. franç., xxx. 145–160.

To the bishops the good work done by their colleague of Grenoble in the Val de Pragelas was held up as a resplendent example. Helped by the Company of the Propagation of the Faith of Grenoble and by a few Jesuit missionaries, and fortified by a distribution of only about two thousand crowns, sent by several instalments, this prelate had secured well-certified lists of seven or eight hundred persons brought within the pale of the church. An expenditure of two, three, four, or five *pistoles*[3] gained over a whole family consisting of a number of persons. Still the bishops might on occasion go as high as one hundred francs to make sure of a family of some prominence; only, the greatest economy should be practised in order that the gracious "dew"—so he was pleased to call the king's bounty—might reach as many people as possible. By all means, every draft on the fund must be accompanied by a certificate of abjuration given by the prelate, the intendant, or some person of standing, and by a receipt to serve as a voucher. "The prelates and all others that shall charitably enter upon this work," were reminded that every list of converts would pass under the king's eyes, and that they could in no other way so effectually pay court to his majesty as by their judicious expenditure of the money of which Pélisson was the almoner.[1]

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[1] "Si lui ou sa famille sont convertis il y a quelque tems, il faudroit en parler au Roy par quelque autre que moi, qui ai renoncé solennellement et comme par contract, à ne proposer de mon chef nulle autre depense que celle des conversions à faire."

[2] "Je vous mettrai en tête de mon compte celui qui faite croître l'huile et la farine de la veuve, et qui multiplie les cinq pains."

[3] In order to make this spiritual price current intelligible, it should be under-

Paltry price of converts.

A convert bought for less than two dollars on the average, a whole family gained to the true church for four, six, eight, or ten, never more than twenty dollars — certainly this was cheap enough.[2] No wonder that the king, whose eager eyes scanned carefully all the names, was delighted with his success, and bade the converter in chief go on year after year, until, in three years' time, the number of abjurations that had been bought amounted to ten thousand, and in six years, after the first Dragonnade (1682), to the boasted figure of fifty-eight thousand one hundred and thirty.[3] The only trouble was that the "conversions" were as worthless as they were cheap. I scarcely need say that only the most venal of men put up their religion for sale, and that such wretches had no conscientious scruples against repeating the profitable transaction as often as might be, either under the same names, or, when the fraud was detected by the too frequent recurrence of the same

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stood that the *écu* or crown was equivalent to three livres or francs, and the *pistole* to ten francs.

[1] "Messieurs les Prelats ou autres qui entreront charitablement dans ces sortes de soins, ne peuvent mieux faire leur cour au Roi," etc. See Pélisson's letter to the Bishop of Grenoble, Versailles, June 12, 1677, and the Mémoire, of which he sent him a copy, in Pierre Jurieu's Politique du Clergé de France (Amsterdam, 1682), 149–155.

[2] In Poitou, in 1681 and 1682 a convert must be quoted a little higher—at two dollars and a half.

[3] O. Douen, ubi supra, xxx. 154.

designations in the catalogues, under assumed names. However insignificant the deductions that should be made from Pélisson's figures for this cause, it may be supposed that the Huguenots did not very seriously deplore the loss which his "Caisse des Conversions" inflicted upon them; that, in fact, they were rather inclined to commiserate their opponents because of the worthless proselytes they had made. Jurieu's sarcasm is pardonable when he congratulates the clergy upon the "Apostolic" methods in vogue for the conversion of souls. "Nothing," he remarks, "is more similar to the conduct of the Apostles, who went from place to place dispensing the riches of grace and contemned the riches of nature, than the charity of these gentlemen, who everywhere dispense the riches of nature to draw men to grace."[1]

It seems like an irony of fate that the man who distributed Louis's money to lure men and women to the confessional and the mass, himself died without confessing his sins to his parish priest; and that grave doubts should have arisen as to whether the arch-converter actually died a Roman Catholic or relapsed, in his last hours, to the belief which he had bought so many to renounce.[2] The solution of those doubts, were it possible, would be profitless; and we may be content to accept the declaration of the future Archbishop of Cambray, his successor in the French Academy, to the effect that death, surprising Pélisson in the form of quiet slumber, "found him in the state of preparedness of true believers."[3] But it is of more importance for us to note that the same Archbishop Fénelon, the type of the better class of the Roman Catholic prelates of his day in France, had not a word of condemnation to utter respecting the nefarious traffic of souls in which Pélisson was engaged, but, on the contrary, referred to him in terms of the highest respect as a man, who since his conversion had not ceased to speak, to write, to dispense the favors of the prince, in order to bring back to the fold brethren that had gone astray.[1] If by such expressions of approval, however cunningly couched in euphemistic phrases, the best of the members of the French episcopate made himself and his consenting colleagues partakers in the ignominious barter of Louis the Fourteenth, what shall be said of the reigning pontiff, Innocent the Eleventh, who addressed to Paul Pélisson a brief of thanks and congratulation?[2]

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[1] Jurieu, La Politique du Clergé de France, 149.

[2] "Toutes les apparences sont que ce fameux Converti est mort dans la foi qu'il avoit abandonnée." Rulhière, Eclaircissemens historiques, i. 148. But the great historian Rapin Thoyras, who was a nephew of Pélisson, and who greatly admired his uncle's abilities, confesses that the inquiries which he made respecting the matter, when accompanying Lord Portland, who was sent as British ambassador to France, in 1698, proved altogether fruitless; among the contradictory statements he could learn nothing positive. See the very interesting letter to Le Duchat, May, 1722, published first in the Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., vi. (1858), 71–77, and later in Raoul de Cazenove, Rapin-Thoyras, sa famille, sa vie et ses œuvres (4to, Paris, 1866), App., xviii. to xxvi.

[3] "La mort, il est vrai, le surprit, venant sous l'apparence du sommeil: mais elle le trouva dans la préparation des vrais fidèles."

The Peace of Nimeguen, 1678.

The Peace of Nimeguen, concluded by Louis the Fourteenth with the Netherlands in August, 1678, marks an epoch in the story of the persecution of the Huguenots. Six years before, the contest had been instituted, with little cause, on the part of the monarch, beyond the rancor which he cherished against the republic for having ventured to favor the "Triple Alliance" formed to resist his encroachments. It was accompanied by loud protestations that the conflict was a religious war, waged in behalf of the Roman Catholic Church; and, whether the claim was well founded or not, the boast proved serviceable to that church, by inciting Frenchmen to distinguish themselves by efforts to overthrow Protestantism at home.[3] Yet, on the whole, the Huguenots had rather fared better than worse, especially during the last two or three years, by reason of the fact that the king's time and thoughts were engrossed in the conduct of a foreign war. The clergy felt less freedom to urge, the government less inclination to acquiesce in new proscriptive measures. Now all obstacles were removed. The king was triumphant. Holland indeed had nobly defended herself, preferring to sacrifice the rich fields which she had of old slowly and laboriously wrested from the grasp of the ocean, and herself opening her dikes to the incoming waters, in order to prevent the country from falling into the hands of a prince, the enemy, at once, of Holland's faith and of Holland's free institutions. And the Dutch republic came out of the fierce struggle unscathed, and furnishing yet another proof to the world that of all the virtues intrepidity is the safest. The loss fell upon Roman Catholic Spain, which paid, by the surrender of Franche Comté and of Valenciennes, Cambray, and other strong places along the Flemish frontier, the penalty for its temerity in presuming to oppose the autocratic claims of Louis the Fourteenth. Now it was that the king became more than ever persuaded of his own invincibility and allowed himself to be styled "the Great." Now it was that, giddy with adulation, he suffered those triumphal arches to be erected which still stand on the boulevards—the arch of Saint Denis and the arch of Saint Martin—to commemorate in stone his military prowess. The point of Louis's highest exaltation coincides with the beginning of the more systematic assault upon the rights of his Protestant subjects.

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[1] "Depuis ce moment il ne cessa de parler, d'écrire, d'âgir, de répandre les grâces du prince, pour ramener ses frères errans. Heureux fruits des plus funestes erreurs!" Discours prononcé par M. l'abbé de Fénelon pour sa réception à l'Académie Française à la place de M. Pélisson, le mardi, 31 mars 1693, Œuvres de Fénelon, xxi. 130.

[2] Douen, ubi supra, xxx. 153.

[3] Benoist, iv. 221, 222.

The elder Marquis of Ruvigny resigns his office.

It was shortly after the return of peace to the kingdom that the Marquis of Ruvigny obtained permission to retire from office and to turn over the duties which he had so long discharged to his son, as deputy-general of the Reformed churches. At the same time he promised to assist his son with his counsel at all important junctures, and to take an active part when necessary. The change of deputy was decidedly useful to the Huguenots. The elder marquis was cautious, dilatory, worldly-wise. Some of his acts had not been above reproach. It is true that men to whom such delicate functions are intrusted are wont to be judged harshly by others knowing little of the difficulties that are overcome by their prudence, or of the insuperable obstacles that defy their best efforts. But in the case of the elder Ruvigny there is too much evidence to prove that he subordinated the interests of his constituents to the whim or advantage of a monarch to whom he owed his appointment, and to please whom he did not shrink, as in the matter of Marcilly, to condescend to actions which an honorable man must have loathed. Nor must it be forgotten that his prolonged absence at the court of Charles the Second of England (whither he was sent by Louis the Fourteenth to influence that monarch, as only a Protestant and the official deputy of the French churches might be expected to influence him) left the Huguenots at the most critical juncture with no representative at the capital.

He is succeeded by his son.

I have said that the change was advantageous to the Protestants. The younger Ruvigny was in every respect the opposite of his father—alert, prompt, vigorous, an enemy of procrastination and indecision. An attractive portrait is drawn of him by a contemporary. He was well-proportioned in body, gentle in disposition, wise, enlightened, brave without rashness, prudent without meanness, agreeable to the king, beloved of the entire court, welcome to the ministers of state. His acknowledged merits so favorably impressed the courtiers as to disarm both their hatred and their envy.[1] Such was the person, now a mere youth, that was to retain this responsible post until the very publication of the Recall of the Edict of Nantes, and who then, passing into the service of William of Orange, was to end his days honorably as Earl of Galway.

Law against the "relapsed."

Meantime, the work of robbing the Huguenots of one after another of their churches, by the slow but sure processes heretofore employed, continued with little interruption. The king, by his orders in council, decided in favor of the Roman Catholic commissioner almost every case brought before him as a result of the disagreement of the intendant and his Protestant colleague. But even this becoming tedious, some more summary method was needed for the attack of those places of worship whose titles had hitherto proved unassailable. This method was found in new and severe legislation respecting "relapsed persons." The conversions operated by Pélisson and his wonderful "caisse des conversions" were very numerous, but they lacked permanence. The miserable creatures who, for a few francs in hand paid, consented to pass over to the king's religion, and, after a short makeshift of "instruction," attended mass, were not averse, so it was said, to the repetition of their conversion in some neighboring town or village, at the price of a fresh payment therefor. In order to obtain this payment, however, they must first return, or seem to return, to their ancient religion. Thus the number of the "relapsed" increased notably. The fact was admitted with charming frankness in the preamble of the royal declaration published to check the practice, although the legislator found fault with and sought to punish the venality of the converts, instead of condemning his own stupidity in that he imagined it possible to purchase sincere conviction with money. "Although we had reason to believe," says Louis, "that this penalty [of simple banishment established by a previous law] would restrain those who might have been converted to the Catholic faith from falling into the crime of the relapsed and apostates, nevertheless we have been informed that in several provinces of our kingdom, and particularly in those of Languedoc and Provence, there are many persons who make no account of the penalty contained in our declaration of the month of June, 1665, and who, after having abjured the Pretended Reformed Religion, either in the hope of partaking of the sums which we cause to be distributed to the newly converted, or from other special considerations, return to it soon after, and when by reason of this they come to be condemned, proceed to Geneva, Orange, or Avignon, where they can easily see their relatives, because of the proximity of the aforesaid provinces." In order to put an end to this state of things, the king now added to banishment from the realm the penalty of a public "amende honorable" in the customary fashion, and of confiscation of the entire property of the culprit.[1] This was not all. A little later, a second law rendered its predecessor available as a powerful weapon of assault upon the churches of the Huguenots. Ostensibly on the pretence that the "crime" was so secretly committed that it was all but impossible to execute the punishment pronounced against it, the monarch now ordained that all acts of abjuration should be placed in the hands of the king's attorneys, and by them be signified to the ministers and consistories of the Protestant churches of the places where the persons that had abjured resided. If, after this, any such persons should be admitted to divine worship, the services were to be declared suppressed, the ministers to be deprived of the right to officiate.[1]

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[1] Benoist, iv. 357.

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[1] Déclaration du Roy du 13 Mars 1679, in Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 36-38.

A far-reaching measure.

The blow was far-reaching. Neither ministers nor consistories were omniscient. With the best intentions to observe the royal mandate, it was quite impossible for them to know by face each person in a flock that might consist of two or three thousand or more. How should they then distinguish in the throng that entered the church every person who might have abjured his faith? Not to speak of the more open converts, who could say that no evil-intentioned man or woman, desirous of earning an addition to his dishonest gains, might not insinuate himself into the assembly of the faithful wearing a disguise that would avert suspicion? One such miscreant, able to swear that he had attended a Protestant place of worship since his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith, was sufficient to deprive an entire community of the services it had enjoyed. For, as it had become a well-established principle of law to construe every fact to the disadvantage of the Protestants, judges troubled themselves little to inquire how far there had been any actual guilt on the part of those whom the government desired to place in the wrong. The application of this regulation, sufficiently iniquitous in itself, occasioned the destruction of a great number of the churches still remaining in France.

The public conscience seared.

The public conscience was seared; and it was the teachers of religion that had rendered it well nigh insensible. A fearful responsibility was assumed by the clergy in recommending the successive steps in the persecution culminating in the Revocation. They would have incurred far less guilt, had they urged at once the summary recall of Henry the Fourth's edict of Nantes. The king would have been committed to but a single, though a great act of injustice. He and the majority of the French nation would indeed have been taught to disregard utterly the inalienable right of man to the liberty of his religious convictions and of the expression of those convictions. But, at least, there would have been something frank and honest, if brutal, in the unequal treatment of the minority of the nation. But to prompt Louis to do by indirection what he was not prepared to do in a straightforward manner, to hunt for quibbles by means of which to defeat the manifest intention of the law, pretexts for violating plain provisions, convenient measures for oppression under cover of legal procedure—all this was a long and relentless education of the royal conscience and the conscience of the king's subjects to call wrong right, to obliterate all moral distinctions, and to see in religion only a name to cloak with decency the most foul injustice.

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[1] "Et en consequence faisons très-expresses défenses. tant aux Ministres qu'ausdits Consistoires de les y recevoir, sur peine de désobéissance, de suppression de Consistoires. et interdiction des Ministres." Déclaration du Roy du 10 Octobre 1679. Fontainebleau, in Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 39–41.

Suppression of the "chambres mi-parties."

Thus it was that about this time Louis issued an edict suppressing the three "Chambres mi-parties" for Languedoc, Guyenne, and Dauphiny, which, eleven years before, he had assured Du Bosc that he would not suppress, because he saw that they were necessary to the Huguenots for their protection.[1] To do what he had himself volunteered to say was not "equitable," would under any circumstances have branded Louis as unfit to rule men. The act became despicable when, as the pretext for depriving the Protestants of an institution intended to shield them from unjust treatment by the judges of the royal parliaments, he made the mendacious statement that, fifty years having elapsed since there had arisen any new trouble caused by the Reformed religion, all animosity between the adherents of the two faiths had passed away, and when he announced it to be one of his objects in this act to obliterate the memory of past wars.[2]

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[1] See above, page 458.

[2] The text of the edict of Saint Germain en Laye, July, 1679, may be read among the documents printed by Benoist, v. 109–111. This applied only to the Chamber of Languedoc. Similar edicts were issued respecting the other two chambers. The judges of the suppressed chambers were incorporated in the parliaments of Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Grenoble. See the treatise of Judge Jules Cambon de Lavalette, La Chambre de l'Édit de Languedoc, Paris, 1872.

Among the most important influences that were brought to bear upon the mind of Louis the Fourteenth in the present crisis of the affairs of the Huguenots must doubtless be reckoned the personal influence of the king's confessor, Père de la Chaise. It was a singular instance of the disappointment of human plans, that the very jealousy felt respecting the Jesuits led directly to the advancement of that order to a place of commanding importance. When, in January, 1604, Henry the Fourth was induced, contrary to his better judgment and to his wishes, to permit the Jesuits to return to France, some conditions were deemed necessary for the public safety. Chief among these conditions was the provision that the Jesuits should be obliged to maintain in the suite of the king, one of their number, a Frenchman and a man of sufficient authority in the order to serve as the king's preacher, and to be held responsible for the actions of the whole Company of Jesus. The authors of the article would seem to have imagined that they were officially marking the Jesuits as ecclesiastics of suspicious loyalty who needed to be constantly watched. In point of fact they opened to them the door of advancement to the highest honors and emoluments, by securing for one of their number at all times the post of the king's confessor.[1] How Père Cotton used his opportunities under Henry the Fourth, and Père Arnoux under Louis the Thirteenth, had been experienced by the Huguenots of former generations. It was now seen to what lengths their successor, Père de la Chaise, would drive Louis the Fourteenth. Meanwhile, in his irrepressible zeal, which was balanced by little discretion, he not only involved himself in discussions from which he reaped little glory,[2] but impelled the king to a legislation often not less

The king's Jesuit confessor.

Père de la Chaise.

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[1] Mézeray first called attention to this curious fact. See Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France (Amsterdam, 1682), vi. 297. One of the earliest results of Father Cotton's appointment was the demolition in 1605 of the pyramid of infamy erected to commemorate Chastel's attempt to assassinate Henry IV., and the substitution of a fountain, "all whose waters," observes Mézeray, "could never wash out the memory of so horrible a crime."

[2] I refer to his correspondence (in January, 1680), with the great antiquary, Jacob Spon, a man of whom Bayle remarks that never were the qualities of a learned and an honest man more happily united than in him. It is curious to notice how the great number of bought or reported conversions led such a per-

absurd than cruel. Thus, in April, 1681, the royal confessor obtained from Louis an order in council, forbidding all Protestant ministers and elders from making threats or in any way attempting to dissuade persons of their communion from being converted. In order to secure this end more certainly, ministers and elders were straitly enjoined "not to enter into houses, either by day or by night, save to visit the sick and perform other functions of their ministry, on pain of corporal punishment." Within two months the king was forced to issue a new order, ostensibly interpreting, in reality rescinding, the latter part of his prohibition. His Protestant subjects convinced him that by his previous action he virtually cut off the ministers and elders from all intercourse with the members of the flock of which they were set to have the oversight. They could neither comfort them in affliction, nor instruct them when ignorant, nor reconcile them when they quarrelled, nor watch over their morals and conduct, according to the rules of the book of discipline whose exercise was permitted them in France.[1]

Pastoral visitation restricted.

But if the persecution of the Huguenots had its whimsical side, the persecutors were nevertheless in earnest. The Protestants must be shut out of every way of making a living, be it of the humblest kind. The king was made to lower his dignity so far as to prescribe that henceforth no Protestant should act as a midwife, on the ground that as Protestants do not believe in baptism as indispensable

No Protestant may be a midwife.

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son as Père de la Chaise to write jauntily about the conversion of such a man as the great student of antiquity from his *new* religion; and how triumphantly, in his long, earnest, and pious reply, Spon demonstrated that the religion of the Reformed churches was the *old* religion, as opposed to the innovations of the church of Rome. Jurieu gives both letters in his Politique du Clergé de France, 155–172. I note an interesting allusion to this correspondence in a subsequent letter of Spon to the Abbé Nicaise, April 5, 1680: "Je n'ay point receu de lettre du P. de la Chaize depuis ce temps-là, bien loin d'en recevoir une abbaye de vingt mille livres, qui me tenteroit autant que les colifichets qu'Ulysse présentoit autrefois à Achille. Par la grâce de Dieu, tous les biens du monde ne me touchent point, et je ne crois point, que cent millions de rente vaillent le privilége d'une âme en repos." Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., x. 346.

[1] Our knowledge of the order in council of April 19, 1681, is derived from the order of June 16 of the same year (printed in Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 86–88).

to salvation, they might negligently allow an infant to die unbaptized. Moreover, a Protestant layman could not administer the *ondoyement*, or provisional baptism, as a Roman Catholic was permitted to do in case of necessity.[1] Until this time Colbert had successfully opposed the incessant efforts of the fanatical party to drive the Protestants out of the financial administration. Although himself a Roman Catholic, he reposed confidence, as we have seen, in the integrity and in the competence of the adherents of the Protestant faith. But now, reinforced by the influence of the chancellor, Le Tellier, and of the chancellor's son, Louvois, minister of war, who had made themselves masters of every other department of the government, and now longed to add the treasury to their conquests, the pressure became too great for the enlightened Colbert to resist.[2] An order of council excluded all members of the Protestant community from serving in any capacity in connection with the collection or administration of the revenues of France. The order carried wide-spread distress throughout the kingdom.[3]

Exclusion from financial offices.

Now, liberty of conscience was at length taken away from *Roman Catholics*—a pernicious right, which, if we may believe the repeated declarations of the clergy in their assemblies, the Roman Catholics had never wanted and which they wished to have removed! Henceforth no Roman Catholic could become a Protestant without incurring the most severe penalties—the *amende honorable*, banishment, confiscation of property. The minister who should venture to receive a Roman Catholic in the congregation when he officiated was deprived of his office, the church forfeited all right to divine worship. The clerical hand that drew up the law betrayed itself in needless and offensive expressions of hatred. "The Catholics have always held in aversion the Pretended Reformed religion

No liberty of conscience for Roman Catholics.

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[1] Royal Declaration of February 20, 1680, in Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 49, 50. The real object was to get hold of the children, rightly observes Jurieu, Derniers Efforts de l'Innocence Affligée, 52. A subsequent order of the Parliament of Rouen, April 22, 1681, forbade Protestant parents and even ministers from preventing the *ondoyement* by Roman Catholic midwives. Benoist, iv. 423.

[2] Benoist, iv. 411.

[3] Order of Council, August 17, 1680, in Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 54, 55.

and those who profess it," said the legislator. "We frequently see with displeasure that Catholics avail themselves of the liberty conceded [to the Protestants] to go over to the Pretended Reformed religion, contrary to our intention and the intention of the kings our predecessors; to which they are most frequently led by seduction or by the imaginary interest of their personal advantage."[1] No sooner had the king signed the edict than Père de la Chaise carried it to the assembly of the clergy in great glee, exclaiming, "Here is the paper we have so long been soliciting!"[2]

Postponement of payment of the debts of "new converts."

An additional bait for the greed of such as were disposed to leave the Reformed religion, was offered in the shape of a license from the monarch to all debtors among the "New Converts" to postpone the payment of the principal of their indebtedness for three years.[3] This was an extension to the whole kingdom of the experiment which the intendant Bouchu had been permitted to try in Gex and its neighborhood, and which had since been tried in Languedoc, Guyenne, and Dauphiny. The legislator, in his fancied wisdom, took no care to except from the operation of his new venture in finance either letters of exchange or the dealings of French with foreign merchants; but the laws of trade are inexorable. In a few years the king was forced to modify, and, a little later, to repeal altogether his foolish enactment. It sapped the very foundations of public confidence, and rendered it impossible, as he was himself constrained to admit, for the borrower to obtain credit.[4]

Full of satisfaction at what they had obtained from the king, full of hope respecting what they might yet obtain, the prelates of France held, in 1680, another of their periodical assemblies.

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[1] Edict of Fontainebleau, June, 1680, in Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 51–53.

[2] "La voici la pièce si longtemps sollicitée." Lièvre, du Rôle que le Clergé catholique en France a joué dans la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes, 38.

[3] Order of the king in council, November 18, 1680, in Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 64.

[4] "Cette surséance . . . est à présent . . . préjudiciable non seulement ausdits créanciers, mais encore aux débiteurs avec lesquels personne ne veut entrer en commerce ni traiter d'aucunes affaires, dans la crainte qu'on a qu'ils ne se servent de ladite surséance." Arrest du Conseil du 16 Décembre 1686, in Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 299.

Letter of Ruvigny to the chancellor.

The tone of the Bishop of Uzès, who was again their spokesman, was more exultant than ever before; but neither he, in his harangue to Louis the Fourteenth, nor his constituents, in their bill of complaints, forgot to urge the king forward in the path upon which he had travelled so far. Unable, because of his infirmities, to appear in person before the king to remonstrate against the new and formidable measures of repression that were proposed, the Marquis of Ruvigny addressed to Chancellor Le Tellier a vigorous letter, which showed that the writer was not wanting in prescience respecting the still greater disasters that menaced his fellow Protestants. "I had thought," he wrote,[1] "that the gentlemen of the clergy were fully satisfied with what has been done up to the present time against the king's subjects who make profession of my religion, and that they had nothing more left them to do except to render their thanks to his Majesty. But I learn that in their assembly, they have decided upon a petition which contains several articles altogether contrary to the faith of the edicts, to Christian charity and the public tranquillity. This compels me, my lord, to beg you very humbly to take measures in such wise that it may please the king to have no regard to these demands, and to come to no decision before hearing our deputies who are in his suite. These matters affect them so closely and appear to me so important, that it seems to me that his majesty's justice cannot deny them this favor. I conjure you to do this, my lord, in the name of a great multitude of people who no longer ask for anything but life, freedom to pray to God and the opportunity to serve their master. These are very innocent requests, and you see clearly that, as their all is at stake, they ought to be treated with more consideration, and that, at least, they should not be cast into the deepest despair. Such will doubtless be the result, should the king abandon them to the rigor and violence of their enemies. These enemies are pitiless and resemble the grave which ever receives and never says, It is enough. I hope for much better things from the equity and clemency of his majesty; but should I be deceived in my hopes, I shall be greatly pained; since it appears to me that the king's service will receive much detriment, and his subjects of my religion will believe that they have been forsaken of his royal protection."

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[1] Ruvigny's letter was dated July 1, 1680. It is given in the original by Benoist, v., pièces just., 117, 118, and by Galtier de Laroque, Le Marquis de Ruvigny, 208–210; in an English translation, by Agnew, Protestant Exiles from France (London, 1871), i. 136, 137. Agnew and Galtier de Laroque are undoubtedly correct in attributing it to the old marquis, "le vieux député général." César Pascal has shown clearly in the (Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., xlii. (1893) 52, that Benoist also intended to refer it to him, since according to the established usage, "Ruvigny," could stand only for the head of the family.

It was a noble appeal, written in distinct apprehension of the coming result. The warning it contained was heeded neither by Chancellor Le Tellier nor by his royal master.

The year 1680 is the close of a well defined period. The ensuing year is the epoch from which dates a more open and immoderate resort to those intolerant measures which can logically issue in nothing short of the formal abrogation of the Edict of Nantes. From this time forth the dearest rights of the unfortunate Huguenots are trampled under foot with little pretence of a regard for either law or equity. Hitherto violence has affected to wear a decent exterior, and has veiled perfidious assaults upon the personal or collective rights of the Protestants of France with profuse and ostentatious words of admiration and attachment for the legislation of Henry the Fourth. Now the disguise is dropped, and the enemy stands forth in proper form, insolently revealing the purpose to effect by force that for which the way has been prepared by a long practice of hypocrisy. It is proper that, before advancing, we should pause for a moment at this point.

I have endeavored to indicate the most important blows that had been directed against the civil life and the religious privileges of the Huguenots. There are others which I have been compelled to pass over, but which, on account of their insidious character, were fraught with the greater mischief. To prevent a church, which might count its members by hundreds and even thousands, from having more than a single school, and in that school more than a single teacher for the instruction of all the children, was, in a communion which, like that of the Reformed churches of France, made of prime importance the training of the young to be intelligent, as well as God-fearing men and women, a menace of utter destruction.[1] It was still worse to invade the sanctity of the home, in order, by force or by fraud, to convert the children to a religion which the parents detested as false and ruinous. As yet the practice had not become widespread; for the law that had aroused the indignation of the clergy was still in force: no boy could abjure the faith of father and mother until he had attained the full age of fourteen years, no girl until she was fully twelve years old. Only a few months were now to elapse before there began the systematic seizure of young children for the purpose of placing them where, under clerical influence, they would be trained in the Roman Catholic religion. I shall not therefore refer to the instances of the practice of a similar iniquity, by no means rare, which appear before this time. In view, however, of the very common opinion that the king was, for the most part, quite uninformed of the acts of injustice perpetrated in his name, and therefore in no way responsible for them, it must be noticed that the official records of the administration disclose the fact, that Louis the Fourteenth took a very lively and personal interest in helping the established church in the work of conversion at the expense of the sacred rights of the parent. To this end, he did not hesitate to exert his authority in as despotic a manner as any eastern sultan would have done. "Madame de Montlouet," he wrote from his palace of Saint Germain en Laye, "learning that one of your daughters has the intention of being converted to the Roman, Catholic and Apostolic faith, I write you this letter to tell you that my will is that you remain in your house at Lisy with your daughters, and that you do not leave it under any pretext whatsoever, until I shall have made known to you my intention."[2] The same records display the sovereign in

Louis XIV. personally active.

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[1] This was done by the orders of council of November 9, 1670, and December 4, 1671, as appears from the preamble of the order of January 11, 1683; but it was reserved for this last order to insist that the solitary school should be as near as possible to the Protestant "temple," and that there should be no boarding scholars save the two whom the minister was permitted to have at his own house. The studies that might be taught were "reading, writing, and arithmetic only." See Arrest du Conseil du 11 Janvier 1683 (Versailles), in Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 127, 128; also Benoist, v. p. j. 150.

[2] Louis XIV. to Madame de Montlouet, July 31, 1670, published in Depping,

an equally unenviable attitude, stooping to acts of injustice where he does not care to let his own participation be known. A simple joiner who professes the Reformed religion having taken up his abode at Clermont en Beauvoisis, applies for admission into the guild of joiners. The king is informed of the circumstance and that the provost of the town has given sentence, agreeably to the edicts which admit Protestants to all the trades, that the mechanic be permitted to submit the customary trial piece that shall secure his reception. Thereupon Louis instructs Colbert, the controller general of finances, to write to Machaux, the intendant of the generality to the following effect: "Although his majesty is desirous of preventing so far as possible the reception of Protestants into the various trade companies, yet he does not wish to exercise his authority on the present occasion. He therefore bids me instruct you to intimate to the provost that he must interpose such difficulties in the way of the joiner's admission as shall effectually prevent it."[1]

The monarch's conduct in other cases was in keeping with his conduct in this instance. Justice was a commodity which Louis always regarded himself as having a perfect right to grant or deny at his mere good pleasure. To grant was a favor, to deny was no wrong of which a subject had a ground to complain. This was particularly the case in his dealings with the Huguenots. Late in 1679 he issued a law forbidding nobles entitled to the "haute justice" to appoint other than Roman Catholic judges on their fiefs.[2] The law was not retroactive. The Parliament of Dauphiny, however, of its own authority ordered the removal of the present Protestant judges. Little

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Correspondance administrative sous le règne de Louis XIV. (Collection de Documents inédits, issued by the French government) iv. 319. In another letter about the same time Louis ordered another mother, Madame de Paulin, to produce a daughter whom she was reported to be keeping concealed "on the suspicion she has had that her daughter is desirous of being converted." Ibid., iv. 319, note.

[1] Colbert to Machaux, December 20, 1679, Depping, Correspondance administrative, iv. 324.

[2] Arrest du 6 Novembre 1679 portant défense à tous Seigneurs Hauts Justiciers d'établir dans leurs terres des officiers autres que Catholiques. Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 44, etc.

resistance being encountered, the parliaments of Languedoc and Guyenne consulted the king as to whether they should follow this example, and he commanded them to do so. The act was confessedly unlawful. No tribunal of justice might modify the existing laws; for that end a royal Declaration would be necessary. It was unavoidable that, when the cases of the aggrieved parties should be brought up before the Parliament of Paris, that body of judges would be compelled to decide in favor of the appellants. Consequently, Chancellor Le Tellier was instructed, while admitting this view of the matter to be correct, to assure the officers of the crown, in the same breath, that his majesty would promptly evoke the consideration of the cases for his own cognizance, and, meanwhile, forbid the plaintiffs from applying elsewhere for redress![1] Louis the Fourteenth is said to have informed the Chancellor, when he called his majesty's attention to the fact that the law forbidding the conversion of Roman Catholics to the Protestant religion was in contravention of the Edict of Nantes, that he was superior to the Edict of Nantes.[2] He evidently regarded himself as superior to every other edict, and to all justice, as well.

Benoist's "Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes."

The most valuable guide in the study of the period of Huguenot history upon which we are now engaged is undoubtedly the *Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes*, in five volumes, quarto, published at Delft, 1693–1695. The author, who did not place his name upon the title-page, is known to have been Élie Benoist, a minister who at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes took refuge in the Netherlands. Here, within a little more than a month after the publication of the edict of Louis XIV., he was elected pastor of the Walloon church of Delft, an office which he accepted and whose duties he discharged with general acceptance until advancing infirmities compelled him to request permission to resign. Although he was made pastor emeritus in 1715, it was not until 1728 that he died, at the age of eighty-eight. (Bulletin de la Commission pour l'histoire des Églises wallonnes, iii. 40.) When he reached the hospitable territory of Holland, he was in his prime. Having accumulated a great collection of memoirs, as well printed as in manuscript, he soon set himself to the task of composing his great work, a task which he tells us occupied him fully eight years. (Histoire de l'Édit, v. 1019.) For twenty years before the Revocation, he had been one of the pastors of the important church of Alençon, where he distinguished himself for his learning and for the ability with which he defended the Protestant cause, especially in discussion with a prominent Jesuit controversialist named De la Rue. Although his family was humble, his father having been doorkeeper of the residence of the powerful family of La Trémouille, he had made for himself an honorable position, not only enjoying the friendship and confidence of the Duchess of la Trémouille, as would appear from one or two incidental references in his work, but taking a prominent part in the defence of his persecuted fellow-believers against the attacks of the government. It does not appear whether Benoist refers to himself or to a brother minister in the incident recorded in his history, iv. 619, which occurred about 1683. "I have seen an intendant blush," he says, undoubtedly meaning M. de Morangis, "at the reply of a minister to whom he had asserted that the Reformed could not complain of being wronged when they were merely forbidden things of which the permission was not granted in express terms by edict or decree. The minister answered him, that there were many liberties accorded to them by the edicts which it was possible to make use of, but of which nevertheless they were deprived under a thousand pretexts. However, if all those could justly be taken away from them which were not set forth in the edicts in so many words, it was easy for the clergy to starve all the Reformed to death. It was only necessary to forbid them to buy bread of the bakers, wheat in the market, and meat at the butcher's shop, because there was no edict or decree in which the permission to do so was contained in set terms. The intendant, not knowing what reply to make on the moment, turned away without answering."

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[1] The statements of the text are based exclusively upon the letter of Chancellor Le Tellier to the Procureur général of the Parliament of Paris, May 27, 1680, in Depping, Correspondance administrative, iv. 329.

[2] "Le Chancelier parlant au Roy de la première de ces deux Déclarations, comme étant contraire à l'Édit, le Roy répondit qu'il étoit audessus de l'Édit." Legendre, Vie de Du Bosc, 110.

Of Benoist's work the greatest merits are the copiousness and accuracy of the details given respecting an important part of French history. The first volume, indeed, covering the fortunes of the Huguenots down to the publication of the Edict of Nantes and the death of Henry IV., contains little that could not easily be obtained elsewhere; and the second volume, taken up with the reign of Louis XIII., errs somewhat in the direction of prolixity. But the last three volumes are a true treasury of the facts upon which a correct estimate of the conduct of Louis XIV. and his ministers in relation to Protestantism must be founded. Writers hostile to the Reformation have, it is true, been accustomed to sneer at Benoist as a prejudiced and untrustworthy writer, who, in his zeal to set forth the Huguenots as martyrs, has not scrupled to pervert facts and to misrepresent the actions and motives of their opponents. According to such writers the unsupported authority of Benoist is worthless. In view of the weight I have given in the text to the refugee pastor's statements, of which the frequent occurrence of his name in the marginal notes is sufficient evidence, it is scarcely necessary for me to observe that I regard the aspersions cast upon the honesty, as well as the capacity, of Benoist, as wholly gratuitous, and for the most part dictated by partisan prejudice. Wherever it has been possible to compare his narrative with the documents upon which it is based or of which it gives the summary, the historian's accuracy is as manifest as his good faith. While this is true in respect to the portions that rest on printed sources long known to the public, it is even more noticeably true of those portions of the work upon which fresh light has of late years been thrown by the multitude of inedited documents discovered in France and abroad. The relations made by refugees concerning the circumstances of their escape and by confessors at the galleys or in prison of the sufferings to which they were exposed, fully bear out the accounts more briefly given by Benoist. So far as I have been able to discover, in not a single instance has the historian exaggerated or embellished for the purpose of effect. In many cases he has wisely tempered his language that he might not seem to depart from a judicial impartiality of tone. Benoist writes, indeed, as not only a Protestant, but a Protestant of decided views. He does not conceal the fact that he regards the treatment to which the Huguenots of France had been and were still subjected as the result of a systematic plan of injustice and oppression, due chiefly to the unceasing machinations of the Roman Catholic clergy. But he rarely is tempted to indulge in denunciation or to make an assertion the truth of which he could not instantly prove. He tells a story of almost unparalleled inhumanity with quite as much calmness as could be expected, or indeed could be desired, of one who was a contemporary and in part a witness of the events recorded. A colorless narrative of so dramatic and so exciting a period of history would have indicated an apathetic nature, too coarse to feel the emotion of pity for human suffering or to experience a thrill of admiration for the fortitude of men who knew how to endure hardship for conscience' sake.

Benoist deplores, in the preface to his third volume, the circumstance that only a portion of the great collection of material laboriously gathered by Tessereau had come into his hands, and blames the indifference or negligence of those refugees who, instead of minute accounts, had supplied him only with vague and unsatisfactory generalities respecting their adventures. But the candid reader of his work is more inclined to admire the richness of the fund of information which is thrown open to him, than to look about for evidence of insufficient provision. The author has greatly added to the permanent value of his work by the appendices, containing the text of "edicts, declarations, decrees, petitions, memoirs and other authentic pieces" intended to serve as the vouchers of the facts contained in the history. The documents number not far from five hundred, and occupy in all about six hundred closely printed quarto pages. All are of importance, and many it would be difficult to find elsewhere. M. Paul Pascal has recently published a biography of Benoist which may be consulted with profit (Élie Benoist et l'Église réformée d'Alençon, d'après des documents inédits. Paris, 1892).

CHAPTER X

PRELUDE OF THE REVOCATION—THE GREAT DRAGONNADES

The terrible law of June 17, 1681.

"A TERRIBLE law that strikes dismay into the hearts of fathers and mothers—a law that will bring us to the determination to go and cast ourselves at the feet of the king, begging him to grant us either death, or freedom of conscience for us and for our children, or permission, leaving behind us our property, to forsake the realm, and drag out a languishing existence, scattered in every country of the globe." Thus it was that Pierre Jurieu, in his "Last Efforts of Afflicted Innocence," characterized a statute of Louis dated on the seventeenth of June, 1681. Thus was it that he depicted the consternation which that statute produced.[1]

The publication of it marked the beginning of the last act in the tragedy that was being enacted in France, and gave clear intimation that the catastrophe could not be very far distant.

Huguenot children of seven may renounce the religion of their parents.

The law authorized children of the tender age of seven years to renounce the religion of their Protestant parents and embrace the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion. It struck a blow at the existence of the family. It rudely severed ties esteemed most sacred by all nations and all ages of men. The reason alleged was the great success which the Almighty had vouchsafed to grant to the monarch's exertions, both by "spiritual excitations" and by "other reasonable means," to convert his subjects of the Reformed faith. The avowed object was to undo the mischief wrought by a previous law, some twelve years old, which, after a fashion, excluded Protestant children from the privilege of being converted, until the boys had reached the age of fourteen, the girls the age of twelve; whereas it was affirmed that at seven years of age they are capable of reasoning and of making a choice in so important a matter as that of their salvation. Having conferred upon the child the right to embrace the state religion, the king forbade parents and relatives from interposing any obstacles in the way. In fact, he empowered the child to decide for itself whether to remain at home or to go elsewhere. In the latter case, the parents were bound to pay for its board, by regular quarterly instalments, such an annual sum as corresponded with their rank and pecuniary means. Protestant parents were prohibited from sending their children abroad for study, if the latter were under sixteen years old; and such as might have sent them to foreign lands, "in which they could imbibe maxims contrary to the state and to the fealty they owed their king," were to be constrained by all proper means, that is, by full or partial forfeiture of their incomes, or other fines, to bring them home without delay.[1]

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[1] Derniers Efforts de l'Innocence Affligée, 52.

A cry of mingled indignation and horror went up to heaven from every part of France at the tidings of this new and more cruel outrage. "Words fail me when I attempt to describe the agitation which this terrible law created in the minds of all," remarks a historian who was also an interested eyewitness.[2] So long as the sanctuary of home was left inviolate, all indignities and persecutions were endurable. The loss of civil equality, exclusion from the greater part of profitable pursuits, studied injustice perpetrated by the guardians of justice and in the name of the law, the destruction of the schools, even the suppression of the places of public worship and the enforced silence of the preacher of the word of God—these things, though painful and vexatious, were yet tolerable, if only the defences of the family remained intact, and within this safe enclosure the parent enjoyed unmolested the patriarchal and prescriptive right to counteract by faithful instruction the intrusive efforts of officious proselytism. To the perpetuation of religious tenets in the hearts of a people no external profession or public ceremonial is absolutely indispensable. The family is the last and safest refuge. But if the family itself is invaded, if a ruthless hand attempts to snatch the child in the most plastic period of its existence from the formative influences exerted by the father and mother, what shall be the result?

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[1] Declaration of Louis XIV., Versailles, June 17, 1681, in Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 88–90. Also, in Benoist, v., pièces just., 128, 129. Drion, Histoire chronologique, ii. 163–165.

[2] "Je manque d'expressions pour décrire l'altération que cette terrible Déclaration causa dans tous les esprits." Benoist, iv. 446.

A blow struck at the family.

Protestants shuddered, and shuddered with good reason at the prospect. For the law was not given in the interest of the child's freedom of choice, but of interference from without the home. There was little likelihood that a boy of seven would, if left to himself, deliberately choose to embrace a religion of whose nature he could understand little or nothing. There was every reason to apprehend that the devotee of another religion would easily find a pretext to rob the parent of his right to train his offspring in the faith which, it might be, he cherished above life itself. The priestly hand that had drawn up the statute had done his work skilfully. It was enough that a child exhibited, or was said to have indicated, in the most trifling matter, a preference for the Roman Catholic church or service. It was enough that the offer of a gaudy ribbon, or the promise of a sugar-plum, made it consent to say the words, "*Ave Maria,*" or "*How fine a thing the Mass is,*" or any one of a hundred other phrases which the fertile mind of a devotee might suggest. It was enough that the child, not having said any such words nor shown any such preference, should be falsely reported to have done so. The child was in the sight of the law a hopeful subject for conversion, if not an actual convert. It was not even permitted to take back its words. Its very denials of what might be an invention of designing persons, who had an eye to the parent's money even more than to the child's religious welfare, went for nothing. In spite of its own outcries and puny resistance, in spite of the frantic protests of father and mother, the clergy could and would tear it from its loved home, to immure it in one of the houses prepared for the instruction of such children of Protestants. And the whole power of the government of Louis the Fourteenth stood behind the clergy to render resistance futile.

Well might the Huguenots exclaim that scarcely did another age or another country, however barbarous, furnish a parallel to the refined cruelty with which they were treated; that here was a violation of the most sacred and most venerable laws; that here was the overthrow of the very foundation of authority. "In a word," said they, "such measures were not thought of in the age of bloody executions and massacres. This is indeed to wrench our very hearts. All the torments that have heretofore been inflicted upon us are as nothing in comparison with this. It is a new kind of torture, which will do more to make men desert France than did all the massacres of the last century."[1]

Lists of the Huguenots and their children.

Children to be taken from their homes.

Nor was this law to slumber in the statute-book. It began at once to be executed, and the years that followed until, and even long beyond, the formal recall of the Edict of Nantes, were full of incidents of the most harrowing character.[2] Apparently in anticipation of the enactment of some such law, detailed lists of the Huguenots and of their children had been made some months before. The list of the Huguenots inhabiting the city of Alençon, which has come down to us, is dated on the eighth of July, 1680, and the names are given by the streets in which the families resided. A later hand, the hand, doubtless, of an ecclesiastic or of a magistrate or officer writing at the suggestion of an ecclesiastic, has jotted down beneath a great number of the families the names of such children as were to be taken away from their parents, to be placed in the institutions known as the *Nouveaux Catholiques* for boys and the *Nouvelles Catholiques* for girls.

Thus Martha Boullay, a widow, living in the Grande Rue, has three children: Jean, aged six years, Anne Marie, aged five, and Joseph, aged six months. "*Take Jean and Anne Marie.*" A man of more importance, Jean le Conte, and his wife have but one little girl, Anne, "four years old and weakly." "*Take Anne if she is in condition.*" Pierre Thifaine and his wife have three children, Ivan a boy of three, Louise a girl of eight, and

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[1] I use the substance of the expressions which Jurieu places in the mouth of the Huguenot jurist, one of the speakers in his dialogue. Derniers Efforts de l'Innocence Affligée, 55, 56.

[2] See the article by Alphonse Jobez, "De l'enlèvement des enfants protestants après la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes, d'après les documents officiels, 1684–1764." Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. franç., vi. 274–278.

Marie a girl of five. "*Take Louise and Marie.*" Jacques Ardesoif, lord of Mares, and his wife fare somewhat better. Having three boys and three girls—Jacques, Pierre, and François, aged respectively seven and four years old, and fifteen months, and Marguerite, Elizabeth, and Anne, ten, eight, and three years old—they are kindly permitted to keep just one-half of their number, that is, the three that would entail too much trouble upon the kidnappers. "*Take Jacques, Marguerite, and Elizabeth.*" These persecutors are less generous with regard to the little family of the widow Anne Ardesoif, consisting of four children, whose ages unfortunately run from four to twelve years. "*All are to be taken*" is the cynical apostil.[1]

No very vivid imagination is required to enable one to read under the dry list of names the outlines of a story of domestic sorrow too pathetic for words.

Alençon was only one of a thousand towns and villages where the foul blow fell. Her Protestant households were but a few among the countless households to which the new law brought the agony of apprehension for the most cherished of earthly possessions—the helpless children whom an enemy might now at any moment snatch away by cunning or by actual violence. How protect the defenceless against the wiles of a horde of devotees trained in dissimulation, now that the monarch himself stooped to become their ally, now that distrust lurked everywhere, now that any attention paid to the child of a Huguenot by a stranger, any caress or favor, any word of praise and flattery might be the precursor of disaster. There remained only flight—not flight from one town to another, but flight from the kingdom. Upon this hundreds and even thousands of families instantly resolved; although flight meant danger, the sacrifice of a great part, if not the whole of their property, the sundering of the strong ties that bound them to the place of their birth, exile in a foreign land of unknown language and strange habits, destitution or absolute penury. Some, indeed, with that prescience of coming disaster which was bred of the experience of past acts of persecution, had already made their way to foreign countries, and were beyond the reach of the additional acts of cruelty prompted by the king's bigoted advisers.[1] These were fortunate indeed.

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[1] The list, after having passed into the archives of one of the families against whose ancestors stood the direction "*Take the little boy,*" is printed in the Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., xxv. 259–274.

Another appeal to Louis XIV.

There did, it is true, seem to be an alternative—to make another appeal to the pity of a monarch whom, with strange infatuation, his Protestant subjects still believed to be just and compassionate, but ill informed respecting the results of his actions and respecting much that was done in his name. Therefore it was that the Huguenots determined to lay before Louis the Fourteenth a fresh remonstrance, confining their arguments to the one law that permitted the clergy to carry off from their parents Huguenot children of the most tender age. The task of drawing up this remonstrance was intrusted to the most celebrated writer and preacher in their body, the intrepid pastor of Charenton, Jean Claude. The paper he wrote has come down to us, an able plea for the natural rights of the parent, fortified by the direct provisions of the Edict of Nantes. It showed that if the lawgiver forbade the taking away of children from their natural guardians for baptism and confirmation, much more must he be regarded as forbidding their removal in infancy to be reared in a religion other than that of those guardians. It appealed to the recognition of the parental rights of Huguenots by the reigning monarch himself in his law of 1669, wherein no boys of less than fourteen, no girls of less than twelve, were allowed to abjure the faith of their parents. It appealed to both canon law and civil law, which unite in preventing a person before the age of puberty from making a valid will, or taking priestly vows, or doing any other thing requiring voluntary action. It drew attention to the reproach which the Roman Catholic church would incur in the eyes of the civilized world, should it sanction an attempt, unheard of among Christians, yea, among all the nations of the world, to limit the authority of the parent over his child to the first seven years of the child's life, and that, too, in so important a matter as religion. It appealed to the declaration of one of the greatest doctors of the Roman Catholic church itself, and to the canons of the Fourth Council of Toledo, which condemned as unjust the practice of baptizing the children of Jews without the consent of their parents.

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[1] A number of such absentees are noted on the list of the Protestants of Alençon above referred to.

It was a forcible paper, worthy of the source from which it emanated. If it was full of deference for the royal authority, and far removed as yet from the noble independence of tone of the author's later indictment of the persecuting king—"*Les Plaintes des Protestants cruellement opprimés dans le royaume de France*"—yet it did not fail to foreshadow the resistance which the Huguenots would institute to a law that coerced their consciences and trampled upon their parental rights. "It is your sense of justice, Sire," said the document, "which your suppliants implore in the excess of their grief. It is to your justice that they address their voices and their tears, and, without failing in the respect which they owe to your majesty, they venture to say that they would prefer to suffer all kinds of disasters and death itself, rather than to see themselves separated from their children at so tender an age, and be unable to rear them in their conscientious obligations."[1]

The Huguenots of Paris had intended to present the petition by the hands of Claude himself at the head of a special deputation; but the deputies received notice, while on their way to Versailles, that they would not be permitted to approach the king. They must intrust the paper to the Protestant deputy general. Either Louis himself or his ministers remembered the impression made by the eloquent appeal of Pierre du Bosc, and bethought them of the possible consequences to the king's equanimity, should the equally eloquent Jean Claude be permitted to speak in the royal presence.[2] And thus it was that the elder Marquis of Ruvigny, who still assisted his son and successor on great occasions, sought and obtained a hearing. What he said, and how he was treated by Louis, can best be learned from the account which Bishop Burnet received from Ruvigny's own lips, and incorporated in his "History of his Own Time:"

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[1] Requête au roi touchant sa Déclaration du 17 Juin 1681, printed in the Bulletin de la Société de l'hist. du Prot. franç., xxvi. 307-312. Benoist gives only an abstract (iv. 455) of what he justly styles "one of the finest pieces of the time."

[2] Benoist, iv. 458.

The elder Marquis of Ruvigny intercedes with the king.

Louis regards himself bound to extirpate heresy.

"Old Rouvigny (Ruvigny), who was deputy general of the churches, told me that he was long deceived in his opinion of the king. He knew he was not naturally bloody. He saw his gross ignorance in those matters. His bigotry could not rise from any inward principle. So for many years he flattered himself with the hopes that the design would go on so slowly that some unlooked-for accident might defeat it. But after the Peace of Nimeguen, he saw such steps made, with so much precipitation, that he told the king he must beg a full audience of him upon that subject. He gave him one that lasted some hours. He came well prepared. He told him what the state of France was during the wars in his father's reign; how happy France had been now for fifty years, occasioned chiefly by the quiet it was in with relation to those matters. He gave him an account of their numbers, their industry and wealth, their constant readiness to advance the revenue, and that all the quiet he had with the Court of Rome was chiefly owing to them; if they were rooted out, the Court of Rome would govern as absolutely in France as it did in Spain. He desired leave to undeceive him, if he was made to believe they would all change, as soon as he engaged his authority in the matter. Many would go out of the kingdom, and carry their wealth and industry with them into other countries. And by a volume of particulars he reckoned how far that would go. In fine, he said, it would come to the shedding of much blood. Many would suffer, and others would be precipitated into desperate courses. So that the most glorious of all reigns would be in conclusion disfigured and defaced, and become a scene of blood and horror. He told me, as he went through these matters, the king seemed to hearken to him very attentively. But he perceived they made no impression. For the king never asked any particulars or any explanation, but let him go on. And, when he had ended, the king said he took his freedom well, since it flowed from his great zeal to his service. He believed all that he had told him of the prejudice it might do him in his affairs; only he thought it would not go to the shedding of blood. But he said he considered himself as so indispensably bound to endeavor [to effect] the conversion of all his subjects and the extirpation of heresy, *that if the doing it should require that with one hand he should cut off the other, he would submit to that.*"[1]

Francis the First had made a somewhat similar vaunt, nearly a century and a half before, in his speech in the episcopal palace of Paris, after the expiatory mass for the celebrated "Placards" audaciously posted on the walls of Paris and on the very door of his bedchamber. "Were one of my arms infected with this poison [of heresy]," said he, "I should cut it off! Were my own children contaminated, I should immolate them!"[2] But as Francis failed to check the spread of the nascent Reformation, so Louis was destined to fail signally in crushing that Reformation when it had grown to be an important factor in the religious life of France.

Marquis Ruvigny, or the historian who reports the interview, has forgotten to inform us what Louis said in particular respecting the Huguenot remonstrance that had occasioned the audience. The omission is of no practical importance. For the original of the document presented to the king has come down to our days, and over against the simple and pathetic statement of the wrongs of a great multitude of human beings, amazed and horrified at the fresh outrage to which their most intimate and most sacred relations in life were subjected—over against a calm and judicial exposition of a case where law and equity were both alike with the petitioners—there stands written but a single word, "NÉANT"—"*Naught.*"[3] It is the brutal reply of the monarch who deemed himself all but a god, and disdained the courtesy which even the heart of a clown might have led him to use to the unfortunate. Louis the Fourteenth had nothing to say, he purposed to do nothing for the relief of the most distressed and unfortunate class of his subjects, for the descendants of the brave and loyal men who by the toils they underwent and the dangers they in-

He will concede nothing to the Protestant petitioners.

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[1] Burnet, History of his Own Time (3d ed., London, 1766), ii. 345, 346.

[2] Rise of the Huguenots of France, i. 176, where I have shown that the incident, though apparently discredited by Voltaire (Histoire du parlement de Paris, i. 118), is of indisputable authenticity.

[3] M. Frank Puaux, in his monograph on the last years of the ministry of Claude (Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., xxxiv. 1885, 204), is my authority for this statement.

curred, sword in hand, had secured the kingdom for his grandfather and for himself, the Huguenots who within his own times had, by the avowal of one of his own generals, steadied the crown of France when it tottered on his head.

The forward Bailli of Charenton undertakes to "reform" the Protestant confession and liturgy.

While the monarch listened to the piteous entreaties of his Huguenot subjects with supreme disdain, it is no wonder that such of his officers, of higher or lower degree, as could or dared to emulate his example, heaped insult and ignominy upon those whom the king delighted to dishonor. A royal judge, the Bailli of Charenton, distinguished himself for his forwardness. Not content with having recently issued his mandate, which among other things enjoined the Huguenots "to abstain, while on their way to worship, from scandalizing the good Catholics by singing the psalms of David upon the river or on its banks,"[1] he now took in hand the services within the "temple" itself and dictated to the Huguenots what they might and what they might not say, in the profession of their belief, in their prayers addressed to God and in their exhortations addressed to one another. It did not occur to this sapient magistrate to discriminate between the extemporaneous utterances of the pulpit and the forms of words consecrated by the usage of a century and a half. It was enough that the confession of faith and the liturgy of the Reformed Churches of France contained expressions that offended the ears of a Roman Catholic. Both confession and liturgy must at once be "reformed." From the confession must be expunged portions of the twenty-fourth and twenty-eighth articles: the one pronouncing the resort to the intercessions of the dead, the doctrine of Purgatory, monastic vows, pilgrimages, and the like to be a deceit of Satan, and the other "condemning the assemblies of the papacy, seeing that therefrom the pure word of God is banished and therein the sacraments are corrupted," "and all superstitions and idolatries are practised." From the liturgy must be erased the touching petition in the prayer for use after the sermon: "Singularly do we commend to Thee all those our poor brethren who are scattered abroad under the tyranny of Antichrist." These and all other such terms as "idolaters," "idolatry," and "superstition" must be expunged from all copies of "the confession of faith, discipline, and *pretended* ecclesiastical prayers," within the space of a fortnight, on pain of the imposition of a heavy fine on persons that might sell or use the books.[1]

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[1] Sentence du Bailly de Charenton du 3 Juin 1681, qui fait deffenses à ceux de la R. P. R. de s'assembler, ni chanter leurs Pseaumes en public, ni ailleurs que dans les lieux où ils font l'exercice de leur Religion. In Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 84.

What with the interference of meddlesome judges like the Bailli of Charenton, and the injunctions of the king's ministers, who warned them that they must not hope to be forgiven any allusions to the "troublous times" upon which the churches had fallen, or to their sufferings as "scourges and judgments of God," or as "afflictions drawn upon them by their sins," the Protestants were in no little doubt respecting what those matters were of which they might lawfully speak to their flocks. "If," said some of them to M. de Châteauneuf, "our pastors discuss a controversial theme, they are accused of speaking irreverently of the mysteries of the Roman Catholic religion. If they confine themselves to preaching morals and reproving vice, it is regarded as a crime for them to allege what they have been wont to employ as the weightiest considerations to deter men from the commission of sin. What, then, are they to discourse about?" "They may discourse about backbiting," was all that the secretary of state could tell them in reply.[2]

Beginning of the Dragonnades.

I have spoken of the indescribable consternation created by the inhuman statute authorizing the clergy, without process of law, to tear tender children, barely seven years of age, from the arms of Huguenot parents, that they might rear them in the faith of a church which those parents denied and repudiated. This law was not the sole cause of the terror of the Protestants and of the precipitate flight of as many as could at once forsake the kingdom. From the province of Poitou came intelligence of the institution of a new and frightful procedure for the purpose of hastening the work of conversion upon which Louis the Fourteenth had set his heart. I refer to the method that became famous throughout France, and the world, under the name of the *Dragonnades*.

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[1] Sentence du 2 Octobre 1681, du Bailly de Charenton, pour la réformation des Prières publiques qui se font par ceux de la R. P. R. In Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 98–105. I must remind the reader that the words of the confession of faith had remained unaltered since it was first drawn up in 1559, in the reign of Francis II., and as published in the contemporary Recueil des choses memorables, of 1565 (commonly known as the "Petits mémoires de Condé"), which I have before me, pages 51–69.

[2] Benoist, iv. 470.

Marillac, intendant of Poitou.

Michel de Marillac was at this time royal intendant of the generality of Poitiers. He was a man of good executive abilities, who had but a single ambition—to restore the prestige of an ancient but decayed family by attracting the attention and earning the favor of the court. The Protestant churches of Poitou, as we have seen, had, for the most part, fallen before Marillac's appointment to office. One place of worship after another had been proscribed, the victim of malicious prosecutions none the less effectual that they were based on the most frivolous grounds. But the members of the Reformed communion, although deprived of public religious services, still remained loyal to their convictions. Pélisson's miserable bribes offered temptations to none but the most reckless and abandoned of men. Of this Marillac convinced himself by personal observation; for when, in company with the bishop, he made a circuit of his government, doling out a paltry sum of two or three crowns to every new convert whom he could add to his list, his success was not encouraging. It was under these circumstances that he bethought himself of putting to a new use the soldiers whom he had been employing to exact from the delinquent tax-payers the arrears of the impost known as the "taille." It was but a step from an intimation to the Huguenot inhabitants that they might relieve themselves of their burdens by consenting to the will of the king for their conversion, to the order to quarter upon the recusants a disproportionate number of dragoons. It was but a step more to give the dragoons full license to treat their hosts in such a manner as to force them to yield. Those who were acquainted with the difficulty of restraining the soldiery of the day, even by the most severe of regulations, knew well what they did when they gave a free rein to brutal troopers. The peaceful home was at their advent transformed into a scene of wild and wasteful riot. The best chambers were

The troopers run riot in Huguenot homes.

seized by the new-comers, who left the owners but scanty room in which to live. At their caprice the soldiers stabled their horses in any part of the house that pleased them, even to the family sitting-room or the kitchen. All the ordinary rules limiting the extent of the demands that might be made upon the larder or the purse of the citizen were disregarded. The soldier was not ignorant of the object of his mission, and while he boldly demanded a sumptuous fare, saw to it that he caused as much loss by his waste as by the profusion of his living. It was esteemed a rare diversion to be permitted to destroy costly furniture, or, if the soldier preferred, to carry it out of the house and boldly offer it for sale to the highest bidder. It was a still more exquisite delight to treat the helpless inmates of the house that sheltered him with every form of cruelty short of actual murder. I shall not stop to detail these personal outrages in this place; for I shall, unfortunately, be compelled later to return to the repulsive subject when treating of the extension of the Dragonnades to the entire kingdom. Suffice it, for the present, to say, that every device which a perverted ingenuity could suggest to make life unendurable was resorted to, and all in the name of religion. For by some soldiers the crucifix was tied to the muzzle of the musket, and this was presented to the Protestant, accompanied by oaths and threats, for him to kiss in token of acceptance of the Roman Catholic faith. Profane and ribald talk, with insults intended for the refined ear of women, were the means by which souls were to be gained for the church in whose interest the whole work was carried on. Nor did the process cease and the rough band of soldiers move on to a new scene of their proselyting activity until, worn out by the violence of their persecutors, the greater number of the residents of town or village had succumbed. The intendant and the intendant's officers, with the help of the priests and monks, daily reported a host of new conversions to Louvois, minister of war, and Louvois joyfully laid before Louis the Fourteenth new evidence of the success of his project for the conversion of the Huguenots. He said nothing, doubtless, of the means by which the pretended conversions had been effected, of the torture, such as that of the thumb-screw, that had been inflicted on some; of poor women hung for hours from the rafters of their houses, of men that had received the bastinado, such as Turks and Algerines resorted to in the punishment of their slaves; of men and women and children thrown upon heaps of lighted fagots, or whose feet were roasted before a blazing fire until they might be induced to promise to go to mass.[1] Of all this "work of conversion," in which force went in advance and compelled submission, and instruction, even of the superficial kind that was then in vogue, did not come until afterward,[2] the prudent minister told the king nothing, and, so long as the end was gained, Louis was, we may well believe, content to refrain from making any close and inconvenient inquiries. Instead, therefore, of reproof for his cruelty, Marillac received only approval and encouragement. "His Majesty has learned with great joy the great number of persons that continue to be converted in your department," wrote Louvois to the intendant. "He desires you to continue to give the matter your care, making use of the same means that you have found successful until now. . . . He has commanded me to send a regiment of cavalry into Poitou at the beginning of November next. This regiment will be quartered in the places that you will have a care to propose between now and then. He will be pleased to have the greater number quartered upon the Protestants, but he does not think that they should all be quartered upon them. That is to say, that of twenty-six cavalrymen composing a company, if, according to a just apportionment, the Protestants ought to have ten, you may give them twenty, and lodge them all in the houses of the richest of their number, taking as a pretext that, when there is not in a place a sufficiently large number of troops for all the inhabitants to have some, it is just that the poor should be relieved and the rich be burdened with them. His Majesty has thought fit, moreover, to issue the ordinance

Louis's satisfaction at Marillac's successful work of conversion.

Louvois's instructions.

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[1] See the accounts in Jurieu, Derniers Efforts de l'Innocence Affligée, 81–93; Benoist, iv. 472 et seq.; Lièvre, Histoire des Protestants et des Églises Réformées du Poitou, ii. 95 et seq. See, also, the Huguenot petition inserted by Jurieu, ubi supra, 107–110.

[2] "Mais Monsieur le Gazetier nous apprent que le Sieur de Marillac s'entend bien mieux en conversions. Il convertit d'abord les gens; puis il envoye des Missionnaires pour les instruire." Jurieu, ubi supra, 82.

which I send you, by which he commands that those who shall have been converted shall be exempt for two years from the quartering of soldiers upon them. This ordinance may be the means of making many conversions in the chief marts of trade."[1]

Protests against Marillac's inhumanity.

Meanwhile, so violent a persecution could not proceed without calling forth vehement protests. The outrages perpetrated under the intendant's authority affected persons of all ranks in society, from the humblest peasant to the most distinguished among the nobles of Poitou that still clung to the Protestant religion. Pierre Jurieu, in his "Derniers Efforts de l'Innocence Affligée," has preserved for us a remonstrance evidently intended to reach the eye of the monarch, written by a Huguenot marquis who could boast that his ancestors had held high positions and had shed their blood in the service of the lawful kings of France, at a time when the ancestors of Marillac were putting forth all their exertions and stirring up the people in order to place the crown of France on the heads of subjects.[2] It is doubtful whether this impassioned appeal reached the king. The minister of state who supplied the intendant with *lettres de cachet* by means of which the latter could secure the arrest of any provincial, however high in rank, on simply filling in the name on the space left blank for the purpose, could well guard the avenues to the sovereign. Yet even without such missives Louis the Fourteenth could not be ignorant of the general features of the savage work perpetrated in his name in Poitou. Rulhière, writing a century later in the interest of the renewed toleration of the Protestants, did indeed endeavor to relieve the memory of Louis the Fourteenth of cognizance of the cruelties exercised upon the Huguenots, and, consequently, of responsibility for them. But the humanity of Louis the Fourteenth could only be established at the expense of his intelligence. It is incred-

Was Louis XIV. ignorant?

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[1] Louvois to Marillac, March 18, 1681, in Rulhière, Éclaircissemens Historiques, i. 201, etc., and Michel, Louvois et les Protestants, 44, etc. I suspect an error either in the date of the letter or in the time set for the despatch of the cavalry, which would scarcely have been announced eight months in advance.

[2] That is, in the time of the League. See "Lettre de Monsieur le Marquis de ——," in Derniers Efforts de l'Innocence Affligée, 93–100.

ible that a sane monarch who prided himself upon his complete knowledge of everything that was done in his kingdom should have been kept in ignorance respecting anything that was essential to the success of the plan of Marillac. He must have been worse than an idiot had he not comprehended what was included in the notion of an excessive number of troopers billeted upon an inoffensive Huguenot home. He must have known that there were involved those milder forms of violence which his Council of Conscience, meeting every week, taught him to regard as constituting portions of the "gentle constraint" which is allowable in the attempt to induce the reluctant guest to come into the Great Supper of the Gospel. His definition of violence may indeed have been not dissimilar to that adopted by the Duke of Vieville, governor of Poitou, who showed no disapproval of the intendant's course, and who, when asked the question, "What then do you call violence?" replied, "It is violence when soldiers *burn the feet of their hosts.*"[1] But Louis certainly approved, if not every particular of the treatment of the Huguenots of Poitou, at least all that was requisite to make it both unchristian and inhuman.

What constitutes "violence?"

It was not, however, until the voice of Europe, outside of France, began to make itself heard, and reinforced the remonstrances of the Huguenots coming through their deputy general, the Marquis of Ruvigny, that Louvois saw the necessity of moderating the inordinate zeal of Marillac. Louvois's first efforts in this direction were not very successful. The intendant, doubtless, believed that the minister's injunctions to abstain from permitting illegal exactions on the part of the troopers and their officers, were given for the sake of form and with no intention that they should be obeyed. The same delusion led him to persist in his course, in spite of reiterated commands, and even to shelter himself behind the supposed fanaticism and insubordination of the Roman Catholics of Poitou. For this blunder on his part Louvois found it unavoidable to sacrifice him. "His Majesty," wrote Louvois to him on removing him from his office, "is fully persuaded

Marillac recalled from Poitou.

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[1] Benoist, iv. 482, 483.

that when an intendant gives an order he is obeyed without an answer."[1]

We are told that, on his return to Paris from the province the most industrious part of whose population he had ruined or by his oppression driven into foreign lands, Marillac found himself the object of aversion and contempt, afraid to salute any courtier lest that courtier should do him the indignity of declining to return his greeting.[2] It is true that he subsequently enlisted sufficient support to secure the appointment to be intendant of Rouen, where he had a fresh opportunity to display his persecuting zeal; but to the end of his days he displayed a singular sensitiveness to the unfavorable opinion of Christendom, and his defence of himself, near the end of the seventeenth century, may rank among the curiosities of historical literature. "I am accused of having oppressed the Protestants of the province of Poitou," he remarked to Count Christopher of Dohna; "I am represented as their persecutor; but wrongfully. It is true that I am the innocent cause of the Dragonnades, but this is how it came to pass. As the troops were passing through, many of the inhabitants of the Reformed religion came and declared to me that they were ready to become Catholics, provided that they were exempted from the obligation of lodging the soldiers. I consented, and, seeing that this means of conversion was as easy as it was useful to the king's design, I notified the court which availed itself of it. As for the rest, I never oppressed these poor people in anything whatsoever."[3] History will, however, require some better vindication of Michel de Marillac before consenting to obliterate from its pages the record of his foul crime against humanity.

His defence of himself.

The "terrible" law that placed every Huguenot family at the mercy of the clergy of an inimical church had a marked ef-

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[1] See the successive instructions of the minister of war to Marillac, in Michel, Louvois et les Protestants, 49-54.

[2] Michel, 54.

[3] Mémoires originales sur le règne et la cour de Fréderic I., roi de Prusse, par Chris. de Dohna (Berlin, 1833), quoted by G. P. Depping, Correspondance administrative sous le règne de Louis XIV. (Coll. de Doc. inédits), iv. pages xxv., xxvi.

The English ambassador, Henry Savile.

fect outside of as well as within France. If it determined to instant flight great numbers of Huguenots who had hitherto wavered in their purpose, it also put an end to the hesitation of some foreign states, and induced them to extend a heartier welcome than they had ever before extended to the refugees. This was, in particular, the case with England. The worthy ambassador of that country at the French court was Henry Savile, brother of the Earl of Halifax. Not all the British envoys in the seventeenth century were able to divest themselves of insular prejudices. But Savile was a Protestant of broad sympathies. He gloried in the tie of the common faith uniting all members of the Reformed churches, and by preference joined in the public worship of the Huguenots. "I hear from England," he wrote on one occasion, "I shall be forced to keep a chaplain, which I never less needed, having never failed Charenton one Sunday since I came into France. How much more that is for the king's service you cannot imagine, unless you saw how kindly those poor people take so small a countenancing as mine is."[1] Nor was he annoyed at the playful allusion of Lord Russell to his "high Protestancy," or his lordship's prophecy that if Parliament should be sitting at his return, the Mayor and Common Council would doubtless petition the king to dignify him with the title of Charenton by way of earldom or dukedom, as his Majesty should think most proper to give or Savile to accept;[2] any more than at the mixture of seriousness and raillery contained in Halifax's reply: "I approve your going to Charenton, and your countenancing the Protestants, *which I think the principal work of an English minister in France;* but I am apt to believe it may make the court there very weary of you, it being a thing they have been so little used to that they take it for an injury."[3] A keen political observer, Savile had well read the signs of the times, and, through Halifax and others, he had urged the British legislature to pass a general "Protestant Foreigners' Bill," and "Act for the Encouragement of Protestant Strangers to come into and inhabit this Kingdom," which in spite of the opposition of the ignorant and illiberal, would probably have become a law, had not Charles the Second quarrelled with the Commons and prorogued his new Parliament in March, 1681.[1] Savile had written home, on the fifth of June, 1679, that the French Protestants "tremble for fear of some violent persecution and are ready to go into England in such vast numbers as would be a great advantage to the nation, if you would, by easy naturalization, make it the least easy to them. I find those who are rich are afraid our king should meddle with their concerns, but the crowd and the number talk of nothing but the necessity of his declaring himself Protector of the whole Protestant religion, and live upon the hopes of seeing that glorious day."[2] And now (on the fifth of July, 1681), the new law "about the children of the Huguenots" being signed, although not yet published, he wrote: "Those poor people are in such fear that they hurry their children out of France in shoals, not doubting but this edict will soon be followed by another to forbid their sending them out of the kingdom. I will confidently aver that had a bill of naturalization passed in England last winter, there had been at least fifty thousand souls passed over by this time."[3] Three days before he had truthfully written: "Our want of a bill of naturalization is a most cruel thing in this conjuncture."[4]

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[1] Letter to Halifax, of Paris, June 5, 1679, in the Savile Correspondence, published by the Camden Society in 1858, 94.

[2] Familiar Letters, page 18, quoted ibid., 95, note.

[3] Halifax to Savile, June $\frac{2}{12}$, 1679, Savile Correspondence, 98.

He advocates an "easy naturalization" of French Protestants in England.

Charles the Second was no ardent Protestant, and he had for some time been a pensioner of Louis the Fourteenth, but the "terrible" law of his French ally and the urgency of his ambassador at Paris led him to take decided action in favor of the Huguenot refugees. From his palace of Windsor he addressed to the Bishop of London and to the Mayor of that city urgent letters, enjoining them to set on foot collections for the relief of the great numbers of French Protestants who had sought the shores of England, and for whom he declared his great compassion, considering

Charles II. orders a collection in London for their relief.

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[1] F. de Schickler, Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre (Paris, 1892), ii. 296, etc.

[2] Savile Correspondence, 93.

[3] Ibid., 201.

[4] Letter of July 2, 1681, ibid., ubi supra.

And promises them letters of denization.

them not only strangers in need of succor, but, above all, Protestants that were suffering for their faith.[1] Not content with thus formally taking the refugees under his royal protection, a few days later Charles issued an Order in Council wherein, without making any special reference to France, he was "pleased to declare that he holds himself obliged in honor and conscience to comfort and support all such afflicted Protestants who, by reason of the rigors and severities which are used toward them upon the account of their religion, shall be forced to quit their native country, and shall desire to shelter themselves under His Majesty's royal protection, for the preservation and free exercise of their religion." In pursuance of the policy thus announced, the king proclaimed his purpose to grant the refugees letters of denization under the great zeal of England without any charge whatsoever, together with all privileges and immunities, consistent with the laws, for the free exercise of their trades; and promised to recommend the Parliament at its next meeting to pass an act of general naturalization. He freed them from the payment of greater duties than those paid by native-born subjects, assured their children access to schools and colleges, exempted the goods and household stuffs they brought with them from customs, enjoined upon all officers, both civil and military, to extend to them a kind reception, and provided for "a general brief through his kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick, for collecting the charity of all well-disposed persons for the relief of the said Protestants who may stand in need thereof." [2]

Emigration to England.

The English ambassador at Paris wrote of the great joy produced by the news of the solicitude manifested by Charles the Second for the Protestants who sought refuge in his dominions and predicted results that were not long in following.[3] Numbers of Huguenots from the French seaboard were willing to brave every peril upon the boisterous Channel in the most treacherous of crafts, that they might reach a place of religious freedom. A newspaper, within little over a month, contained this intelligence: "Plymouth, the sixth of September, 1681. An open boat arrived here yesterday, in which were forty or fifty French Protestants who resided outside La Rochelle. Four others left with this boat, one of which is said to have put into Dartmouth, but it is not yet known what became of the other three."[1] Soon the new-comers were to be counted by thousands.[2] Louis took the alarm, and, as will be seen later, the rest of his reign was full of desperate attempts to prevent his subjects from rendering his efforts at "conversion" futile by escaping to lands where more tolerant views prevailed. The earliest of these attempts was the publication of the law of the eighteenth of May, 1682. All seamen and artisans were forbidden from expatriating themselves and their families, on the frightful penalty of the galleys for life for themselves, and a fine of not less than three thousand livres imposed on all that might contribute in any way to their escape.[3]

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[1] The text of the two letters of Charles II., dated July 22, 1681, is given, in a French translation, by Jurieu, Derniers Efforts de l'Innocence Affligée, 30–33.

[2] King's Order in Council, Hampton Court, July 28, 1681. Text in Agnew, i. 26, 27 and, in translation, in Schickler, ii. 305, 306.

[3] Schickler, ii. 307.

Louis's efforts to check emigration.

Nor was England alone in stretching forth a hand of welcome. Soon it was known that the Duke of Hanau offered to receive four hundred Huguenot families, that distant Denmark and Sweden would grant the refugees extensive privileges, while the nearer and ever hospitable Netherlands opened the doors wide for their reception. The city of Amsterdam distinguished herself by the liberality of the provision made for the distressed French Protestants; for, on the twenty-fourth of September, her magistrates voted to accord them admission to the ranks of the burgesses and to the trades, and made arrangements to build a thousand houses which they might occupy at a very reasonable rental, besides making them such loans as they might need for their temporary support and for the purchase of the necessary furniture and outfit.[4]

Welcome extended to the Huguenots by the Duke of Hanau, and by Denmark, Sweden, and Netherlands.

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[1] Agnew, i. 29.

[2] See the long lists printed by Agnew, i. 36–58, and iii. 27–71.

[3] Déclaration du Roy du 18 Mai 1682, portant défenses aux Gens de Mer et de Métier de la R. P. R. d'aller s'etablir dans les Païs Etranger. Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 112, 113.

[4] Jurieu, Derniers Efforts de l'Innocence Affligée, 33, 34; Benoist, iv. 492.

New acts of oppression.

Académie and college of Sedan closed.

I should find it impossible, were I to attempt the task, to present a full view of the successive acts of oppression into which Louis the Fourteenth was hurried at this period of his reign. There was indeed little moderation in the demands of the clergy or in the consequent legislation of the king. In July, 1681, the Jesuits of Sedan obtained the suppression of the *académie* and college of the Reformed in that city, whose buildings they were permitted to appropriate at a trifling valuation; just as the new order of nuns, who called themselves "*Filles de l'Adoration du Saint Sacrament*" had, two months earlier, secured the suppression of the Protestant College of Châtillon sur Loing and had entered upon possession of it. But, at least, the monarch's spiritual advisers, in drawing up the order, might have been considerate enough of Louis's honor to spare him the needless degradation of certifying in the preamble of the document to a palpable falsehood. Why make him attempt to justify his arbitrary act by alleging that it had never been the intention of his Majesty that the Protestant institutions of Sedan should serve for the education of any other ministers than those that were needed for the old principalities of the Dukes of Bouillon? Did not all the world know the contrary? Could he not have closed the schools by a mere exercise of his sovereign authority and abstained from giving his reasons? But the deed was in itself significant. Well might the Huguenots exclaim: "The destruction of our colleges and universities speaks for itself. It gives us to understand that we have but brief time remaining to abide in the kingdom. If the king intended to suffer us, he would permit us to have ministers, and permitting us to have ministers he would leave us the enjoyment of places where they might be educated."[1]

From malicious injury the clergy proceeded to gratuitous insult. The "Pastoral Announcement," which the Assembly of the Gallican Church that met in Paris in 1682 addressed "to the members of the Pretended Reformed Religion, to induce them to be converted and to be reconciled with the Church," may with propriety be denominated an insult.[1] The designation of the "Pretended Reformed Religion," coming from the body that styled itself exclusively the Gallican Church assembled by authority of the king, was none the less an insult that the Reformed Churches of France had for years been compelled by the exercise of the authority of that king and that king's predecessor to submit to be called by the opprobrious name.

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[1] Order of the king in council, July 9, 1681, in Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 96, etc.; Benoist, iv. 437, and v., p. j., 126; Jurieu, Derniers Efforts de l'Innocence Affligée, 72, 73.

The clergy draw up a "Pastoral Announcement" to the members of the Reformed Religion.

The body of the document was in keeping with the superscription. It began with pompous protestations of love and compassion; it ended with scarcely less ostentatious threats. If, after such pressing exhortations as were here given, the Huguenots would neither be moved by the prayers, nor be gained over by the endearments, nor hearken to the warnings of the clergy, "the angels of peace," they were told, "would weep bitterly." If the Huguenots refused a prompt reconciliation with the church, the grace of peace which the church had so sincerely offered would return to her bosom, and God would no longer hold her accountable for their souls. "And inasmuch," said the church's representatives, "as this last error will be more criminal than all the others, you are to expect disasters incomparably more terrible and more baleful than all those which up to the present time your rebellion and schism have drawn upon you." The menace was undisguised. For the rest, the "pastoral" treated a religious movement which had maintained itself in Christendom for one hundred and fifty years, which had enlisted in its defence the ablest scholars of the world, which in France, in particular, counted among its adherents the most enlightened portion of the population, as a split dating but of yesterday, the result of ignorant perversity, a thing to be renounced without argument. The Protestants were addressed as "poor sick folk" having great need of a physician. They were asked what more opportune time they could choose for returning as prodigals to the

Its open menace.

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[1] Benoist prints the entire document, entitled "Avertissement Pastoral de l'Eglise Gallicane assemblée à Paris par l'autorité du Roi, à ceux de la R. P. R. pour les porter à se convertir, et à se réconcilier avec l'Eglise," in the pièces justificatives of his last volume, pages 139-144.

Father's home than that in which so great a king as Louis reigned, and so holy a pope as Innocent the Eleventh governed the apostolic church of Rome. Of the former the bishops said: "This great prince lately expressed to us the longing he feels for your return in a manner which of itself would make him deserve the name of Very Christian, when he protested that so passionately did he desire your reunion to the church that he would esteem himself happy to contribute to it by his own blood, and even by the loss of that invincible arm with which he has subdued so many enemies and made so many conquests. Will you then, dearly beloved brethren, any longer prevent your king, after having vanquished such formidable powers, carried such strong places, subjected such great provinces and heaped triumph upon triumph, from now plucking this last palm which he values more than all the rest?"

Louis orders the pastoral to be read to all the Protestant consistories.

Having composed so arrogant an epistle, the clergy took good care that it should not be left to the good pleasure of the Protestants to whom it was addressed whether to read it or to treat it with the contempt which they might think that so weak a production deserved at the hands of intelligent men. They obtained a letter from Louis the Fourteenth addressed to every archbishop and bishop of the kingdom, and directing him to take part in the holy work of advancing the conversion of the Protestants, so happily begun, and to co-operate with the royal commissioner (that is, the intendant) in each of the various provinces, with the view of effecting the objects set forth in the accompanying pastoral. The pastoral was to be made known to every consistory of the Protestant churches.[1] Nor were the prelates reluctant to undertake, either in person or, as was more commonly the case, through their vicars general, the congenial task committed to them. The king would seem to have believed that the defences of Heresy would crumble into dust at the summons of his priestly advisers and at his own command, as readily as the walls of Jericho fell before the blasts of the trumpets of the Israelitish host; and the clergy were quite willing to try the experiment. And now, in every part of France, the pastors and elders of the Huguenots received notice of an intended visit from the representatives of the king and of the established church. Charenton, as the seat of the most important congregation of the French Protestants, was honored with the first visit. As the mode in which the affair was managed at Charenton served as a model that was copied by the members of other churches with very general faithfulness, it will be sufficient to indicate briefly what occurred there.

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[1] Circular of Louis XIV., Versailles, July 10, 1682. In Benoist, v., pièces just., 145.

How it was read at Charenton.

The presumption of the intendant, M. de Mesnars, at first led him to insist that the pastoral of the Roman Catholic prelates should be read to the entire Protestant community at its public religious services. The firmness of Claude and his associates in resisting the intrusion saved the Huguenots from this indignity. Claude maintained, and the court sustained him in the assertion, that the text of the king's letter distinctly contemplated that the pastoral admonition should only be delivered to the consistories. This point gained, the Protestant ministers and elders of Charenton received their visitors with the most punctilious courtesy and with unsurpassed dignity. One of the younger ministers, attended by three elders, met the intendant and his escort as they alighted at the entrance to the grounds of the great "temple," and honorably conducted them across the courtyard to the room in which the consistory was wont to assemble. There, at the head of the board, sat Jean Claude, the senior pastor, with the other ministers and elders in their accustomed seats. When the intendant and his suite had been assigned the places of honor made ready for them at the other end of the table, the former set forth in a few words the commission he had received to be present when the vicar general of the archbishop of Paris should deliver the pastoral admonition of the assembly of the clergy of France. This done, the vicar was about to perform his part by reading the document in question, both in Latin and in French, when the Protestant moderator arose from his seat, and, with that grave eloquence which had made the name of Claude famous the world over, addressed the representative of the crown. "My lord," he said, "we recognize in you the character of the royal authority of our august monarch; and

Jean Claude's protest.

that authority will ever be with us sacred and inviolable. We also honor in your person that singular and extraordinary merit that distinguishes you and attracts the eyes and the esteem of every one. As regards the gentleman that accompanies you here, to read to us a paper written by the assembly of the clergy, and said to be addressed to the members of our communion, permit us, my lord, to say in your presence that we regard these gentlemen as persons that hold a very considerable rank in the state and the vicar general himself as a man of reputation and merit. As for the document, which has been published to the world, we have found in it many things there imputed to us which do not apply to us, and to which a reply has often been made heretofore. We can regard it as in no wise an act implying that these gentlemen have any authority over us in matters of faith, religion, or discipline. If it be an act of charity, we shall answer it by our desires, by mutual good wishes, and by prayers to God." Of the vicar's long address there is no need to speak. When presently he began to read the pastoral, his voice was for a time drowned by the sound of the Huguenot psalms sung in the neighboring church of the Reformed; but the intendant kindly preferred to intermit the reading for a few minutes, rather than order the Protestant worship to cease, as the ecclesiastic requested. When, quiet having been restored, the reading was at length concluded, the moderator again addressed the intendant alone, and confined himself to the single remark: "My lord, you may see to what length go our respect and submission to his majesty, by the sacrifice we offer to him of the pain and mortification with which we have listened to this reading." At leaving, after renewed civilities, the intendant expressed his curiosity to see the church, a stately edifice, which he examined with some interest, and within whose walls the apostolic notaries that waited upon the vicar distributed copies of the pastoral to all that would take them. After this the intendant was accompanied to his carriage with as much ceremony as had attended his coming.[1]

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[1] "Rellation de ce quy c'est passé dans le temple de Charenton sur la signification de l'advis pastoral de Messieurs du clergé de France." Contemporary

I have intimated that the occurrences at Charenton, published throughout France, prepared the Protestants of other parts of the kingdom to deport themselves with equal dignity under equally or even more trying circumstances. In some places the vicar, or curate, that represented the bishop acted with greater insolence than the representative of the Archbishop of Paris had wished or had dared to show to the great Claude in the presence of the courteous Mesnars. The Protestants of Aubusson, in the province of Marche, for example, having, it would seem, no special room for the meetings of their consistory, were compelled to listen in their sacred edifice itself to an impertinent diatribe against their religion. Dr. François Augier, a priest, who delivered it, not content with accusing the Protestants of having "mutilated and falsified the Word of God," declared that the Reformers had "renounced the priesthood in order to wallow in all sorts of abominations."[1] But, whatever the temper either of intendant or of ecclesiastic, the Protestant pastor everywhere stood his ground with manly determination. At Caen the great Protestant orator Du Bosc, like Claude at Charenton, made but a single remark to the intendant: "My lord, after the speech [of the grand penitentiary], and the reading to which we have just listened, I shall add nothing save that we have listened to both because of the respect which we owe to the king's orders, without recognizing, however, in the gentlemen of the clergy any right of jurisdiction over us."[2] At greater length, Le Sauvage, pastor of Alençon, insisted upon the independence of the Protestant churches in words well worthy of being recorded. "These gentlemen of the clergy," said he, "have no power, no jurisdiction over us with regard to religion and its discipline. We live in a communion distinct from theirs, and are not of the number of their

The consistories deport themselves with firmness and dignity.

Impertinence of the clerical representatives.

Pastor Le Sauvage, at Alençon.

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manuscript account printed by C. L. Frossard, in the Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., xxix. 456–460. Benoist also gives a summary, iv. 563–566.

[1] "Falloit-il que vos réformateurs renonçassent à la prestrise pour se vautrer en toutes sortes d'abominations." We have the whole text of this scurrilous address officially attested by the intendant, Le Coux de la Berchère. Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., xxx. 293–295.

[2] Legendre, Vie de Pierre du Bosc, 135.

sheep. So far as regards the reunion of us all in one church, we ardently long for it. But, however desirable this may be, we do not, nevertheless, desire it at the expense of the truth. *Peace is beautiful, but* TRUTH IS SACRED." To the calumnies contained in the bishops' pastoral, Le Sauvage made this rejoinder: "These are accusations which we have often answered. Our religion is orthodox. It is pure in its faith and in its worship. It is a religion altogether divine, which tends only to serve God without rendering any religious worship to the creature. It is a religion founded exclusively upon the Word of God, the Sacred Scripture, which is the basis of infallible certitude. As to the reasons that keep us in a communion separated from yours, these reasons are public and known. They cannot be ignored, all our books are full of them. We are fully persuaded that God has made known to us His truth, because we ask Him every day in our prayers, and because we ceaselessly consult the Holy Scriptures wherein that salutary truth is contained. We here protest solemnly before God and before you, my lord, that, by His grace, we shall always be good Christians and good subjects, faithful to God and to our sovereign. And we are sure that God will bless this holy disposition of ours, and will enable us to persevere in it to the last breath of our lives."[1]

"Peace is beautiful, but truth is sacred."

Only a few more of the almost numberless measures adopted, about this time, for the purpose of harassing the Huguenots and reducing them to extreme perplexity need be mentioned.

The king in council directed that, when, by the closing of neighboring places of Protestant worship, the attendance at the services of such as had been spared became greater, there should be no increase in the number of ministers or pastors who might attend to the spiritual wants of the people.[2] The government's purpose was avowedly

Vexatious ordinances for Protestant worshippers.

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[1] I have before me full accounts of the notifications given at Charenton, September 20, 1682; at Metz, May 19, 1683, and at Aubusson, May 22, 1683, published in the Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., xxix. 456, etc., xxvii. 409, etc., and xxx. 291, etc., and of that at Alençon, July 4, 1683, printed by Paul Pascal, in his Élie Benoist et l'Église réformée d'Alençon (Paris, 1892), 178-186.

[2] Arrest du 24 Novembre 1681, concernant le nombre des ministres de la R. P. R., Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 105, 106.

to inconvenience, not to accommodate, the king's Huguenot subjects. "So much the worse for you," Chancellor Le Tellier is said to have answered a Protestant deputy's remonstrance upon the impossibility to which his colleagues were reduced of furnishing proofs to maintain their just claims to certain places of worship. "So much the worse for you! We shall profit by it."[1] For the same reason, the Huguenots were denied permission to enlarge their overcrowded "temples," or even to add galleries.[2]

The Parliament of Toulouse.

Parliaments and devotees, in their zeal, outran the king and would have pushed matters to still greater lengths. The Parliament of Toulouse, ever the most violent of the high judicatories, distinguished itself on this occasion. It exacted of the Protestants of the little town of Saint Affrique, whose gallant defence was one of the glories of the last Huguenot war,[3] the repayment of ten thousand livres for certain buildings which it was alleged had been torn down at the time of the civil commotions, over fifty years before; and the judges winked at the violent execution of an unrighteous decree. The same parliament having issued a writ enjoining that all illegitimate children of either sex should be reared in the Roman Catholic Church,[4] there were those who subsequently undertook to make an inquest into the lawfulness of the birth of men and women of mature age, with the view of excluding old persons of sixty or eighty years of age from the services of God's house which they had been in the habit of attending from their infancy. A third regulation, adopted by the same parliament, required that a distance of at least one hundred paces should intervene between every Protestant "temple" and the nearest Roman Catholic church. It afforded the ground for a claim to tear down more than one hundred of the Huguenot places of worship.[5]

Only when some measure dictated by enmity toward the Huguenots was so extreme as to border upon absurd or insane

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[1] Benoist, iv. 506.

[2] Ibid., iv. 507.

[3] See above, Chapter VI.

[4] The king himself adopted this principle in his Order in Council of January 31, 1682. In Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 107.

[5] Benoist, iv. 507, seq., under 1681.

An absurd proposal rejected.

zeal did Louis the Fourteenth close his ears to the solicitations of his priestly advisers. Early in the year 1682 it was said that some persons were at the pains of drawing up the form of an edict which strictly forbade Protestant ministers from celebrating any marriage between members of their churches in case the bride was less than forty years old. This method of bringing about the gradual extinction of Protestantism did not commend itself to the king, and he refused to sign the proposed law.[1]

Exclusion from judicial offices.

But the monarch had no scruples about excluding the Huguenots from one after another of the means of gaining a livelihood. He now declared to the world that he was determined to have no more Protestant judicial officers, and, indeed, that that had been his intention as expressed in previous laws running back many months.[2] Inasmuch as his majesty had repeatedly confirmed the Edict of Nantes, which, by one of its principal articles, proclaimed the adherents of the Reformed religion to be eligible to all such positions equally with Roman Catholics, it would be hard for an intelligent and impartial man to avoid the conclusion that Louis had once more proved himself untruthful; and this, despite the fact that he maintained that the Edict of Nantes only said that Protestants *might* hold such offices, but did not either compel the monarch to appoint them or forbid him from demanding the resignation of such as might already be in office.

Secret instructions to judges to withhold justice.

Arbitrary despotism is more endurable when it boldly asserts the will of the tyrant, and enforces obedience by a display of irresistible strength, than when it stoops to mask injustice with a semblance of respect for the forms of law. It is because the government of Louis the Fourteenth denied their rights to a large portion of his subjects, at the very moment he professed to be dispensing justice to them, that the monarch has earned the contempt of honest men for all time to come. Not content with disregarding his own obligations, the monarch trained his subordinates to copy his example. It was not enough that governors and soldiers should be instructed to violate the dictates of equity; the very judges were directed to pervert the plain prescriptions of the laws which they had been appointed to execute, and to frustrate the reasonable expectations of those who came to plead before the royal tribunals.

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[1] Letter of Jalon to Christophe Guntzer, Metz, March 7, 1682. Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Protestantisme franç., xxvii. (1878) 404.

[2] Royal Declaration of Versailles, June 15, 1682, and Order in Council, of Chambord, September 29, 1682. In Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 113, 124. See, also, Benoist, iv. 545.

A single illustration will serve our purpose, especially as we are not dependent for the facts of the case upon the assertion of enemies who may have been misled by passion or prejudice, but derive them wholly from the secret correspondence of the king's ministers with the trusted officials of the provinces. One Rotisset, inhabiting the city of Laon, sought to enter the company of mercers of the place. The circumstance that he was a Protestant did not debar him from admission, for the Edict of Nantes threw open all trades to Roman Catholics and to members of the Reformed communion indifferently. None the less did the judge provost of the place, in his officious zeal to favor the work of exclusion, issue an order forbidding the Huguenot's reception. When Rotisset's complaint against this high-handed act reached Versailles, Louis was not a little vexed at the clumsiness of the magistrate; and the intendant of Laon was promptly instructed to inform him in his majesty's name, "that he ought not thus to have excluded the said Rotisset by sentence and in an open manner, but only to have prevented his entrance into the community of mercers *by other methods*."[1] However, the blunder had been committed, and the mischief could not be undone. Still provision must be made against the possibility that the Protestant might secure his acknowledged rights. When Rotisset appealed to a superior court, the same secretary of state that had reproved the provost's error, directed the intendant to command the judges before whom the appeal was to come, "to render no judgment, but to leave the matter undecided."[2] And later, the unfortunate tradesman being about to bring a formal charge of a denial of justice before the Parliament of Paris, the secret correspondence of the same minister reveals the last act in the extraordinary drama. The Marquis of Seignelay wrote to the attorney-general to inform him that, as the presidial judges of Laon had executed the king's instructions to give no judgment on Rotisset's appeal, so his majesty now ordered him to prevent parliament from passing upon the Huguenot's petition for redress.[1] There is no doubt that the attorney-general duly obeyed his instructions, and that the members of the highest appellate tribunal in France acquiesced in the refusal to consider Rotisset's just demands with as much alacrity as had been manifested by the inferior judges of Laon.[2]

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[1] "Qu'il ne devoit pas ainsy par sentence ouvertement exclure ledit Rotisset, mais seulement l'empescher par d'autres voyes d'entrer dans ladite communauté des merciers." Marquis de Seignelay to Levoyer, Versailles, July 16, 1683. Depping, Correspondance administrative sous le règne de Louis XIV., iv. 357.

[2] "De ne point rendre de jugement sur cet appel, et de laisser la chose indécise." The same to the same, October 20, 1683, ibid., 358.

Trust funds of Protestant consistories transferred to Roman Catholic hospitals.

It was formally ordered by the king that all the legacies which pious Protestants had left to the consistories of their churches for the benefit of the poor—the right to hold such legacies was specially recognized in the forty-second of the "particular articles" of the Edict of Nantes, and expressly confirmed by the twelfth article of Louis's own law of February, 1669—should be turned over to the nearest of the Roman Catholic hospitals, and that Protestants and Roman Catholics should be admitted to these hospitals indifferently. The spoliation was covered by the pretext of greater care to accomplish the pious ends for which the bequests had been made.[3] Ten days later, his majesty gravely issued a law prescribing that no Mohammedans or Idolaters that might determine to become Christians should be permitted to be instructed in, or make profession of any other religion than the Roman Catholic. The presence of a converted Moslem or pagan in a Protestant place of worship would entail consequences as disastrous to pastor and to church as the presence of a Protestant newly converted to the established religion.[1] So complaisant was the king to every whim of the clerical advisers that he issued strange and contradictory edicts. In March, 1683, in obedience to their suggestions he not only increased the penalties incurred by the Protestant pastor that admitted to the church edifice any "new convert," but forbade the presence of any Roman Catholic on the same penalties.[2] Scarcely had two months elapsed when "the general agents of the clergy of France," having discovered their blunder, begged Louis the Fourteenth, on the contrary, to command that a special place should be set apart in every Protestant church for the reception of Roman Catholics! "It is useful for the Catholic religion," said the preamble of the law which they secured, "that men learned in it should attend the 'temples,' and hear what the ministers say in their sermons, in order not only to be able to refute them, if need be, but also to restrain them by their presence from advancing anything contrary to the respect due to the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion, and hurtful to the State and the welfare of our service."[3] Many were the vexations to which the strange prescription gave rise, many the contentions between the Protestant elders, on the one hand, and domineering officers, acting under the direction of meddlesome bishops and priests, on the other. The selection of the form which was to be occupied by their unsympathetic visitors was not left to the discretion of the pastor and consistory, but dictated by the enemy. The Protestants would have removed an object which they viewed as "an

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[1] "Et parce que ledit Rotisset veut se pourvoir au parlement comme pour déuy de justice, S. M. m'a ordonné de vous en donner advis, et de vous dire d'empescher qu'il ne soit rendu aucun arrest sur sa demande." Seignelay au procureur-général, November 27, 1684, ibid., 363.

[2] The reader will recall a somewhat similar procedure in the case of a poor joiner of Clermont en Beauvoisis, to which reference was made in Chapter IX., supra, p. 490. At such delays Louis was an adept. He tells us himself in his Memoirs how, in 1666, he dealt with a case in which the Huguenots were interested. (It was the claim that "the *Grands Jours* of Languedoc," which Louis instituted, trenched on the jurisdiction of the *chambre mi-partie* of Castres.) "Je trouvai néanmoins," he says, "une manière pour éluder insensiblement leur prétention, sans avoir besoin de la condamner expressément; car cherchant, à toute heure, de nouveaux prétextes pour différer la décision qu'ils proposoient, je fis, de jour en jour, passer le temps, durant lequel enfin l'affaire se trouva consommée," etc. Mémoires de Louis XIV., ii. 241.

[3] Declaration of Louis XIV., Versailles, January 15, 1683. In Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 128-131.

No Mohammedan or Idolater may become a Protestant.

Strange and inconsistent legislation.

Every "temple" shall have a bench for Roman Catholic controversialists.

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[1] Declaration of Versailles, January 25, 1683. In Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 131.

[2] Edict of Compiègne, March, 1683. Ibid., 133.

[3] Declaration of Versailles, May 22, 1683. Ibid., 137–139.

abomination of desolation standing in the holy place" into some obscure corner of the sacred edifice. But no inconspicuous place, on the sides or under the galleries, would suit their opponents. It must be the best and most prominent position, directly in front of the pulpit, where the unfriendly priests and monks might listen to every word, where they might by their restless deportment, by their conversation among themselves, or by their laughter and sneers, distract and, if possible, disconcert the preacher, where they might even rise and controvert his statements. The seats, if too contracted, must be moved according to their fancy, to give them more room. At any rate, a conspicuous inscription must mark the place reserved for the Roman Catholic interlopers, and be a visible token of the humiliation of the congregation. Occasionally the populace received intimations of the change about to be made in the Protestant temple, and flocked to the scene, as to a show, in hope of creating and profiting by the attendant disorders. It was so with the people of Rouen, who betook themselves in such "an incredible crowd" to the suburb of Quevilly, where the Protestant worship was held, that they seemed about to tear the spacious edifice down, and could neither be dismissed nor controlled by the deans of the Parliament of Normandy and the king's attorney whom they followed. The deans and the attorney themselves wrangled with one another respecting the bench which they should appropriate to the use of the ecclesiastics, the attorney insisting upon the most convenient spot for incommoding the Protestants, while the deans were content with the most honorable place in the auditorium. Unable to come to an agreement among themselves, the commissionaries actually wrote to court to obtain instructions, and the court ordered the royal intendant to visit the church in person and complete the great work. Whereupon, parodying the line of the ancient poet, one of the pastors wittily wrote:

Disorder and mob at Quevilly near Rouen.

"Tantæ molis erat Romanum condere *scamnum*." [1]

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[1] Philippe Legendre, Histoire de la Persécution faite à l'Église de Rouen sur la fin du dernier siècle, 3, 4. (Rotterdam, 1704. Fac-simile reprint of Rouen, 1874.) Bianquis, La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à Rouen (Rouen, 1885), xxiii.

It does not appear how far the bigots were successful in their object (which the Reformed protested could not be the king's intention, as it was not within the terms of his majesty's edict) "to turn the Protestant churches into scenes of public disputations, the perpetual source of divisions and seditions."[1] The yearly, almost daily, suppression of churches throughout France, gradually diminished the number of places that might serve the purposes of ambitious missionaries of the Roman Catholic clergy. The arrangement is said, however, to have had one unexpected result. Among those who came to occupy the bench "reserved for the Catholics in execution of the king's declaration," there are said to have been many who were converted to the Protestant doctrines to which they here listened for the first time.[2]

"Two weights and two measures."

The attentive reader has long since learned that it was no part of the plan of the government of Louis the Fourteenth that the conduct or the privileges of the Huguenots should be measured by one unvarying standard of equity. Whenever the *spirit* of the law was distinctly in their favor, recourse was taken to the *letter*, which, by a system of interpretation as absurd as iniquitous, was made to rob them of the very rights accorded by the statute. When, on the contrary, the letter of the law bore upon its face the justice of their claims, a pretence was made of searching in the *intention* of the legislator for the ground of annulling his most specific prescriptions. There could be no doubt, for example, that the seventh article of the Edict of Nantes conferred upon such nobles as held fiefs to which the extensive jurisdiction known as "*haute justice*" attached, the right to maintain upon their estates divine worship according to the Reformed rites not only for themselves, their families, and their vassals, but for all such other persons as might choose to frequent it. The only limitation imposed was, that whereas the worship could be celebrated at all times at the principal family residence, it could be celebrated at other places only at such times as the lord "*haut-justicier*" was present. The lawgiver could scarcely have expressed with greater distinctness his intention that any Protestant, possibly at a distance from another convenient place of worship, might freely avail himself of his proximity to one of these seigniorial churches. Yet a royal Declaration, of the fourth of September, 1684, undertook to perform the feat of interpreting the article as intended to exclude all but the family and dependants of the possessor of the fief. To a sophistical argument a lying preamble was appropriately prefixed. What better way could there be of diverting attention from the robbery of Huguenot rights that was to be perpetrated than to raise a hue and cry against the Huguenots as habitual thieves? "Experience has taught us," said the king, "that the adherents of the pretended Reformed religion, taking advantage of the troubles that agitated our realm during the reign of our late father and during our own minority, have endeavored to extend the privileges accorded to them by the edicts of pacification. Whenever these undertakings have come to our knowledge we have been obliged to use our authority to stop their course." To this class of unauthorized and aggressive movements his majesty next applies himself to prove that the practice of the majority of the chief Protestant noblemen belongs; since, for the most part, they admit to their worship all sorts of persons indifferently. But this is absolutely contrary to the design of the edicts of pacification, whose spirit has been to admit only the family and the vassals of the lords, with such other persons as may be actually domiciled within the extent of their jurisdiction, though not their vassals. "For," adds the king—and it is the only reason he alleges—"if the lords were permitted to receive to the worship they hold, all sorts of persons, there would be no important difference between a public worship and a worship conceded to a lord." Inasmuch, then, as it is important to forestall the disastrous results of these ill-founded pretensions, which might forsooth furnish an opportunity for holding assemblies prejudicial to the king's service and to the public quiet, his majesty sets the seal of his approval upon that explanation of the permission ac-

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[1] So says a Protestant memorial handed in to the Marquis of Ruvigny (MS. in the National Archives and published for the first time in the Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., iii. 60–62), adding the significant remark: "Les temples ont esté donnez à ceux de ladite Religion pour y faire les exercices de leur Religion et non pour y entendre des missionnaires."

[2] Bulletin, etc., iii. 60, note.

None but residents may attend "fief" churches.

corded by Henry the Fourth to all that shall choose to frequent the services in the houses of the lords *hauts-justiciers*, which limits it to persons that actually reside within their jurisdiction. The defect of logical cogency in the argument is compensated by the severity of the penalty pronounced. The unauthorized worshipper of God must pay a fine of five hundred livres, to be applied to the use of the nearest hospital; while the lord who has allowed him to worship within his house forfeits the right to have service there in future, as does also the minister that has preached the right to officiate anywhere within the realm.[1]

The Protestants were at their wits' end. A perpetual menace hung over their few remaining places of worship and the pastors that ministered to them. How were they to avert the blow that might fall upon them at any moment and secure their ruin, however circumspect their deportment might be?

How the Protestant church of Montpellier was closed.

The destruction of the great Protestant church of Montpellier that had triumphantly withstood the storms of more than one hundred and twenty years, was a portentous occurrence. The catastrophe came about through the admission of a young girl, Isabeau Paulet, to the public religious services. Isabeau's father, formerly a Protestant minister, had been converted to Roman Catholicism. His wife and child remained firm. He had caused Isabeau to be placed for a time in a convent for nuns in the Cévennes. Here she was said to have abjured Protestantism. She herself denied the statement, and for five years, since her return to her home, she had been a worshipper, in company with her mother, in the Protestant "temple." There is reason to believe that she had never apostatized. Yet on the groundless accusation of having permitted a "new convert" to worship God within its walls, one of the oldest and most flourishing of the Huguenot churches was destroyed, the great edifice razed to the ground, the five pastors silenced, and four of the number treacherously thrown into prison until the work of devastation had been completed.[1] If so considerable a church as that of Montpellier, with its twelve thousand members and adherents,[2] could be disposed of in so summary a fashion, upon false or frivolous charges, what could be hoped for by other and less conspicuous churches?

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[1] There were two documents respecting the Protestant worship allowed by the Edict of Nantes to noblemen, signed on September 4, 1684—an arrêt of the Council and a declaration of the king. It is to the latter that reference is made. See Benoist, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, v. p. j. 159, 160; Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 167–169; Isambert, Recueil des anciennes lois françaises. xix. 457, 458. A subsequent *arrêt* of Council, February 5, 1685, further explained the residence required of attendants upon divine worship in seigniorial houses as a continuous abode of not less than one entire year. Benoist, v., pièces justificatives, 160.

How could the "new converts" be excluded?

A few months earlier, each of the remaining churches of Poitou had received from Lamoignon de Basville, royal intendant of that generality, a long list of names. They were the names of all the former members of those churches who had been converted. The king had commanded him to send them, with strict orders to enforce the penalty of the law upon any church that should permit a single one of these persons even to enter its precincts.[3] In utter despair of being able to escape the toils in which their enemies must surely take them, the Protestant churches of Poitou, taking counsel of their fears, resolved to close their doors altogether for the time. They could have done nothing that would have pleased their adversaries better, unless it had been to induce all their brethren throughout France to imitate their pusillanimous example.[4] This happily their brethren, for the most part, declined to do, preferring to struggle on against hope, and adopting every device that ingenuity could devise to defeat the wiles of the clergy. Generally, perhaps, the elders neglecting their usual duties, and doing violence to their religious instincts, posted themselves at the doors of the sacred edifices to scan the face of every comer to God's house, and forbade, instead of inviting, the unhappy apostate, however penitent for his weakness, to join the company of his former brethren.[1]

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[1] Philippe Corbière, Histoire de l'Église Réformée de Montpellier, 230, et seq. The Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., xxxv. (1886), 62-73, published the two decisions of the Parliament of Toulouse, of November 16, 1682, and May 5, 1683, respectively. Isabeau, it appears from these documents, declared that the paper purporting to be her abjuration was a forgery. It is equally plain from the date given in the first decision that Isabeau was, at the time of her pretended abjuration, less than twelve years old, and could not therefore legally have changed her religion. See, also, La Sortie de France pour cause de religion de Daniel Brousson (Paris, 1885), 13, et seq.

[2] Corbière, 235, note.

[3] "Arrêt du Conseil d'État portant defenses aux Ministres et Consistoires de la R. P. R. de souffrir que les nouveaux Convertis, dénommez dans les Listes à eux signifiées, entrent dans les Temples, et assistent à aucun des exercices de ladite Religion." Versailles, June 17, 1682, in Benoist's documents, v. 139.

[4] Benoist, iv. 549.

In the southern provinces a more virile spirit displayed itself—the remains of the resolution that nerved the Huguenots of a previous age to armed resistance, the prognostic of the determination which, twenty years later, aroused the Cévenol Camisards to desperate combat.

Never had the Protestants stood in greater need of concerted action, yet never was concerted action more difficult. The presence of the royal commissioner, not, as formerly, a member of their own communion, but now uniformly a Roman Catholic, destroyed all possibility of friendly conference in the provincial synods or the colloquies. The very oversight of their common interests, which, for over a century, had been left, by tacit understanding, to the churches in the chief towns of each colloquy, as to a permanent commission during the intervals between the sessions of the synods—as, for example, to Nismes, Uzès, and Montpellier, in Languedoc—it had now become difficult and dangerous to exercise. To meet the emergency, a body of six "directors" was secretly chosen by the Protestants of Lower Languedoc, and the example of Lower Languedoc was imitated by Dauphiny, by Vivarais, and by the Cévennes. By means of the correspondence of each of these bodies with the others it was hoped to secure a community of counsels and of action.[2] Under their auspices a meeting for joint deliberation was held at Toulouse, in the month of May, 1683.

The board of "directors" of Lower Languedoc, etc.

Possibly, in order to avert suspicion, the most intensely bigoted city of southern France had been selected, and so well was secrecy maintained, that the persons composing the gathering—sixteen according to most accounts, twenty-eight according to others[3]—came and went without attracting attention. Claude Brousson, at whose house they assembled, was the leading spirit of the convocation—an ardent and intrepid lawyer, himself without personal fear and a friend of bold measures, who had for some years distinguished himself for the advocacy, at the bar of the *chambre mi-partie* of Castres, and elsewhere, both of the poor among his fellow Protestants and of the Reformed churches, in the storm of chicanery and injustice to which they were exposed. The future martyr for his faith either found, or infused in his associates, a resolution kindred to that which existed in his own breast. It was resolved to cry a halt in the course of craven submission to the dictates of a clergy insatiable in the demands which it made upon the monarch for the oppression of his Protestant subjects. The proverbial *patience de Huguenot* must be shown to have bounds.[1]

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[1] Benoist, iv. 598-606.

[2] Ibid., v. 633, et seq.

[3] Benoist and La France Protestante, s. v., give the former number; Léopold Nègre (Vie et ministère de Claude Brousson, p. 21) gives the latter.

Meeting at Toulouse in the house of Claude Brousson.

The famous "Project" which was adopted contained a number of distinct recommendations. The most notable was that the congregations of all the churches that had been closed by order of government should assemble again for the worship of Almighty God on Sunday, the twenty-seventh of June, 1683, and should not only attend to exhortation and prayer, but sing the Divine praise, celebrate the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and solemnize the ordinance of marriage. They were neither to court nor to shun publicity, neither to affect to worship on the very sites of their former "temples" or in public streets and squares, nor to seek out spots where their gatherings might escape the observation of the authorities. For it was to be the purpose of the Huguenots that their zeal for the glory of God should be known by the court, and that this might correspond with the respectful protestations which they intended to make to the king in the form of a general petition setting forth the determination of his majesty's Reformed subjects to suffer everything in order to continue to render to the Almighty the solemn service which was due to Him. On the succeeding Lord's Day a fast was to be observed. Where there were no ministers on the spot, they were to be obtained from some neighboring place, or else,

The "Project" and its articles.

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[1] La France Protestante, iii. 223.

if that were impracticable, the elders and deacons would read the Word of God, the prayers of Calvin's liturgy, and such sermons as they might have at hand. "The psalms that are adapted to our condition," it was provided, "will be sung by us kneeling." The doors of the sanctuary were to be thrown wide open to all that would come, apostates and the priests of a hostile communion were alone to be requested not to attend services which their presence would compromise. So far from encouraging the ministers of the gospel to leave the kingdom, the "Project" proposed to forbid them to do so.[1]

A virile measure.

The conception was bold, the steps determined upon were taken advisedly. In the universal ruin that threatened to carry down every Huguenot church, to the very last, it was of prime importance to the Protestant community that the courage of those that were loyally attached to the faith of their ancestors, should be sustained by the knowledge that there were many men and women of like mind, who both prized their religion and were willing to encounter suffering in behalf of it. And it was almost equally vital to the continued existence of French Protestantism that its oppressors, beginning with the king and his priestly advisers themselves, should be speedily and thoroughly disabused of the notion that the Huguenots had come to hold very lightly by their religious views, and would readily surrender them either for a paltry bribe of money, as Pélisson's converts had done, or whenever a little salutary constraint should be applied. It was especially with this object in view that the Toulouse assembly drew up and forwarded to Louis the Fourteenth a protestation of the sincerity of their purpose and of their unalterable resolution to suffer the loss of all their earthly possessions and even of life itself rather than prove recreant to the service of their God. It would be needless to reproduce here a paper in every respect worthy of the best age of Huguenot heroism,[2] but sadly out of place at a time when counsels were divided, and when a considerable part of the adherents of the Reformed

The Protestant manifesto.

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[1] A summary of the Project is given by Benoist, v. 637, etc.; Haag, La France Protestante, s. v. Claude Brousson; Drion, Chronologie historique, ii. 191–193.

[2] See the summaries in Benoist, v. 639, and Haag, La France Protestante, iii. 224, 225.

faith either had lost their pristine love, or had embraced such exaggerated ideas of the duty of blind obedience to constituted authority as to be incapable of responding to the most impassioned appeals.

The deputy general discourages the movement.

The government met the emergency with successful craft. Duplessis Mornay had at one time denominated the two deputies general of the Reformed, "the two eyes without which the churches must have groped their way and lived in darkness."[1] The solitary deputy general, taken from the nobility, whom the present king permitted the Huguenots to have, was spared rather that he might serve as a convenient means of deluding and discouraging the members of his religious communion.

Timidity of Charenton and other consistories.

The younger Marquis of Ruvigny, though more zealous for the interests of his fellow-believers than his father when in office had been, was yet a firm upholder of the royal prerogative and an uncompromising advocate of submission. Obedient to the desires, if not to the expressed command of the court, he wrote a letter to the consistories of the Protestant churches of the kingdom, in which he threw cold water upon the Project of the Toulouse assembly. On the one hand, he showed the danger that the faithful would incur of drawing down upon them still greater severities, should they persist in attempting to gather for worship despite the king's prohibition; on the other hand, he held forth hopes that, should they patiently submit to their present trials, he might obtain from the pity of the monarch some alleviation of their lot.[2] There were many others who, from excessive caution, or from worldly wisdom, entertained the same sentiments. The consistory of Charenton, felt the influence of the capital, and withheld its co-operation. Timid men throughout the realm took refuge in the principle that the subject is never authorized to resist the king's commands. A plan that possibly might have effected something, by wringing concessions from the fears of the antagonists of the Huguenots, fell through, when the zeal of the greater number of the Huguenots themselves was dampened by those who should have given encouragement.

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[1] The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre, ii. 449.

[2] "On ne douta point," remarks Benoist, " que cette lettre, datée du vingt-huitième de Juillet, quoi qu'elle exprimât les sentimens du Deputé General, ne lui eût été dictée; et qu'il n'eût autant suivi en l'écrivant les ordres de la Cour, que ses propres inclinations." Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, v. 643.

Bloodshed in Vivarais and Dauphiny.

The only result of the famous "Project" was to aggravate the condition of the Protestants of the Southeast, and to furnish an excuse for pitiless butchery. Vivarais and Dauphiny suffered most. Here, as elsewhere, opinion was divided respecting the advisability of following the course proposed by the Protestant directors, and division of opinion frustrated the object, so far as uniformity of action was concerned. The Huguenot worshippers assembled, it is true, in great numbers, but, instead of the appointed time, on different Sundays at different places. Their vigilant enemies, misrepresenting the gatherings, called upon the government to repress what they styled seditious assemblies. In a few instances, forewarned that they would be attacked by armed bands, the Huguenots themselves took with them such weapons of self-defence as they could find. In rare cases there were combats of armed men. Near the little town of Bordeaux, or Bourdeaux, in Dauphiny, a detachment of Huguenots defended themselves with such courage against the royal dragoons that the officers of the latter declared that they had never seen so stubborn a fight. None the more on that account did the Huguenots obtain those terms which valor is wont to extort from an enemy that respects courage. Cosnac, Bishop of Valence, within whose diocese the incident occurred, tells, with evident satisfaction, that the royal commander, M. de Saint Ruth, burned more than two hundred of the unfortunates in a barn where they had taken refuge. After that there was no further resistance. The prisons in his diocese were all full to overflowing with Protestants pitilessly destined to the gallows, and sent to the gallows as fast as, in rapid succession, Lebret, Intendant of Dauphiny could try and sentence them. The bishop admits that it was "a terrible spectacle," and he claims credit for having saved the lives of over two thousand men, by obtaining from the king the pardon of such and such only as would repent and consent to be converted. Accordingly, when the intendant travelled from prison to prison condemning the Huguenots to death, Cosnac accompanied him, receiving abjurations of Protestantism as the sole condition of escape from the halter. A truly apostolic visitation of his diocese, forsooth.[1]

For the most part, as I have said, the soldiers met an unresisting enemy, and, in place of the display of bravery, history has only to record a heartrending tale of savage cruelty vented above all upon the weak and defenceless. In a war waged ostensibly for religion, the women and the children are wont to bear the brunt of the most savage and atrocious indignities. It was not otherwise on this occasion. The great number of soldiers whom Louis the Fourteenth maintained, even in time of peace, that he might strike terror into the minds of his neighbors, and be prepared at any moment to avenge the slightest insult, from whatever quarter it might come, furnished the means of prompt repression. The troops, who were perpetually moving from one province to another, successively ravaged Dauphiny, Vivarais, and the Cévennes ; the news of what happened in one province being kept back from the others, that all might be taken at unawares. And now complaints were heard, a presage of coming disaster, as the court of Versailles was warned of the ruin of those branches of industry which were almost wholly in the hands of the Protestants, and to which the present disorders would administer a death-blow.[2] What the Huguenots of the three provinces of Dauphiny, Vivarais, and Lower Languedoc suffered in a material point of view, may be inferred from the fact that the presence of the troops quartered upon the single town of Saint Hippolyte, during the extraordinarily severe winter of 1683–84, entailed upon the unhappy inhabitants, chiefly by wanton waste and needless exaction, a crushing expense of nearly a quarter of a million livres.[3]

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[1] Mémoires de Cosnac, ii. 115–117.

[2] In a fresh remonstrance addressed to the crown by the "directors" of Lower Languedoc, after dwelling upon the recent sufferings of this province and its neighbors, the king was informed that so intimate were the relations of the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, that the ruin of the latter would entail the ruin of the former. All the manufactures of the provinces, where they had until recently been so flourishing, were prostrate, inasmuch as the whole trade of the region was dependent upon the toil of the Protestants. Benoist, v. 661. I must refer the reader to the pages of this accurate and well-informed historian (v. 645–667) for a detailed account of the disturbances to which I allude as briefly as possible in the text.

[3] More precisely, 244,400 livres. Ibid., v. 663.

By preaching at places where Protestant worship was proscribed, by exhorting their flocks to constancy, by instructing the people that their loyalty to Almighty God and to their own conscientious convictions stood above the duty of obedience to an earthly king, the Protestant pastors of the Southeast had made themselves the objects of the special vengeance of the intolerant government and of the clergy at whose dictation the government acted. Or, more properly speaking, the part which they now played furnished a plausible excuse for the exhibition of the hatred previously entertained. Did this not sufficiently appear in the barbarity with which Daniel Chamier, a lawyer of Montélimart, was treated, being broken upon the wheel alive, chiefly for the unpardonable offence of being the great-grandson, and for bearing the name of the great pastor and defender of Montauban, in its famous siege by Louis the Thirteenth? The old Huguenot heroism was not yet dead. When young Chamier underwent his horrible torture, for the scene of which, by a refinement of cruelty, the street in front of his paternal home had been selected, it was his mother that chiefly urged him to fortitude in suffering for the faith. "I have yet," said she, "three children whom I shall cheerfully give up if they be called to die for religion's sake."[1]

A Huguenot matron's heroism.

The lives of ministers who had preached in places where Protestant worship was proscribed, were not safe in France. Reformed pastors had been expressly excepted from the delusive amnesty published by the government. The majority made good their flight and were welcomed with the utmost readiness by the magistrates and people of Geneva; for that city still deserved the honor-

Huguenot refugee pastors welcomed at Geneva.

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[1] "Ce à quoi il avait été fortement exhorté par sa mère, qui avait même déclaré qu'elle avait encore trois enfants, qu'elle était prête à donner s'ils étaient destinés à mourir pour la religion." Extracts from the Gazette of Harlem (translated by M. Enschedé, librarian and archivist of Harlem), under date of Paris, October 4, 1683, in Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., xxviii. (1879), 410. See Benoist, v. 651, and La France Protestante (2d ed.), iii. 1038. One of the "three children" of the magnanimous mother of the martyr was an older brother, Adrien, also an advocate, who, in the language of the list of refugees about to be mentioned, "a esté aussi contraint de sortir du royaume à cause qu'après la mort de son frère qui a esté exécuté au Montélimar pour le fait de religion, on l'a cerché pour le prendre," etc. Bulletin, etc., xix. 314. His descendants have occupied a distinguished position in Great Britain.

able title—earned, over a century before, by kindness to men and women persecuted for righteousness' sake—"God's hostelry." I have before me a list of thirty-seven pastors and six *proposants*, or licentiates, drawn up at the time, with a brief comment upon the condition of each and the needs for whose supply the hospitable gifts of the citizens were freely made. The solitary crime these fugitives had committed was that they had dared to proclaim the word of God in a spot where his majesty Louis the Great had ordered that it should not be proclaimed, or, in a few cases, that they had served as "directors" of the religious affairs of the Protestants.[1]

Pastor Isaac Homel broken on the wheel.

The fate of Isaac Homel, pastor of the village of Soyons, on the right bank of the Rhône, a little below Valence, shows what the refugee ministers escaped. Homel had done neither more nor less than they. He had not advocated a resort to arms. He had not preached sedition. He had uttered no word of defiance against the crowned tyrant who was striving to impose his own religion upon subjects that held different sentiments. He had merely warned his flock to obey God in such matters rather than man. At most it could only be said against him that he had not remonstrated with those who came to join in the exercises of divine worship provided with some slight weapons, to ward off the unauthorized attacks of such of their enemies as were ready to take advantage of their defenceless condition. Yet for no other fault than this, an old man of seventy-two years, of which he had spent forty-two in the exemplary discharge of his duties as a minister of the gospel, was arraigned before the intendant, M. d'Aguesseau, father of the famous chancellor of France, and by him condemned, apparently without pity, and certainly with no manifestation of subsequent remorse, to the death reserved for vile malefactors. The agony produced by the most excruciating of all the modes of execution known to a bloodthirsty legislation, was enhanced by the malice which purposely delayed the last and most merciful blow that should end his misery. At every new stroke of the hammer, during the hours the gray-haired victim lingered bound to the wheel, the savage minister of the law would interrupt the prayers which Homel continually raised to heaven with the taunting words: "Prêcheras-tu encore?" "Are you again going to preach?" The brutality of the wretch, who purposely protracted Homel's agony, and the insensibility of the crowd of spectators, who would not have tolerated such cruelty had the sufferer been a highway robber or a murderer, appear less strange than the equanimity with which a judge esteemed "austere in morals and singularly pious" authorized the execution, and a great jurist, his son, relates the event. "It was at least a great consolation for my father," wrote Chancellor d'Aguesseau, in recording, for the benefit of his own children, the encounters with those whom he is pleased to style rebels, "It was at least a great consolation to my father, so far as he was personally concerned, that he was able to finish this great affair without its costing his humanity more than a single execution. The minister Homel was the solitary culprit whose blood atoned for the crime of all the rest. My father condemned him to the wheel, after having tried him according to the customary forms."[1]

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[1] "Estat des pasteurs, proposans et autres des provinces de Dauphiné, bas Languedoc, Cévennes et Vivarez, que ont esté contraints de sortir du royaume de France," drawn up and verified by the signature of the first Syndic De Normandie, November 30, 1683. MS. in the Archives of Geneva, and printed in the Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., xix. 307–318. Besides the ministers, the list contains the names of fifteen laymen, advocates in parliament, etc., most of them specially excepted from the general amnesty.

A judicial murder.

The judicial murder of the venerable Isaac Homel was the first in a long catalogue of atrocious executions of Protestant ministers in the reigns of Louis the Fourteenth and Louis the Fifteenth. A series of sufferers, equally innocent, true martyrs of the faith, illustrate the annals of the church of the Desert, far on in the succeeding century. Of these Homel was popularly regarded as the protomartyr. And it is interesting to note in connection with the singular forms of enthusiasm that were to acquire so great a development in the ensuing years of persecution, that strange and supernatural manifestations are said to have occurred at the death of Isaac Homel. There were many that asserted, says a contemporaneous account, that when the *coup de grace* had been given, and the soul of the dying man was leaving his bruised and bleeding body, it caused the familiar tunes of the Protestant hymns—doubtless, the loved psalms of Clement Marot and Theodore Beza—to be heard in the air. The very executioner averred that he heard them![1]

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[1] Discours du chancelier d'Aguesseau, sur la vie et la mort de son père, Œuvres (Paris, 1789), xiii. 48.

Songs in the air.

Strange as it may now appear, in the midst of so many tokens unmistakably pointing to the approach of the direct and complete recall of the Edict of Nantes, that is, to the proscription of Protestantism in France, the majority of the Huguenots even yet hugged the delusive persuasion that matters would never come to that pass.

There was indeed no lack of signs that the king and his advisers were resolved to make it increasingly difficult for one to be a Protestant and yet live in France. Under the forms of law—in fact, under the pretext of executing the very edict which was infringed in all points—churches had been successively closed in one spot after another, until it had come to pass that the Huguenots retained in their possession but a small fraction of those held in the time of Henry the Fourth. Of these the titles must indeed have been good beyond cavil, since they had stood the inspection of judges who made free use of every technicality, who admitted all presumptions against and none for them, who demanded documentary evidence and would make no account of deeds or other records lost, mislaid, or stolen. But with the recent laws relating to the exclusion of "new converts," and the omniscience that was required of a Protestant church officer in detecting an apostate under any disguise, no church edifice was secure for a single day against demolition,

The destruction of Huguenot churches.

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[1] Discours du grand Homel, ministre du saint évangile de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, sur la roue, MS. of the 17th century in Charles Coquerel, Histoire des Églises du Désert, i. 75, 76. The most extended account of Isaac Homel is from the pen of his daughter: Histoire de la mort et du martyre de Monsieur Homel, pasteur de l'Église de Soyon, en Vivarets, composée par demoiselle Anne Homel, sa fille, reprinted in Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., ix. 312-330. See, also, Derniers heures d'Isaac Homel, ibid., ix. 134-137. Benoist, v. 667, 668. Needless to say, the *Mercure Galant* and other inimical writings misrepresent Homel as an instigator of a recourse to arms, etc.

no pastor safe for a single day against interdiction. At Mer, a flourishing church was closed for three paltry reasons: some children "newly converted" had been admitted, so it was said, to the services; some Protestant women had been helped in childbirth by Protestant midwives; the elders were charged with having met without permission and levied an assessment for the support of the ministry![1] Elders and deacons might station themselves at the doors and do their very best to discriminate between those whom they were allowed to admit and those whom they must turn away under penalty of exemplary punishment for themselves and ruin to their cherished edifice. They could not hope to succeed. And if they protested on the impossibility of accomplishing their task, they were likely to receive a reply similar to that which a monk addressed to some that complained in his hearing: "It must be a possible thing; for the king commands it, and he does not command what is impossible."[2] But how was it, if, as was sometimes the case (unless these ecclesiastics were grossly maligned), priests and monks purposely contrived to introduce into the Protestant services the very "new converts" whose presence would insure the suppression of those services?[3]

Deprived of possibly nine-tenths of their places of worship, the Huguenots that stood firm seemed condemned by the government and clergy to relapse into utter irreligion. A malicious pleasure was taken in thwarting their efforts to serve Almighty God. At L'Isle en Jourdain there stood a Protestant church to which the devout flocked from fifteen or twenty miles around, inasmuch as every one of their "temples" in the neighborhood had been interdicted. The edifice was too small to contain them. Yet, as injustice never is at a loss for a pretext, a reason for tearing this church was found in the circumstance that but seven Protestant families, consisting of some twenty-five or thirty souls, resided in L'Isle en Jourdain itself.[4] Eighteen months later, a general law suppressed every Protestant church of the realm situated in a town where there were less than ten

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[1] P. de Félice, Mer: son Église Réformée, 130.

[2] Benoist, v. 695.

[3] Ibid., v. 680.

[4] Mémoires de Foucault, 88.

Protestant families exclusive of that of the pastor, and banished him to a distance of at least six leagues.[1]

It was on a Saturday night that the ministers of Marennes received notice that they must not officiate, and the next day ten thousand people, some of whom had come as far as from the islands of Ré and Oleron, were deprived of the opportunity to join in divine worship. Over a score of children brought to receive baptism had to be carried long distances—some of them seven leagues—and there were those that died of the exposure in an inclement season of the year.[2] Yet nothing in the form of difficulty or hardship quenched the thirst of the masses of the Huguenots for the preaching of the gospel, and the pastors who had thus far been spared were overwhelmed with the new labors entailed by the crowds that came from afar. Then it was that the king issued a law forbidding the Protestants from going to worship outside of the bailiwick in which they resided, thus cutting off three-quarters of their number, it may be, from any opportunity to attend public services.[3]

A vivid picture of Huguenot pilgrimages to places of public worship.

The law itself gives us a picture, not wanting in graphic distinctness, of the pious pilgrimages of men and women who, that they might enjoy the coveted privilege were willing to go fifty or a hundred miles, travelling by day and by night, on the highways and on the rivers, and making the air resound with their hymns of praise. If we strip off the words manifestly prompted by partisan hatred and malice, the description may well stand as a faithful reproduction of scenes that occurred in many a part of France at this period. "We have been informed," says Louis the Fourteenth, "that since the prohibition of the services of the Pretended Reformed Religion and the demolition of the 'temples' in many places of our realm, either because of their having been established contrary to the Edict of Nantes or in consequence of violations of our edicts and declarations, our subjects professing that religion come from different bailiwicks and *sénéchaussées* to the 'temples' that remain standing, although these may be distant more than thirty leagues; in such wise that this concourse of people occasions great gatherings in the places in which the service is permitted, scandal in those places through which the people pass, in consequence of the irreverent acts they commit in front of the churches,[1] and quarrels with the Catholics, by their marching both by night and by day, during which march they sing their psalms with a loud voice, despite the fact that this has been forbidden by divers orders and declarations."[2]

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[1] Declaration of December 26, 1684, in Édits, Décl. et Arrests, 176.

[2] Benoist, v. 681.

[3] The law, as might have been expected, was given in answer to a suggestion of the Roman Catholic clergy. We have before us (in the appendix to Puaux's edition of Claude's "Plaintes des Protestants cruellement opprimés," Paris, 1885, 125–131) the very curious petition of the Assembly of 1685, with the king's answer opposite each one of the twenty-nine articles, signed by him and dated Versailles, July 9, 1685. In art. 9, the clergy begs "that those of the R.P.R. be forbidden to go to hear preaching or perform any other service of their religion in another province, save in case of necessary journeys, under pain of interdiction of the place of worship and demolition of the 'temple' where they shall have been received." Over against this article, his majesty promises immediately (incessamment) to give the necessary orders. He kept his word. The law was issued sixteen days later.

The Roman Catholic church has always insisted upon baptism as indispensable for salvation, and the Roman pontiff claims all baptized persons as in some sense belonging to him. It would not answer for Louis the Fourteenth to assume the responsibility of exposing Protestant children to the danger of dying unbaptized, or even of growing up without receiving the external mark of the Christian religion. At one time there was a serious discussion of the propriety of issuing an edict making Roman Catholic baptism compulsory upon all children. But the government thought better of the matter. It was not yet ready to encounter the desperate resistance which would certainly be called forth by the attempt to snatch new-born infants from their mothers' arms to be baptized by the priests of the Roman Catholic church. In this emergency the singular course was resolved upon of commissioning a limited number of pastors of the Reformed faith to administer baptism to the children of the members of their communion, without venturing to discharge any other function of their sacred office. The attempt was made a year or more before the formal Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It met with little success. Some of the strange provisions of the law could not easily be executed—notably that provision which required that the ceremony be performed, in the presence of the royal judge of the place or certain other named officials, within twenty-four hours of the birth of the child, and this under a heavy fine.[1]

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[1] Presumably, the "irreverent acts" consisted in the neglect of the sturdy Huguenots to uncover, kneel, or cross themselves at the door of the church; and the "quarrels with Catholics" consisted in their resenting and defending themselves against insult.

[2] "Déclaration du Roy, du 25 Juillet 1685, portant que ceux de la R. P. R. ne pourront aller à l'exercice aux temples hors des bailliages où ils sont demeurans." Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 220, 221. Also in Benoist's pièces justificatives, 177. See also ibid., v. 811. Of this description, Lièvre says truly (Du rôle que le clergé catholique de France a joué dans la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes, p. 47), "that there are few of these portraitures of manners and customs in the legislation of Louis XIV. against the Reformed."

The government appoints Protestant pastors to administer Baptism.

Many Protestants declined to have any ministers with the limitations imposed by the law; while, on the other hand, many ministers declined, from conscientious motives, to serve on the commission. Cambois du Roc preferred to pay a fine for his refusal, and justified his action in writing. The intendant of Montauban, Foucault, himself informs us that several ministers whom he invited to come and baptize the Huguenot children of that city refused to do so, because the law did not permit them to visit and comfort the sick, and because it required the presence of a magistrate. The people themselves would not choose a minister. Thereupon the intendant suggested to the Marquis of Châteauneuf, that the king make the appointment, and, in case the Protestants did not employ the person thus selected, that their children should be forcibly taken from them for baptism in the Roman Catholic churches. Louis accordingly chose one Bories, but for two months not a Huguenot child was brought to him. Parents preferred to carry their infant children to Villemadon, though the exposure cost the lives of some of the number.[2] It is an interesting circumstance, well worthy of notice here, that the historian Benoist, who claims to have inspected the original minute of the law, found its provisions clearly written out, with some interlineations in the hand of the secretary of state, the

Some of whom decline to serve.

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[1] Benoist, v. 704 et seq.

[2] Mémoires de Foucault, 89, 90.

Marquis of Châteauneuf, but the preamble in which should be set forth the reasons for its enactment left blank. It was no uncommon thing for the king's advisers to resolve upon a course of action before settling the grounds upon which it should be justified. The monarch did as he pleased, and afterward a quest was made for reasons. Often, indeed, the latter task being left to some inferior clerk, his conjectures were not happy, and laws of great importance were published to the world, of which the alleged considerations were pitifully weak.[1] A letter of Louis the Fourteenth, dated within less than four months of the Revocation, lets us into the secret of the kind of ministers whom he preferred for the baptismal commission. "My intention," writes his Majesty to the intendant of Limoges, "is that, in selecting ministers for baptizing the new-born infants, you be careful not to choose the ablest, but, on the contrary, those that enjoy the least credit among the Protestants (ceux de ladite religion); in order that less confidence may be reposed in them and they may be looked to only in the matter of administering baptism."[2]

Hasty and negligent legislation.

Louis's intentions.

Despite all the particular acts of injustice of which they were the victims, or, rather, perhaps I ought to say because of these very acts of injustice, the majority of the Huguenots, as I have hinted, still refused to be persuaded that Louis the Fourteenth would ever revoke the Edict of Nantes. "Why," said they, "these numberless, and often inconsistent, orders in council, decisions, declarations, and edicts? Did the august monarch of the most powerful state in Europe really purpose the abrogation of the great charter of our liberties, would he condescend to occupy himself with such paltry details as these have respect to? Would he not rather make quick work of the whole affair and at once put us out of our present miserable condition of uncertainty?" And in point of fact, some of the laws that were enacted in 1684, and even in the early part of 1685, make it incon-

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[1] Benoist, v. 704.

[2] "De ne choisir pour cela les plus habiles, mais bien les moins accrédités parmi ceux de ladite Religion, afin que l'on prenne moins de confiance en eux," etc. Louis XIV. to M. de Gourgues, June 29, 1685. Archives of War Department. Printed in Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., xxxiv. (1885) 283.

No pastor to remain over three years in one place.

ceivable even now that so speedy an abrogation of the Edict of Nantes was contemplated. In the month of August, 1684, Louis issued an extraordinary law in which he seemed to make provision for the continued existence of Protestants and of Protestant worship in France for an indefinite number of years. In this enactment, after a reference to the success attending his efforts to lead his Protestant subjects to recognize their errors and embrace the Roman Catholic religion, he asserted that one of the chief obstacles that he had encountered was the blind deference entertained by the people for pastors long settled in one place. With the view of remedying this evil, Louis, in the law before us, forbids that any minister shall hereafter be allowed to remain the pastor of a church *for more than three consecutive years.*[1]

Certainly it must be admitted that the legislator took a good deal of needless trouble, if he had at this time the intention of doing away with Protestant churches and of setting a price upon the head of every Protestant minister remaining in France, within little more than a twelvemonth.

Indications of a change of purpose on the king's part.

For the change of purpose to which all signs unmistakably point, a cause may be found in the success that had attended the efforts to close, by fair measures and by foul, almost every Protestant place of worship in the kingdom. A second cause was the king's belief, sedulously encouraged by the court, that the labors which he had put forth for the conversion of the Protestants themselves, through the expenditure of money and otherwise, had borne such abundant fruit as to demonstrate the slenderness of the attachment of the Huguenots to the errors in which it was their misfortune to have been reared, and the ease with which they would be gathered into the ancient church from which their fathers had strayed.

On the first point there could be little or no doubt. The same methods that had closed the great majority of the Huguenot "temples" must infallibly lead to the overthrow of the few that still remained standing. The Huguenots had, in the "general agents" of the clergy, a sleepless and indefatigable enemy watching for time and opportunity to strike decisive blows. And the clergy itself looked on with undisguised delight as one "temple" after another fell into the toils and its doors were closed against the throng of the faithful that sought admission. The prelates and inferior clergy were convened in general assembly, when the Bishop of Boulogne reported the receipt of tidings of the closing of the "temple" of Guines, one of the most important Protestant churches in his diocese, within whose walls more than ten thousand Huguenots had communed at the last administration of the Lord's Supper. He asked the support of his colleagues in securing the demolition of the edifice, a support which the company, having, as the official minute informs us, received the news with great joy, were prompt to afford.[1]

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[1] Édit du Roy, du mois d'Aout 1684, portant que les ministres de la R. P. R. ne pourrant faire leurs fonctions plus de trois ans dans un même lieu. Édits, Déclarations et Arrests, 153–155.

Activity and joy of the clergy in the work of suppressing Protestant places of worship.

Nor was this a solitary instance. A fortnight before, the Archbishop of Bordeaux was thanked for communicating information that orders of arrest had been secured against the pastors of Begle, and that the hope was entertained that sufficient proofs would be obtained to justify the government in tearing down the church edifice in which they ministered. On this occasion, too, there was "universal" joy, for it was at Begle that the Protestants of Bordeaux worshipped.[2]

The closing and razing of the Huguenot churches was an undoubted fact. Louis's ministers of state and his spiritual advisers persuaded him that the conversion of "the larger and better" part of the Huguenots themselves was equally undeniable. And, indeed, if the daily bulletins that reached the court, at Versailles or at Fontainebleau, could be depended upon, there was nothing more certain than that pretty much the whole Reformed population of the realm was flocking to be of the religion which the king claimed as his own.

It is noticed by Rulhière, that, when the dragonnades initiated by Marillac, intendant of Poitou, were for the time suspended, the disastrous law was suffered to remain in force that served as the warrant of the dragonnades. The royal decree of the eleventh of April, 1681, exempting all newly converted persons from having troops quartered upon them, for the space of two years after the renunciation of their former faith, indicated a very practicable method of playing upon the fears of a terrified household and of offering instant relief to any Protestants that would merely consent to utter the single word denoting submission.[1]

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[1] Assemblée du clergé (June 30, 1685), p. 586, apud Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr., xxxiv. 283.

[2] Ibid., xxxiv. 281. What injustice was practised in this matter, may be seen from Benoist's account, Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes, v. 768.

The Marquis of Louvois, minister of war.

François Michel de Le Tellier, son of the aged chancellor, and better known as the Marquis of Louvois, is undoubtedly to be credited with having devised the resumption of the dragonnades after the four years of desuetude into which they had fallen. Ambitious and unscrupulous beyond his contemporaries and rivals for the royal favor, Louvois was the evil genius through whose inspiration those acts were committed that are the deepest blot upon the name and reign of Louis the Fourteenth. It was Louvois that planned the renewal of the dragonnades. It was Louvois that urged the formal revocation of the great edict solemnly confirmed by so many promises of successive monarchs. It was Louvois, that, not content with the innocent blood which he caused to be shed in his own land, instigated, three years later, the fearful devastation of the Palatinate. The traveller who visits the banks of the Neckar to admire the stately palace of the ancient electors palatine, beholds in the ruins of the castle of Heidelberg a startling but impressive token of the malice of a sanguinary statesman who deemed the destruction of the homes and fields of a hundred thousand peaceable and inoffensive peasants, with all the concomitant horrors, no excessive price at which to purchase the protection of the eastern border of France from possible invasion.

At the beginning of the year 1685, Louvois found, or feared, that his occupation and influence as minister of war were gone, unless, in lieu of the military achievements precluded by the existing peace, he could offer the king his master the conversion of the Huguenots as an equivalent. It was about the month of March, 1685,[1] that he definitely laid his plans. A fortuitous incident and the discovery of a suitable agent conspired to fix the point of beginning.

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[1] Rulhière, Éclaircissemens historiques sur les causes de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes (1788), i. 286. The law in question may be read in Édits, Declarations et Arrests, 79, 80, and in Benoist, v. (pièces justificatives) 128.

Foucault, intendant of Pau.

For somewhat more than a year the office of intendent at Pau, in Béarn, had been held by Nicolas Joseph Foucault, who previously occupied a similar position at Montauban. He was a man in whom the most adverse and incongruous qualities seemed to coexist, and the periods of whose life were distinguished, less by the successive stages of his intellectual development, than by the varying moods of his zeal. He that reads of Foucault as an enthusiastic friend of letters, never more at home than when unearthing the buried antiquities of France or recovering manuscript treasures long hidden and forgotten in conventual libraries; he that reads that Foucault was an indefatigable inquirer, whose chief exploit, while intendant of Caen, was the identification and exploration, not far from that city, of the site of the ancient town of the Celtic tribe of the Viducasses, as the glory of his earlier intendancy at Montauban was the discovery, in the ancient abbey of Moissac in Quercy, of the lost Treatise of Lactantius on the Deaths of the Persecutors; he that reads of Foucault, in fine, as a scholar that died at a good old age "respected for his erudition, his mildness of manners, and his benevolence,"[2]—he that reads this, I say, will be slow to believe that he has before him the partial and incomplete biography of a supple courtier whose fair exterior and honeyed words concealed an inquisitor's soul,[3] the biography of the restorer of the detestable methods of Marillac, of the model converter of Huguenots to the king's religion, in short, of a persecutor who apparently felt no compunction for his crimes against mankind, or disgust for his inhuman task, and who never dreamed of comparing himself with any one of those Roman emperors the lives and tragic ends of whom the Latin father whose treatise he edited had so graphically narrated.

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[1] Rulhière, i. 287.

[2] Nor are the writers who give such estimates of Foucault's character in the popular biographical works so much to be censured as it would appear at the first glance. Chancellor d'Aguesseau, while denouncing Foucault's conduct in respect to the Protestants, says: "He was one of my father's friends and of my own friends, a man of a gentle spirit, amiable in society, adorned by much learning and having a taste for letters, as well as for those that cultivate letters." Discours sur la vie et la mort de Mr. d'Aguesseau, Conseiller d'État, par son fils. Œuvres (Paris, 1789), xiii. 51.

[3] The description is given by Henri Martin, a calm and moderate historian, who designates Foucault as "cet homme infatigable et impitoyable, âme d'inquisiteur sur les dehors d'un courtisan doucereux." Histoire de France, xvi. 52.

With all his classical and literary attainments, Foucault possessed the firm conviction that against the enemies of the king's religion no wiles were too base, no punishments too cruel. In these matters he is condemned for the most part out of his own mouth.

His scheme to suppress Protestant worship in Béarn.

The intendant had not been long at Pau, before he received permission to go up to Paris to see his father. He embraced the opportunity to lay before Louis the Fourteenth, in an audience granted to him at the castle of Fontainebleau, his plan for hastening the conversion of Béarn. Upon a map of the district which he had had expressly prepared, he pointed out the cities and towns where there were Protestant churches. He found no difficulty in proving to the monarch's satisfaction that there were too many of them and that they were too near to one another. Instead of twenty places of worship, five would be quite enough. When the king acquiesced in this view, Foucault saw the success of his plan for the complete suppression of Protestantism secured. "I made it a point," says this equitable magistrate, "to leave standing only those churches, just five in number, in which the ministers had committed an infringement of the regulations that involved as penalty the demolition of the edifices and of which parliament was to take cognizance. Accordingly, by this means not a single Protestant church was to remain in Béarn."[1] Upon his return to Pau the programme was accurately carried out. The consternation of the Protestants was great when they saw fifteen of their beloved churches ruthlessly torn down, without form or process of law, but they submitted to irresistible force. Then the suits against the five remaining edifices were pressed to a speedy and inevitable issue. In six weeks Foucault's wish and intention was realized. Not a church was standing, and the Protestant ministers, dreading the severities which they foresaw only too clearly, were scattered abroad.[1]

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[1] "J'affectai de ne laisser subsister que les temples, justement au nombre de cinq, dans lesquels les ministres étoient tombés dans des contraventions qui emportoient la peine de la démolition du temple, dont la connoissance étoit renvoyée au parlement, en sorte que, par ce moyen, il ne devoit plus rester de temples en Béarn." Mémoires de Foucault, publiés et annotés par F. Baudry (Collection de documents inédits), 112, 113. The king's edict to this effect, dated Versailles, February, 1685, with its insulting preamble, may be read in Édits, Declarations et Arrests, 609-613.

The great Dragonnades begin in Béarn.

Not content with robbing the Protestants of Béarn of all their places of worship, Foucault next applied himself to robbing them, so far as he might, of their faith, by compelling them to profess acceptance of the Roman Catholic religion.

For the accomplishment of his purpose a considerable body of troops that had been sent to Béarn to watch the Spanish frontier, was an instrument ready to his hand. The memoirs left us by Foucault maintain a discreet silence respecting the precise manner in which the dragoons and other soldiers were to be employed by their officers, under the intendant's general supervision, in effecting the conversion of the Huguenots in the ancestral kingdom of Jeanne d'Albret and Henry of Navarre. In the drama of ambition and false religious zeal, now to be enacted in France, no word savoring of violence or compulsion must be dropped by any of the performers, that gentle compulsion alone excepted to which reference was made with nauseating frequency. It is true that here the probabilities were not always observed; the charge of obstinacy universally laid to the account of the heretics comported ill with the facility with which it was represented that their errors were overthrown, and this, not by the laborious arguments of learned divines, but at the bare announcement of the monarch's good pleasure. But consistency is not always possible; least of all in a structure built up of insincerity and falsehood. Monsieur de Foucault has much to say of the utility of soldiers in such a work as that in which he is engaged, but so far from admitting that the soldiers were to do even the slightest harm to the Huguenots, he expressly disclaims the suggestion and volunteers to pledge himself that the Huguenots shall not suffer. "On the eighteenth of April, 1685," he writes, "I asked Monsieur de Louvois to send me orders in blank to have one or more companies take up their quarters in the towns filled with Protestants, it being certain that the approach of the troops alone would produce a great number of conversions; and I stated to him that I should see to it so carefully that the soldiers committed no violence, that I would hold myself responsible for all the complaints that might arise." And he adds later, that, Monsieur de Louvois having despatched to him a number of the blank orders for which he had made requisition, more than six hundred persons in five towns were converted "on the simple news that the companies of soldiers were coming."[1] It might well be asked how gentle and free from violence these same troopers were, that not their actual presence merely, but the bare announcement of their approach, wrought such wonders. For Terror went with Foucault and his soldiers whithersoever they turned their steps—a fact which he does not care to conceal. When the Marquis of Croissy proposed to send ministers to baptize the children of the remaining Protestants, the intendant opposed a plan which would only fortify the wavering and confirm the obstinate. As an additional reason, he gave the astounding information that in his own last circuit he had converted five thousand souls. He stated confidently that, before the fifteenth of June, at least as many more would be converted. He hoped within two months to complete the conversion of all the twenty-two thousand Huguenots of Béarn.[2]

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[1] Mémoires de Foucault, 115. Foucault's implied condemnation of the cowardice of "the false shepherds" who "by their desertion left me the field free for conversions" will impose upon no intelligent reader.

A reign of force and terror.

I have said that the memoirs of Foucault do not allude to the methods employed in obtaining such surprising results. Yet they indirectly place the stamp of entire trustworthiness upon the accounts that come to us from other sources of the barbarity visited without stint upon an innocent population. None but a procedure of the most extreme severity could have induced thousands of persons, of all ages and of every rank of society, to yield to the call made upon them to accept a religion which education or experience had made them detest. None but the most intolerable outrage could have spread so terrible a report that the advent, and even the threatened approach, of the converting dragoons, induced stout-hearted men and brave women to succumb. Conversion *à la Béarnaise* must have been a frightful reality to have spread such renown. We have a truthful description of the famous "circuit" during which the intendant made his boasted five thousand conversions. He led his troops from town to town, from village to village. They entered every place with drawn swords. They were billeted upon the Protestants alone. They lived at free quarters, and committed the most inhuman actions that brutality, fury, and rage can inspire when granted full license. They practised these deeds of cruelty, not only by the permission, but by the express order of Foucault, who even taught his troopers novel methods of overcoming the firmest courage. Among other secrets into which he initiated them, he bade them to prevent those who refused to yield to other means of torture from falling asleep, and his faithful soldiers relieved one another, in order that they might not themselves succumb to the distress which they were inflicting on others. The beating of drums, loud cries and oaths, the breaking or hurling about of the furniture, were customary means of keeping the Huguenots awake. If these annoyances did not suffice, the soldiers compelled their hosts to stand, or to move continually from room to room. They pinched them, they prodded them, they hung them up by ropes, they blew the smoke of tobacco into their nostrils, they tormented them in a hundred other ways, until their unhappy victims scarcely knew what they were doing, and promised whatever was exacted of them.

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[1] Mémoires de Foucault, 118, 119.

[2] Ibid., 119, 120.

Conversion *à la Béarnaise.*

As a single house frequently contained a number of persons who must each be kept from sleeping, whole companies of soldiers were quartered upon it, and these wretches, who knew that they could do anything with impunity, plundered, broke, and burned all the domestic goods, and wasted in a day more food and drink than might have supported them six months at their ease, had a little care been shown in the distribution. They committed unspeakable acts of indecency. The officers were not more respectful than the soldiers under their command. They spat in the faces of women, made them lie down on burning coals, made them put their heads into ovens whose hot fumes stifled them. The cries and tears, the bodily suffering and the mental distress of the victims, afforded their tormentors rare enjoyment, and called forth boisterous laughter.

So writes Benoist,[1] with much more to the same effect which there is the less need that I should reproduce here, because the same infamous treatment was soon to be the lot of the Huguenots of a great part of France, and because some individual cases must perforce claim our attention. And Benoist's statements, based upon the firm foundation of contemporaneous accounts, will be seen to be fully borne out by the great number of sufferers of similar atrocities whose narratives have, some in our own times, tardily and unexpectedly found their way into print.

Foucault's success.

Never had there been such a "conversion" of almost an entire region to Mother Holy Church as the present work, at each successive step of which Nicolas Joseph de Foucault was careful to keep the king and his secretaries advised. Midsummer had scarcely come before he could report that of the twenty-two thousand former Protestants, there were not left one thousand unconverted. No necessity now of ministers to baptize the children of heretics, as Croissy suggested, but necessity in very deed of the presence of the absentee bishops of Lescar, Oleron, and Dax, and of missionaries to instruct people converted to they knew not what. And here the intendant, who was not stupid, whatever his other faults might be, and could on occasion tell the simple truth, lets us into the real situation of affairs, when, writing to Croissy, he says: "We must have an extraordinary mission that shall go through the whole of Béarn, and the best preachers are not too good for this purpose, to take the place of their ministers, who preached. All the curates of Béarn are ignorant, and frequently they are immoral men." [2]

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[1] Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, v. 833, 834.

[2] "Les meilleurs prédicateurs n'y sont pas trop bons pour tenir la place de leurs ministres, qui prêchoient. Tous les curés du Béarn sont ignorans et souvent de mauvaises mœurs." Foucault to Croissy, July 14, 1685, in Mémoires,

Joy of Louis who encourages Foucault.

And Louis the Fourteenth and the sycophantic crowd about him, at Versailles and Fontainebleau, read and reread with avidity all the successive messages that Foucault sent, like bulletins from the scene of war, announcing daily new triumphs. Père de la Chaise, in particular, wrote to the ambitious intendant of the great pleasure which his majesty took in perusing the letters and relations which Foucault transmitted detailing the conversions in Béarn, and informed him that, instead of throwing them aside, the king actually kept them.[1] The minister of war, Marquis Louvois, did better; for besides acquainting Foucault with Louis's "great joy," he conveyed to him Louis's desire that the good work should be carried to its completion, and announced that the king, with the view of breaking down the resistance of any few obstinate nobles that might remain, had ordered that a writ be sent him compelling every gentleman in Béarn to submit for verification his titles to nobility.[2] How any "obstinate" Huguenot nobleman would fare in the circumstances, it is needless to remark. A fortnight later, with new expressions of the royal pleasure, came enlarged powers, to banish such among the gentry as might appear to be the chief obstacles to the conversion of their fellow Protestants.[3]

And thus, by the application of military force in its most

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121. The curates of Poitou, to which Foucault was shortly transferred, were apparently little superior to their brethren of Béarn; for the intendant writes of them (October, 1686): "La plupart des curés n'ont pas de talent pour prêcher convenablement," and suggests to Louvois the propriety of sending him good "controversial" preachers, to be stationed especially where there formerly were "temples," men who should "preach on Sundays after the manner of the ministers, that is to say, expound the Gospel and offer prayers at the end of their sermons." In reply, Louvois gave him the king's promise to send him, at his own expense, twelve or fifteen extraordinary preachers to remain in Poitou until Pentecost (Whitsunday). Foucault to Croissy, July 14, 1685, in Mémoires, 159, 160.

[1] Ibid., ubi supra.

[2] Louvois to Foucault, July, 1685, MS. Department of War, printed in Adolphe Michel, Louvois et les Protestants, 95.

[3] "Sa Majesté a chargé M. de Croissy de vous adresser les ordres nécessaires pour faire exiler ceux des gentilshommes qui vous paroîtront les plus appliqués à empêcher les religionnaires de se convertir." Louvois to Foucault, July 31, 1685, ibid., 96.

frightful shape, by the invasion of the sanctuary of the home with armed and riotous soldiers that stopped at no outrage short of rape and murder (though instances even of these crimes were unfortunately not rare), the conversion of virtually an entire province was duly reported to the king. It mattered little that the only evidence of conversion was a single word or a vague promise extorted by violence. The intendant was not very particular about a matter which regarded the clergy rather than a layman like himself, and as long as the clergy were satisfied he gave himself no further concern. And the clergy, in view of the great multitudes brought to them like flocks of sheep, had neither time nor inclination to inquire very minutely. Submission was, after all, the one essential point, and submission could be indicated by the use of the sign of the cross, by uttering the words *Jesus, Maria*, by repeating the Lord's Prayer or the Creed in Latin, or by simply saying *Je me réunis*. The very abjurations in writing were such papers as men draw up when they wish rather to appear to vouch for something, than actually to do so. Some wrote that they "were reunited in order to obey the will of the king." Easy-going priests accepted from many of the "new converts" a declaration that "they embraced the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church, to follow therein all the Christian and orthodox truths it teaches, conformably to the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ and his holy Apostles." In fact, Benoist tells us that he had himself seen a paper, purporting to be an abjuration and accepted as sufficient by some ignorant or accommodating ecclesiastic of Bourbonnais, couched in these terms: "I recognize and confess the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church as it was in the time of the Apostles; and I renounce and abjure all the errors which have crept in since that time." But this was in the early part of the Dragonnades. By and by the clergy thought better of the matter, and began to demand a subscription to all the tenets and practices of the church, such as even many of its old adherents could scarcely have made with a clear conscience.[1]

Unsatisfactory abjurations.

Meanwhile, of so flimsy and insincere a character were the twenty thousand or more pretended conversions in Béarn, that they lasted only so long as the constraint lasted, and the testimony of a well-informed writer of the established church, about a dozen years later, was to the effect that the fact could not be disguised, that the greater part of these new converts had, up to the time at which he wrote, performed their duties, as members of the Roman Catholic communion, in a very unsatisfactory fashion.[1]

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[1] Benoist, v. 846, et seq.

Ephemeral conversions.

Like some foul contagion, the Dragonnades spread from Béarn first to the nearer provinces, thence to the more remote, and in the end to every part of the kingdom where the Huguenots existed in any considerable numbers. The rare good fortune of Foucault in being able to earn the commendation, by delighting the heart of Louis the Fourteenth, because of the unexpected results of his attempts at proselyting, kindled the zeal of the other intendants. Each one of these in his "generality" resolved to emulate, if he could not hope to surpass, the "miracles of grace," as they were profanely called, that had been wrought at the foot of the Pyrenees. In truth, however, the work was not left to the individual ardor of the intendants. Barely had Foucault reported his task completely accomplished, when Louvois issued what has been well styled the first order for the great and famous Dragonnades. It was addressed to the Marquis of Boufflers, commandant of the troops which had done so good service in Béarn. It informed him that the occasion that had brought the army to Béarn had been removed, inasmuch as the Spaniard had made every concession demanded by Louis the Fourteenth. This being so, it announced his Majesty's determination to make use of the troops under Boufflers's command, during the remainder of the year, in diminishing, as far as possible, the great number of Protestants in the two generalities of Bordeaux and Montauban, and to endeavor to procure as large a number of conversions as had taken place in Béarn. Boufflers was re-

The Dragonnades in Guyenne and Upper Languedoc.

Louvois gives the first order for the great Dragonnades.

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[1] "On ne peut pas dissimuler que la plupart de ces nouveaux convertis ont jusqu'à présent mal fait leurs devoirs." Pinon, Mémoire concernant le Béarn et la basse Navarre, 1698. In Michel, Louvois et les Protestants, 102.

quested to confer with the intendants of the two extensive districts where his field of operations would lie, De Ris and De la Berchère, from whom he would learn what places had the largest Protestant population. Provided with a great number of royal orders signed by his Majesty, but with blanks left for the names to be inserted, he was directed to send such a number of cavalry or infantry as might be agreed upon. These troops were to be quartered solely upon the Protestants, and to be withdrawn and sent elsewhere, as soon as the whole or the greater part of the Protestants should be converted.

The plan was certainly not the result of long deliberation, but originated in the new hopes bred of the unlooked-for success met in Béarn. So far from being well matured, the scheme betrayed a singular ignorance respecting matters of vital importance. The king had been informed that there were one hundred and fifty thousand Protestants in De Ris's jurisdiction, he had not yet learned how many there were in that of De la Berchère, though he presumed there was a very good number.

It contains no suggestion of violence.

In this public despatch, meant for the king's eye, there is not a suggestion of persecution. The foot-soldier could demand ten *sous* a day for himself; the cavalryman and dragoon were empowered to exact as much more for their horses. That was all. The general was enjoined to punish very severely any officers or privates that might go beyond his commands. Nor were the troops to tarry until they should have effected the conversions of *all* the Protestants of any place. They were to be content with diminishing the number, until the Roman Catholics should be twice or three times as numerous as the Protestants, "in such wise that, when eventually his Majesty shall be pleased no longer to permit the exercise of that religion in his kingdom, there may be nothing to apprehend from what the small number of Protestants remaining might undertake to do." Evidently neither Louvois nor his royal master looked for a speedy proscription of Protestantism by means of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, within less than three months.[1]

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[1] The despatch of Louis to Boufflers, of the 31st of July, 1685, is given entire in Rulhière, Éclaircissemens historiques, i. 295-301, together with extracts

Now began the repetition on a larger scale of the scenes attending the work of conversion recently prosecuted in Béarn. How scrupulously were the instructions publicly given to Boufflers and the intendants carried out in the severe repression and punishment of any violence, of any exaction beyond ten or twenty sous a day for the support of the soldiery quartered upon the Huguenots? Possibly the question may be more impressively answered by the plain recital of what befell a single family in the very city of Montauban, than by many pages of general statements respecting the hundreds of thousands of victims in Upper Languedoc and Guyenne.

The savage execution.

Samuel de Peschels was a Huguenot gentleman of the old stamp, a worthy descendant of that ancestor of his, four generations back, Pierre de Peschels, respecting whom Theodore Beza writes, in his history of the French Protestant churches, that, in the perilous period at the beginning of the Reformation, he invited the first believers of Montauban to assemble for worship in the inner court of his mansion, where, on Whitsunday, in the year 1561, the Lord's Supper was celebrated by Gaspar de la Faverge according to the forms of the liturgy of John Calvin.[1]

Story of Samuel de Peschels.

"On the twentieth day of August, 1685," writes Samuel de Peschels in his autobiography, "the troops entered Montauban in great numbers, and were quartered upon the Protestant inhabitants. With the full approval of their superiors, officers and soldiers vied with each other in the commission of violent and disorderly acts. All the inhabitants belonging to the Reformed religion, without distinction of age or sex, were called on to suffer to such an extent from threats, blows, and the plundering of their goods, that the city was as badly treated as if it had been a rebellious city taken by assault. The gentry, legally exempt, by reason of their quality, from having soldiers billeted upon them, were nevertheless overburdened with them, without discrimination, and those who, by the grace of God, were so happy as to remain faithful to their religion, were completely ruined."

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from despatches of August 24 and 30, and instructive comments by Rulhière himself.

[1] Histoire ecclésiastique Églises Réformées, i. 527.

On the twenty-sixth, an officer came to Peschel's house, and demanded money for the support of the twenty men he was going to bring, not only for the future, but for the six days that had elapsed. He exhibited an order, but would not leave it in Peschel's hand. "Shortly," says Peschels, "my house was full of officers, soldiers, and horses. They took possession of all my rooms with so little reserve that I could not retain a single one for my family. I found it impossible to make the wretches understand that I made no resistance and that I offered them everything that I possessed. They burst all the doors, broke open the chests and closets, preferring to plunder my property in this brutal fashion, rather than accept the keys which my wife and I offered and begged them to use. They converted into stables my barns full of wheat and flour, which they savagely made their horses tread under foot. They treated in like manner the bread destined for the nourishment of my little children, without our being able to stop their brutal fury. I was put out of the house with my wife, who was on the eve of her confinement, and with our four little children. We were allowed to take with us only a cradle and a little linen for the child whose birth was expected. The street being full of people who rejoiced at seeing us thus plundered, we were for a few moments unable to go beyond the door, and the soldiers emptied upon us, from the windows, buckets of water, the better to divert themselves at our sad situation." In this plight Peschels bethought him that the Marquis of Boufflers, the commandant general, was in Montauban—that savage officer beneath whose portrait, in the satirical series of the so-called "Heroes of the League," a contemporary wrote the inscription, "BOUFFLERS, GÉNÉRAL DE LA DRAGONNERIE," accompanied by the biting lines,

Boufflers, commandant of the troops.

"Cette procession me doit toute sa gloire,
C'est moi qui ay tout fait, qui ay tout dragonné.
J'ay violé, tué, pillé, emprisonné :
Et suis persécuteur d'éternelle mémoire."[1]

But Boufflers had taken good care that no one the bearer of such complaints as Peschels brought should gain access to him, and the highest officer whom the Huguenot could reach bluntly informed him that the treatment to which he was now subjected would not cease unless he changed his religion. "With God's help, that I shall never do," exclaimed Peschels. To which the other replied: "You have a good opinion of yourself."

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[1] Raoul de Cazenove, ubi infra, 33, 34.

Another order from the intendant was shown to Peschels, which the bearer refused to give into his hands. His persecutors had no intention to afford him anything that might serve as documentary proof of the violence and injustice of which he was the recipient. The paper authorized the sale of all his effects to pay his indebtedness to the very persons who had been plundering him. At last, on the first of September, the troopers were withdrawn, but only to be succeeded the next day by a fresh detachment of soldiers who called themselves "missionaries," and whose behavior was the more insolent that they found the house less able to provide for them the pillage of which they were in quest. At brief intervals, the number was increased by new allotments, until the place could scarcely contain any more. Nothing was spared, even to the tongs and andirons on the hearth. The private papers and the considerable library of books which Peschels possessed, were carried off and sold. "Then," he writes, "the soldiers went to plunder my farms. They carried off my cattle and proceeded to sell them in the market with as much freedom as if they had been the veritable owners. Often they threatened to tear down my house and sell the materials, boasting of the full powers which their chiefs had conferred upon them." Meantime, with difficulty had the poor wife found a refuge in the house of a sister, where her child was happily born; although pursued even there by the terrors of soldiers encouraged in their brutality and indecency by the very officers that should have restrained them.

The material ruin of the family was complete. Of all their property nothing remained; for Samuel de Peschels had steadfastly refused to utter the simple words, "I submit," which would instantly have put an end to his troubles and freed him of his persecutors. "God be praised," said he, "for all His favors, especially for having given us courage to prefer the loyalty which we owe to Him above all earthly goods. The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord!"

A few months later, Peschels was robbed of his children and was himself thrown into prison. After many months and several changes in the place of his confinement, he was brought out only to be transported as a slave to America. But these events, as well as his escape from the island of San Domingo to Jamaica, his return to England, and his service under William of Orange, in Ireland, belong to a period posterior to the Edict of Revocation and cannot be narrated here.[1]

Character of the "conversions."

Samuel de Peschels remained constant to the end. So did his wife. So did many others in every part of France over which the torrent of persecution poured. These were the most heroic souls, men and women of the stuff of which martyrs are made. The greater number, undoubtedly, bent before the storm. Harassed by importunity, wearied in body and mind, vexed by the loss of property ruthlessly destroyed before their very eyes, distracted by the outrages done to themselves, still more by the dastardly outrages done to their wives and children whom they were powerless to defend save by the utterance of the fatal words of submission, and seeing all these things done in the name of the king, in obedience, as it would seem, to his commands, and by the officers and soldiers of his armies, with the approval of his "intendants of police, justice, and finances," they took the only course that promised them instant relief. That they yielded to overwhelming force, no one knew better than did their persecutors. That their submission was involuntary and insincere, they did not conceal, and could not have concealed, had they desired so to do. The brutal agents in their so-called "conversion" were quite indifferent to the honesty of the transaction. The bishops and the clergy, at whose instigation those agents did their work, thoroughly understood that it was worthless from the point of view of morality, and were willing to have it so. The temptation was strong, with many persons overwhelming, to regard the fault of yielding, under such circumstances, if not as small—there were few that so regarded it—yet as venial, because of the nature of a promise extorted by compulsion and therefore possessed of no binding obligation. The converts had, from the start, no intention of fulfilling the engagement, and sought only to gain time. Some hoped that the sudden tempest once past, the clouds would be dissipated and the sun of prosperity might shine upon them as of old; for the edict, after all, still stood upon the statute-book. Others, and the sequel showed that their number was far greater than either friends or foes suspected, merely waited until opportunity might occur for them to flee, with their families and with such a part of their fortunes as could be saved from the general wreck, to those foreign and hospitable lands that offered them the right to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience.

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[1] Mémoires de Samuel de Pechels, publiés par Raoul de Cazenove. Toulouse, 1878. Among the many singular events that may appropriately be styled revenges of history, I may mention the fact that the convent of Sainte Claire, in which Pechels informs us that his mother and youngest sister were imprisoned by the intendant's order, is now the home of the principal theological seminary of the Reformed Church of France, supported by the State (Ibid., 44, note of M. de Cazenove).

It becomes him who has undertaken to narrate the history of the Huguenots, at this point in their fortunes, neither to become the apologist for their weakness nor to show himself the severe censor of their frailty. "Let him that standeth beware lest he fall." Yet should the reader not treat lightly the estimate of the trial to which the Huguenots were exposed, made by so calm a contemporary writer as the philosophic Bayle, who, addressing the Roman Catholics of his age, maintained that the persecutions of the early Christians at the hands of the pagan emperors of Rome were far easier to withstand than the persecutions of the Protestants at the hands of the myrmidons of Louis the so-called Great.[1] "Think you that to die upon a scaffold for one's religion, which is a resplendent action, is more terrible or more difficult for a man to consent to, than to see himself devoured by soldiers who treat him with a thousand indignities, who blow a trumpet in his ears, who prevent him from sleeping, or, at the least, ruin him and

Bayle on the severity of the persecution.

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[1] "De sorte qu'il est beaucoup plus difficile de vous résister, que de résister aux Empereurs Payens."

put him in such a condition that he sees no end of his woes, either by flight or by death? You close all the seaports and all the outlets of the kingdom; you condemn to the galleys those who would flee; you prevent those that do not change their religion from obtaining the means of subsistence. They see no end to their wretchedness. You begrudge wretched men the last refuge that would free them of their pains, that is to say, death, and after that do you glory that you hang no one? This is a new kind of cruelty more insupportable than that which your fathers inflicted. For under their direction, at least, men had this gratification, that they did not suffer for a long time, and that they died for the cause they had espoused; whereas, after the fashion in which you act, offering a Protestant a long prospect of wretchedness, without other resource than patience (which easily becomes exhausted when men know not how long it will be needed), you take away all comfort and reduce the soul to the most forlorn condition in which it can be placed."[1]

Spread of the Dragonnades throughout the kingdom.

From Guyenne and Upper Languedoc the Dragonnades extended to Saintonge, Aunis, and Poitou, on the west, and to Vivarais and Dauphiny, on the east. Next came the turn of the province of Lyonnais, of the Cévennes, of Lower Languedoc, of Provence, of Gex. Later still the Huguenots of the rest of the kingdom became a prey to the hideous work of the "booted mission," as it was called—Normandy, Burgundy, and the central provinces, even to far-off Brittany, and to Paris itself.

The horror the dragoons inspired, the crimes they perpetrated, the sufferings the wretched victims endured, the losses they sustained, I shall not undertake further to describe. Let the curious read the fearful indictment which the eloquent Jean Claude drew up in his thrilling "*Plaintes*," where the bare recital of the general facts occupies many consecutive pages of his immortal work. Better still, perhaps, let him take the Huguenot histories of ancient towns or provinces, and convince himself, by an inspection of names and places, of the widespread havoc which the savage soldiery inflicted upon hitherto peaceable communities of God-fearing men and women, sparing neither age, nor rank, nor sex. Best of all, let him carefully peruse some one of those affecting narrations of the personal experience of a single household, wherein the hand of one of the sufferers has chronicled the way in which a home of thrift and pious contentment was turned into an abode of intolerable wretchedness, parents and children being torn from one another, often never again to meet on earth, happy if only they might succeed in finding their way into exile. From these various sources of information, whose truthfulness it is impossible to impeach, he will obtain an impression more clear and more vivid than any words of mine could convey of the price at which the armed hand of the French monarch sought to make his extensive realm "all Catholic."

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[1] The treatise of Pierre Bayle, entitled "Ce que c'est que la France toute catholique sous le règne de Louis le Grand," from which I take these words (vol. ii. 345, of the edition of his works published at The Hague, in 1737) is not the least interesting of the philosopher's writings.

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